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THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1852.

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ARTICLE I.—*Antiquities of the Christian Church.*

1. *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archæologie.* Bde I.—XII. 8vo. Leipzig, 1817–31. Von D. Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti.
2. *Handbuch der Christlichen Archæologie.* Bde I.—III. Leipzig, 1836–7. Von D. Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti.
3. *Die Kirchliche Archæologie.* Dargestellt von F. H. Rheinwald. 8vo. S. 569. Berlin, 1830.
4. *Handbuch der christlich-kirchlichen Alterthümer in alphabetisher ordnung mit steter Beziehung auf das, was davon noch jetzt im christlichen Cultus übrig geblieben ist.* Von M. Carl Christian Friedrich Siegel. Bde I.—IV. Leipzig, 1835–38.
5. *Lehrbuch der christlich-kirchlichen Archæologie.* Verfasst von Dr. Joh. Nep. Locherer. 8vo. S. 194. Frankfort am Main, 1832.
6. *Die christlich-kirchliche Alterthumswissenschaft, theologisch-critisch bearbeitet.* Von Dr. Wilhelm Böhmer. Bde I.—II. 8vo. Breslau, 1836–9.
7. *Lehrbuch der christlich-kirchlichen Archæologie.* Von Heinrich Ernst Ferdinand Guericke. 8vo. S. 345. Leipzig, 1847.

THIS formidable array of authors comprises only those who, in Germany, have within the last thirty years, written on the

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subject of Christian Archæology, or the Antiquities of the Christian Church. The rapidity with which works of this character are thrown off from the German press, the wide and diversified range of topics which they comprehend, indicates the importance which this branch of ecclesiastical history has assumed in that country, while in our own it is generally neglected and almost unknown. It is not, we believe, made a distinct and separate study in any Theological Seminary in our land, neither has a single course of lectures on this subject been given by any public lecturer, or professor of ecclesiastical history, in our country. The productions of the press have also been almost as barren as the instructions of the historical professor.

And yet the rites and forms of the ancient Church have, to the American Churches, an interest and importance unknown to those to whom we are chiefly indebted for information respecting the early institutions of the Christian Church. However discordant in sentiment, the Lutheran Churches are harmonious in their government and rites of worship. The learned of their communion carefully scrutinize the ancient Church, not to justify or defend their own ecclesiastical usages, about which they have no controversy, but as the means of discerning the real character of primitive Christianity. The moral habits of a man are a practical exemplification of his religious principles; so the social habits of a Church, its government, and ritual, are a living expression of the religious spirit of the age. A knowledge of these is indispensable for a right understanding of church history; but to the American churches it has an importance far greater, with reference to the great controversy in which they are engaged respecting rites and forms. In this controversy, formalism and puritanism are the great antagonistic principles; the one striving for a sensuous, the other for spiritual religion. In the former, as in the Old Testament, religion is estimated by outward forms, and piety promoted by external forms; in the latter, as in the New Testament, every thing is made to depend upon what is internal and spiritual. This found its just expression in the freedom, simplicity, and spirituality of the Apostolic and primitive Churches; that was embodied in the ancient hierarchy which early supplanted the

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foundations laid by the Apostles and their immediate successors, and still discovers itself in the ceremonies and assumptions of high church prelacy, Puseyism, and Popery.

These two opposite schemes of religion the Tractarians of Oxford denominate the Genevan and the Catholic. They boldly avow that these schemes are now probably for the last time struggling together, and that on this struggle hangs the destiny of the Church of England. But the conflict is not confined to the Church of England. It has passed over to our American churches. It summons them to begin anew the great controversy of the Reformation. This was, at the beginning, as now, a controversy not so much respecting *doctrines*, as about *forms* and *traditions*. Melancthon and the reformers earnestly maintained that their controversy was not "respecting the doctrines of the church, but concerning certain abuses which, without due authority, had crept in." The Augsburg Confession renews the affirmation "that the division and the strife was respecting certain traditions and abuses;" and to the same effect is the Helvetian Confession, and that of Smalcald.

With this controversy in the Reformation began the study of the antiquities of the Church as an independent branch of church history. The contending parties both appealed to the authority of the fathers, and the usages of the primitive and apostolical churches. This appeal led each to renew his researches in the records of the past; to arrange, digest and construct his authorities in defence of his position. From the scattered materials which were collected, the historians of the Church, on either side, soon began to construct their antagonist histories of the Church—of its doctrines, its polity, and its worship. The chaotic elements of the ancient fathers, apologists and historians of the Church, *rudis indigestaque moles*, began now to be arranged, and compared, and constructed into opposing systems, deduced from opposing views of the primitive formation.

The Magdeburg Centuriators, in the sixteenth century, led the way in this new science of ecclesiastical history, from which that of Christian antiquities has since become a distinct department. The illustrious and laborious compilers published, from 1559 to 1574, thirteen folio volumes, each comprising a century. Their object was to show that the Protestant doctrine respect-

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ing the Church was the doctrine of the ancient Catholic church, as might appear from its history, recorded and traditional; and that the doctrine of the modern Catholic church was the result of traditional errors and corruptions which had crept into that communion by degrees, until it had grossly departed from the primitive standard, in faith and practice. With this intent they treated largely of rites and ceremonies, the constitution and government of the Church, devoting two chapters in each century to these topics.

In opposition to the Magdeburg Centuriators, thirty years later, Cæsar Baronius, subsequently Cardinal at Rome, published his Ecclesiastical Annals, in twelve folio volumes, exhibiting the Romish doctrine on the same subjects. So largely did Baronius treat of the rites and government of the Church, that Schulting, one of his epitomists, describes his work as containing a thesaurus of sacred antiquities.

The example of these illustrious predecessors was followed by subsequent historians and polemics, through the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Controverted topics controlled both their investigations and their narrations of the results of them. The whole history of the Church, and especially that of the usages and rites of the Church was examined, and re-examined, collated and discussed, to make it speak in favour of the Protestant or Catholic confession, according to the faith of the writers respectively. For a century and a half the parties continually pitched over against each other, like two hostile encampments entrenched on the one hand, behind the bulwark of the Magdeburg centuries; on the other, behind the annals of Baronius. Both claimed to be orthodox, both defended themselves on the authority of history, both repaired to it as their common armory from which to draw the weapons of their warfare in defence of their respective confessions. The period now under consideration is the age of those enormous folios, which crowd the shelves of our public libraries, and in the production of which, Protestants of Germany, France, and England vied with the Benedictine monks in publishing, illustrating, and commenting upon the works of the fathers, and the Synodical decrees and councils of the Church. Among the former may be named Basnage, Venema, Arnold, Mosheim, Walch, Schröckh, Blon-

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dell, Salmasius, Usher, Cave, Dodwell, Lardner, &c. Of the latter were Montfaucon, Mabillon, Natalis Alexander, Tillemont, Du Pin, &c.

But it was reserved for Mosheim, the renowned historian of Göttingen, to free Church History from the partialities and prejudices of partisan zeal, and elevate it to the rank of an independent science. Orthodox himself, and profoundly learned, he had the magnanimity, how rare! to be just to opposite systems of religious faith, to combine, and group, and throw upon the canvass the living forms of every faith in their just proportion, and natural lineaments. He gathered his materials from the widest range of research, and yet presided as a master over the vast incongruous mass which he had collected. Like a skilful naturalist, with consummate ability he reduced the crude elements, conformable and non conformable, into an organic, consistent whole. Thus from authentic records he wrote out the true history of the Church, as the modern geologist from the book of Nature gives us the history of the earth, with the order and relative age of the several strata, from the earliest to the latest formation; and the causes that produced them, age after age. These powers of research, of combination, of generalization, coupled with religious earnestness, a keen insight into the characters of men, precision and fluency of style, have won for Mosheim the honoured title of the Father of modern Church History—the founder at once of the science of ecclesiastical history, and of the art of composing it.

One of Mosheim's most valuable works was his Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians before Constantine the Great. These Commentaries treat of the organization and government of the primitive Church; the change from the popular to the prelatical form, and many of the topics which appropriately belong to the department of Christian Antiquities. In this way they had an important influence in enriching this department of ecclesiastical research. Previous to this period, several imperfect and partial treatises had been published on the continent, by both Protestant and Roman Catholic writers, who wrote in the spirit of the age for partisan purposes. These works, however, were limited in their plan, and greatly deficient in their execution, detailing chiefly the rites and usages of the Christian

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Church. The most of these soon passed into deserved neglect, and now are found only in the accumulated rubbish of the public libraries of Europe.

It is a curious fact that the English language has produced but two authors of any celebrity on this subject; though the controversy respecting the original organization of the Church, and the ritual of its worship, has been longer continued, and perhaps more firmly contested in this language than in any other. Dr. William Cave, in 1673, published his Primitive Christianity, or the Religion of the Ancient Church in the first Ages of the Gospel. This was soon followed by his Apostolical Antiquities, and History of the Primitive Fathers. The first mentioned was translated into the French language, and has passed through many editions, of which the latest was published in 1840, at Oxford. In this, as in all his works, it is his endeavour to exhibit the religious character of the primitive churches for the imitation of his readers. In doing this, he indirectly describes many of the rites and customs of the primitive Christians, but omits, as foreign to his purpose, much more which appropriately belongs to the department of antiquities. He writes with an indulgent charity, which forms a flattering estimate of primitive piety, and fails to notice any visible decline until the third or fourth century.

The only great work which has been produced in our language on Christian Antiquities, is that of Joseph Bingham, published between 1708 and 1722. *Opus viginti annorum, monumentum aere perennius* of the vast research and tireless industry of the author. This work has been several times abridged, and the early abridgments have been translated into different languages. The original has gone through many editions; the latest in London, 1850. It is a standard work with the advocates of prelacy; and to all, a vast and valuable repository of argument and authorities on a wide range of topics connected with the usages and ecclesiastical polity of the ancient Church. But with all its merits, it has great deficiencies. It lacks clearness, and it omits altogether several important topics of discussion. The author is not master of his materials. He has accumulated them by indefatigable research, until they have become a vast, unwieldy mass, thrown together

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without due discrimination or order. He seldom chronologizes his authorities; so that what one may have gathered from him as authentic and of high antiquity, for some ancient usage, may, on examination, prove to be only the spurious production of a later age, and accordingly, of no value.

Above all, the work lacks candour and impartiality. The author is a zealous advocate of high church principles, which, to a great extent, he discovers in the primitive Church, and which he asserts and defends from its history. Other foundation for the Church of Christ he finds not, either in its ancient history, or in the authority of the Apostles. Of an earlier, more simple, and more popular form of government he knows nothing. In the essential characteristics of the order and worship of the Church he discovers no material change in the whole course of its history, save the mere modern corruptions of Romanism, which he sometimes detects and exposes. But the true theory of the apostolical churches—that primeval and normal form of the Church, given by the Apostles and their immediate successors, in the judgment even of moderate Churchmen, and much more, in that of Presbyterians and Independents, as a model of the Church in all ages—is not to be learned from Bingham. In place of it he has substituted the distortions and perversions of the hierarchy.

In defence of the true theory of a free popular church government, we are compelled to turn for aid from the land of enlightened freedom, to the more learned, liberal, and enlightened scholars, reared under the despotisms of Germany. To that country where the storm of strife is laid—where the controversy between the two opposing systems, Protestant and Catholic, has settled down into a dissent without discord; to the ecclesiastical literature of that country chiefly must the dissenting churches of England and America repair for armor, in defence of the principles of the Reformation, to which they are again summoned by the assumptions and aggressions of high church prelacy. In our churches, the great controversy of the age—under a modified form, the same as that of the Reformation—is with the spirit of formalism. Formalism was then, as now, the great antagonist principle in the warfare; and still the learned men of the country where the Reformation began,

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though now retired from the conflict, are our chief reliance for aid and counsel.

Foremost among modern writers on this branch of ecclesiastical polity, stands the honoured name of Planck of Göttingen, who has written at length, and with great ability upon one of the most difficult subjects connected with that of the antiquities of the Church. He writes with a firm belief in the miraculous nature of true religion and a profound veneration for Christianity. His services in this department of Church History, are clearly expressed by one of the most competent writers of Germany, Dr. Hagenbach.

"It had become necessary to connect the past with the present, to illuminate the facts of history with the torch of philosophy, or rather with the opinions in vogue among the majority of educated people. It was no longer enough to know what had come to pass in earlier times; even the critical separation of what was duly attested from what belonged to the region of myths and conjecture, appeared to be only a preliminary work. Men wished now also to know *how* things had come to pass, and why they had come *thus* and not otherwise. As at the same epoch the investigations in the sphere of nature were prosecuted teleologically, inquiring after the cause, and effect, and final causes, so in the sphere of moral freedom in which history moves, similar connections and relations of events were sought out. But this could not be done without applying to the events some *moral* standard, and inquiring after the internal motives from which in given relations, the actions had proceeded. They also endeavoured to understand what had occurred, partly as a result of human impulse or calculation, and partly from the concatenation of wonderfully coincident circumstances. This is the *pragmatic* treatment of history, as the English, Gibbon, Hume, and Robertson had written it, before the Germans made it theirs. Planck applied it to Church History; and there are especially two works of his in which this historical method is carried out in a masterly manner. The one, "The History of the Origin and Formation of the Christian Ecclesiastical Constitutions," had for its object to describe that most difficult point, the history of the external organization of the Christian Church. The earlier orthodox

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Protestantism had been accustomed to regard the huge edifice of the mediæval hierarchy with the greatest abhorrence as the cast-down bulwark of Antichrist; but the time had now come in which the human mind felt itself challenged to draw near to the ruins of this overgrown greatness, and ask how and by what means did it become what it was; how could such a gigantic edifice grow up from its slight and unnoticeable beginnings? It was just this question which Planck sought to answer; although he starts with assumptions about the nature of the Church, which are rather derived from the external circumstances of its origin, than from that spiritual might hidden within it, which not only waits upon, but is superior to its external manifestation."*

Neander's Memorabilia, with his monographs of Chrysostom and Tertullian, to say nothing of that of Julian, compiled from ancient records of Christians and of Christian life, afford us important aid in this department of Archæological investigations. Pictures of Christian men and women, fresh and warm with life, with pictorial scenes of their religious character, of the state of society in which they lived, and of the religious constitutions which were established or modified by them, are sketched in the bold and truthful outline of a master.

In connection with this work stands Neander's History of the First Planting of the Christian Church. From the life and times of the primitive saints, and their influence in modifying the institutions of the Church, he here ascends to the original authors of these institutions, and gives us a living knowledge of the very soul of Peter, of John, of James, and above all, of the grand peculiarities of Paul, together with a vivid sketch of that primitive, normal pattern which they gave of the organization of the Church, for the imitation of believers in all coming time.

In the same connection should also be mentioned Rothe's Elements of the Christian Church, a work of the same general design, the production of an independent, original mind, and of a rare scholar. Taking his departure from a different point of observation, the author seeks to trace from the Apostles the

* Translated by Prof. H. B. Smith, Bib. Sac., Oct. 1851.

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genetic development of the Church. Though himself a devout man, his writings are deeply tinged with the bold, fanciful theories of a different school.

We have dwelt so long upon these preliminary works and collateral aids to the study of Christian Antiquities, that we must dismiss, with a brief notice, the several independent, modern writers on this subject, whose works stand at the head of this article.

First in the order of time and in magnitude, if not in importance, stands Augusti's Memorabilia from Christian Archæology, published at Leipsic, in twelve volumes, between the years 1817 and 1831. The title is ill chosen, and poorly indicates the nature and extent of the author's labours. At the distance of a hundred years from Bingham, he takes up anew the work of this compiler, and collects from original sources, an immense mass of authorities on almost all the wide range that belongs to the department of Christian Archæology. These he incorporates in his pages, instead of inserting them, like Bingham, in foot notes at the bottom; and he usually contents himself with the original without translation, connecting them together into a continuous treatise, by his own course of remarks. He is calm, dispassionate, and free from partisan zeal, even to indifference, in his discussions, which are often prolix, crude, and immethodical. Like Bingham, Augusti is chargeable with unpardonable negligence in omitting almost all chronological data. The work, however, is, with all its defects one of great value. It is a vast storehouse of authorities, collected with great industry and extensive research, from the whole range of ancient historians, apologists, and councils, relating to almost every branch of Christian Antiquities. To one who has not opportunities and time for equal original research, as few have in any country and none in this, the Memorabilia of Augusti are invaluable, offering at hand materials for use in argument and illustration.

In the years of 1836 and 1837, Augusti published an abridgment of his original work in three volumes, averaging more than seven hundred pages each, under title of a Hand-book of Christian Archæology. In this, his materials are better wrought; the plan and order are entirely changed. The authorities are carefully sifted; needless redundances are pruned off,

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and every part of the work bears evidence of a thorough revision. The whole has a fairer symmetry and a higher finish, and is, for all ordinary use, much more valuable than the original work. Augusti was Professor, first of Oriental Literature, then of Theology, and was connected successively with the Universities at Breslau, Jena, and Bonn; and towards the close of life, was Counsellor and Director of the Consistory at Coblentz. He was the honoured associate of De Wette in the translation of the Bible, and the author of many works on literary, historical, and theological subjects.

The works of Augusti were followed in quick succession by others in the same department, of various interest and importance, and more or less extensive in volume and in the range of their inquiries. K. Schöne published at Berlin, 1821, '22, in three volumes, his Historical Researches in the Ecclesiastical Usages and Institutions of Christians, their Increase, Improvement, and Changes. Though neither original nor profound, it is a useful treatise on the rituals of the Church.

Rheinwald's Ecclesiastical Archæology is the next in order. This, though compressed into a single octavo, is far more comprehensive than the former in its plan, and is a production of a higher order. It is written with studied brevity, and exhibits a wonderful power of compression scarcely surpassed by De Wette's Exegetical Hand-book, or Gieseler's Text Book of Church History. It is constructed on the plan of the latter, in which the author makes his own statement a mere thread on which to hang the choicest gems which boundless research has gathered from the hidden recesses of antiquity, to enrich the literature of his subject. The choice extracts which adorn his pages, selected, wrought, and arranged with the skill of a master, conduct us directly to the most valuable, original authors, and introduce them to speak for themselves. As Gieseler's admirable work remains still unrivalled in ecclesiastical history, so does Rheinwald's, as a hand-book in ecclesiastical archæology.

Siegel's Hand-book of Christian Ecclesiastical History soon followed Rheinwald's. The writer is a preacher in the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas, in Leipsic, and lecturer in the University in that city. He proposes to himself the task, not

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of an original investigator, but of a compiler, to collect together the materials which are scattered through many volumes of different authors; to combine and reconstruct a complete treatise on each of the several topics of the antiquities of the Christian Church, with constant reference to the modified forms in which ancient usages and institutions are still retained in different communions of the Christian Church. These treatises are arranged in alphabetical order for convenient reference. The expediency of this arrangement, however, is questionable. It sunders that *quoddam commune vinculum* which pertains to kindred topics of the same general subject, and fails to give the reader a connected symmetrical view of the whole. This inconvenience the author attempts to remedy by a synoptical view, or summary of a connected treatise, with references to the articles which would thus stand connected in a synthetical arrangement. A copious and valuable register of technical terms, both Greek and Latin, occurring in ancient authors and archæological works of this nature, is also appended.

The author appropriates to his use very freely the labours of his learned predecessors, frequently incorporating at length into his work their authorities and discussions, either with or without abridgment, at his pleasure, and generally without any just acknowledgment. The book contains a large amount of information concerning the rites, ceremonies, and constitution of the Church, both ancient and modern, and much that is of great interest to the classical student. But the tone and manner in which he treats many important passages of sacred history, indicates a rationalistic tendency, against which the reader should be duly guarded.

The little work of Locherer next claims a passing notice, as a concise and candid statement of the Roman Catholic view of the archæology of the Christian Church.

Professor Böhmer of the University at Breslau, presents us with a work of a far higher order than either of the foregoing. It is the production of an original and independent mind, enriched with the learning, literary and historical, requisite for his task. His learning is chastened by a devout, religious spirit, and his researches are ever guided by a profound sense of the divine origin of the Christian religion. Böhmer belongs to

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the school of Planck and Neander, the latter of whom was accustomed to speak of him in conversation with the writer, in terms of the highest respect. It is truly to be regretted that a work of such merit is not presented in a style more clear and attractive, a defect of which Neander made severe complaint, and of which a foreigner must be more keenly sensible. But whatever deficiencies the work may have, it is undoubtedly the ablest, the most reliable, and the best extant on the archæology of the Christian Church.

After the illustrious examples of Planck and Neander, Böhmer applies throughout the *pragmatic mode* of historical research to the elucidation of his subject; always bearing in mind that an earnest religious spirit imparted from on high, first fashioned the outward organization of the Church, and that no historical investigations of his subject can be safe or satisfactory which overlook the religious spirit of the age, and the internal causes which affect the outward ordinances and institutions of the Church. With this religious, *pragmatic* view of the subject which Augusti and Siegel disregard, and Rheinwald avowedly despises as worthy only of a "literary charlatan," Böhmer often subjects the writings of his predecessors to a searching and severe criticism, and establishes a separate independent judgment. His work is indeed to a great extent a learned and severe critique on preceding works in the same department.*

He announces as his subject, the Science of Christian Ecclesiastical Antiquities, theologically and critically discussed. This mode of discussion and the qualifications requisite for it are set forth in the following extract from the preface of his first volume. "The researches of one, however learned, who contemplates the Christian Church only from without, and deduces its institutions and rites from external relations and circumstances, and other forms of religion, are wholly unsatisfactory. Such an one overlooks the fact that the Divine Spirit which the exalted Founder of the Christian Church possessed in all its fulness, and which was shed forth on the day of Pentecost, was

* On the the title-page of his first volume he has inscribed the following sentiment from Cyprian—"Triticum non rapit ventus, nec arborem solida radice fundatam procella subvertit. Inanes paleæ tempestate jactantur, invalidæ arbores turbinis incursione evertuntur,"—which sufficiently indicates the spirit and character of his criticisms.

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also infused more or less into the institutions, ceremonies, rites, and customs of the Church; and that though these were elsewhere adopted, they still retain the imprint of his own character; nay, more, that this spirit originated not a few institutions and usages of the Church and manifested itself in them. This is at once the most interesting and the most important element of Christian antiquities; so that a true and just investigation must take into consideration not only the outward circumstances, but the inward spirit of the ancient Church, and must keep steadily in view the forming influence of the Divine Spirit. It must keep before the mind the combined influence of these two different agencies, the visible and the invisible. For the understanding of these outward agencies, the intellect conversant only with sensible and earthly things, is fully competent, but is wholly incompetent to investigate the internal agencies, while all that is supernatural and divine lies wholly without the range of its vision. If brought to the investigation of such divine agency, it is to be feared that the understanding will proceed only so far as altogether to deny the existence of this agency. An enlightened religious consciousness is an indispensable qualification for the investigation of that divine influence which was the original source of the ordinances and institutions of the Church."

Guericke, of Halle, the enlightened Christian scholar, and the accomplished historian of the Church, has also applied his own skilful hand to the task of providing the public with a suitable manual on the Antiquities of the Christian Church. Though sympathizing with Böhmer in his religious views, he objects to his work as too learned and recondite; then, as in his history he has pursued a middle course between Neander and Gieseler, so in his Archæology he proposes to himself the same *auream mediocritatem* between the plethoric fulness of Augusti, and the naked skeleton of Rheinwald. The result is an admirable Manual in the fair proportions, the grace and finish which characterize all the works of Guericke.

Why, in view of all the labours of the learned, age after age, to elucidate and enrich this branch of ecclesiastical history, why is it, in this country, so neglected? Who can intelligently read the history of the Christian Church without attention to

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its institutions, offices, rites, and ceremonies? The history of *these* is the history of the Church. To follow out the sufferings and trials of the early Christians, their patience and fortitude under persecution, and the cruelty of their persecutors, is but to write a single chapter of their history, and that of least importance. It reveals their patient endurance of a great fight of afflictions, but this is only a single trait of their character. Many other characteristics of equal interest—the spirit of the age in which they lived, with all the varied influences which formed or modified their religious sentiments, their institutions, and their ritual of worship—these all remain unrecorded, unknown.

Above all archæological investigations, those that relate to the Christian Church, possess a living interest, important and peculiar. The Hebrew commonwealth, the Roman and the Grecian republics, have passed away. We are neither Hebrews, Greeks, nor Romans; and yet endless research is lavished on their antiquities. But we *are* Christians, and the Church continues to this present time, with its sacred ordinances, its constitutions, its discipline, its offices, and its solemn rites of worship. Why, then, is not a knowledge of its antiquities, to us Christians an object of surpassing interest, above those of pagan Greece and Rome? Why do not the antiquities of the Christian Church exceed in importance those even of the Jewish Church, as far as the Christian excels the Jewish religion?

But the *polemic* importance of this branch of ecclesiastical history, at present, outweighs all others, with reference to the extraordinary assumptions and encroachments of prelacy. Nor should the liberalizing influence of this study be forgotten. Like foreign travel, it inspires a Christian catholicism superior to the bigotry and intolerance of sect and party. One who has travelled far, and observed the practical fruits of religion in different communities, however diversified their national peculiarities and ecclesiastical institutions, learns to judge charitably of all; so, after a wide range of historical research which exhibits the spirit of practical Christianity, the same, age after age, under all the shifting forms of Church government and worship in which it appears, he exchanges the prejudices of

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partisan zeal for the catholic maxim—"In things essential, *unity;* in things not essential, *liberty;* in all things, *charity.*"

With these views, a Manual of Christian Antiquities was compiled from the works of Augusti, and other sources, by Rev. J. E. Riddle, a moderate but earnest Churchman of Oxford, and was published in London in 1839. Two years later, a similar manual, now out of print, prepared from a different stand-point, was issued from the press at Andover, and soon reprinted in London. A new edition of this book, under another title, and so revised, altered, and amended as to be almost an independent work, will, it is understood, soon be offered to the public.

ART. II.—*The True Progress of Society.*

THE true method of human advancement is a subject upon which the mind of the civilized world is deeply exercised. Just in proportion as the condition of men has been improved, they have gained a consciousness of their capacities for improvement. They have kindled up to earnest longings and strivings for still further, and even illimitable progress. This is especially true of all countries that have felt the impulse given to popular freedom, intelligence, and thrift, by the Reformation. And as the great masses of the people have succeeded in winning for themselves the priceless blessings of civil liberty and education, and in opening to themselves the avenues to wealth, honour, and power, they have been filled with irrepressible yearnings for something better still; if not always for a definite and attainable, at least for an ideal and impracticable good. These feelings have received a powerful stimulus from the vast improvements actually made during the past half century, in the domain of physical science, and its application to the arts, in labour-saving inventions, in locomotion, in impressing the blind forces of nature into the service of man, and the consequent immense cheapening and diffusion of the comforts and luxuries belonging to civilized life. If man has thus advanced in all the means of physical well-being during this period, he has made scarcely less

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progress in his political, intellectual, moral, and religious interests. It cannot be questioned that, on the whole, the liberties and franchises of the people have been increased, while despotism has been on the wane. Popular education and intelligence have made prodigious advances. And with respect to religion, it is enough to advert to the missionary and benevolent agencies which are the growth of the last half century, and which distinguish and adorn Protestant and evangelical Christianity.

It would indeed be strange, if the laudable desire and hope of beneficent progress, thus excited, did not exhibit themselves occasionally in wild and reckless freaks. It is to be expected, that the good which this spirit promotes will be marred by large admixtures of evil: that it will originate and cherish not only beneficent enterprise, but endless visionary and chimerical projects. That such is the actual state of the case, no sober-minded person needs to be convinced. The state of opinion and feeling on this subject, which now infects large bodies of men, and actuates various parties, sections, and cliques in society, and, to some extent in the Church, is analogous to that so generally observed in young people when they first become conscious of their strength, and of their capacity for better things than they have yet attained. There are few who have not witnessed the disastrous workings of this "vile fever of the mind." That discontent with the most favoured lot, and the fairest prospects, that impatience of discipline and steady industry, that passion for raw and suicidal projects, that fickleness which mistakes mere change for improvement, and seeks in novelty a cure for restlessness, are the symptoms of a distemper which sometimes baffles the wisest parents and guardians. Thus, too, the spirit of progress among the masses, most wholesome as it is when rightly regulated, often degenerates into a morbid restlessness and passion for novelty—a merely revolutionary and destructive propensity. It displays the abnormal freaks and aberrations of its youth. It broods endless mad schemes and destructive projects under the fair name of reform. It would often sap the foundations and shatter the frame work of society, for the mere pleasure of reconstructing it. It would destroy that it may create, and put down that it may raise up. It would discard the collected wisdom and experience of the

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past, that it may clear the way for its own experiments. It would distrust the most original, intuitive, and permanent beliefs of our race, as shown by all history and observation, and the most fundamental and indubitable truths of revelation as embraced by the whole Church of God, that it may clear the stage for the display of its own transcendental wisdom. It will allow nothing in politics, ethics, or religion to be regarded as a settled and incontrovertible truth. It would unsettle every thing, that it may amend and reform every thing. Beyond the testimony of the senses, and the demonstrations of pure mathematics, we are to reckon nothing certain or fixed. All is to be presumed doubtful until proved by a fresh discussion. We are all afloat. The first principles of the doctrine of Christ, the very inspiration and authority of his word, the first axioms in ethics, are in question. There is nothing settled for us to live by or to die by. The very foundations of all faith are thus fluxing away. And "if the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do?"

This is no caricature of the attitude in which multitudes place themselves, who claim to be *par excellence*, the progressives of the present age. Others who would shrink from such extremes, are yet fully possessed with that radical spirit which would apply the pick-axe and crow-bar to institutions which are the growth of the wisdom of ages, and to principles on which the excellents of the earth have heretofore founded their hopes, and staked their eternal destiny. And this work of ruin they dignify with the name of progress. There are others who believe that true progress is gained by carefully guarding all the treasures of truth, goodness, well-being, which our race has yet gathered, and by making these the starting point for fresh advances, the fulcrum for more energetic operations, the base-line for new discoveries. That these tendencies or types of opinion, feeling and action, which we have thus briefly indicated now exist, and that they divide the civilized and Christian world, none will deny. One of the gravest of all questions then is, which of these is right? That true progress in all that is good and true is desirable all admit. But what is true progress? Who are the true progressives?

That there are also those who would keep intact, not only all

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the good, but all the evil now existing, is not to be disputed. With this class, who are not for stability merely, but for stagnation also, we do not now propose to concern ourselves. It does not constitute active or formidable force, except in connection with that civil or spiritual despotism to which it is ever wedded. In the Protestant portion of our own country it is wholly insignificant. It is utterly lost and unknown under the complete preponderance of progressive tendencies among us. The conflict here is not between the friends of progress on the one hand, and of stagnation on the other, but between the friends of different kinds and methods of progress. The question is, which is true, and which is pseudo-progress? While all alike claim that they are advancing, it is obvious that different classes are going in different, and even contrary directions. Who are going forward, and who backward? And who are diverging to the right and left, and how far? And who are always astir without making headway in any direction, "all move and no go?" Who are the true progressives?

The main question, which we propose first to consider, respects a general principle rather than its applications in detail. It respects the fundamental idea of progress itself. Does such progress as brings real improvement or advantage to men, ground itself on the hypothesis that nothing ought to be regarded as sure and established, until it be subjected to re-investigation and re-construction? Or does it pre-suppose the certainty of most of the principles which have long been regarded as settled and sure by the great mass of the wisest and best of men? And does it proceed upon the presumption that the whole body of such principles are true, so far, at least, that they are to be regarded and treated as true, until their falsity is shown, and so far also, as to throw the burden of proof upon all who call them in question? This is the chief issue with which we concern ourselves. And when this is properly disposed of, all minor questions will adjust themselves accordingly. And this is the real *status quæstionis*, as it is indicated in the various titles which have been employed by common consent to designate the various parties to this conflict. Thus, there is the term *conservative*, applied to the class who would preserve all the treasures of truth and means of well-being which have

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already been gained, and make these a capital to be wielded in seeking still larger discoveries and accumulations. Their antagonists on the other hand have been known by various titles, all expressive of a contrary character. Perhaps the most common and characteristic is that of *Radicals*—which implies a fondness for radical innovations, a disposition not merely to lop off diseased branches, but for the sake of getting rid of these, to uproot and destroy the tree itself. They would not only with our Saviour lay the axe at the root of corruption in the human heart, in order to restore the wicked to purity of life; but they would also make immediate *radical* reforms in those systems of faith and doctrine, and practice, or in those ethical, social and civil maxims, which have always been espoused by the excellent of the earth. In order to purge these of some real or imaginary faults, they would uproot them. They must destroy in order to reform, and kill in attempting to cure. They cannot wait for that gradual amelioration which characterizes the divine method of healing. The chronic maladies which always attend human imperfection, which have grown with the growth, and are ingrained into the very fibres of human society, must be instantly eradicated, even if the process involves the demolition of the social fabric itself. They have no idea of curing these distempers by the slow process of building up the general health and constitution, by the gradual infusion of a leaven of good which silently leavens the whole lump; by engrafting right principles upon the stock of existing organizations and systems, which in due time transform them into trees bearing fruit after their own kind. They would at once fell the tree, instead of digging about, manuring, purging and grafting it. The evil must be eradicated at once, and if the tares cannot otherwise be cleaned out, the wheat must be torn up also. Such is the genius of Radicalism. It not only purges away dead and diseased branches. It destroys the whole, root and branch, although a heavenly voice is whispering the while, "destroy it not for there is a blessing in it."

Hence, another word, which like all language, has had a mysterious birth along with the idea it represents, is *ultraism*. By this is meant, carrying an idea or a reform which in itself and within proper limits is right, beyond all reasonable and scriptu-

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ral bounds, so that it becomes false and ruinous. With this species of pseudo-progress, none can doubt that the country and the world have been sufficiently afflicted. Hence, too, it is quite natural that radicals and ultraists should be styled *Destructives*, because in attempting to advance men in truth and goodness, they begin by destroying what of these they already possess. They know how to pull down, but not how to build up. Although they set themselves up as models of progress, yet it is often progress in error, mischief, and ruin.

Against all these, we maintain that stability, at least a good degree of it, is essential to all true progress. This principle holds throughout the universe. At the summit of moral perfection, whether in Creator or creatures, not only necessity and liberty, but the most absolute stability and the most consummate progress coincide. God is at once without variableness or shadow of turning, and yet the author of all good; the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. He yet works all the beneficent changes which come to pass. He educes good from evil, and is creating all things new, making all events conspire to the subjugation of sin and death, and the production of the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Holy angels change not in their principles, or characters, or attachments, yet who among men so swift as they on ministries of love? The spirits of the just made perfect, in like manner, change not their faith or their practice; yet this fact no way hinders, it rather facilitates their endless progress in love, knowledge, bliss, and glory. And what is true of the saints on earth? Is not steadfastness a distinguishing property which the Bible ever ascribes to Christians, and represents as essential to their growth in grace? And if we view the lives of Christian heroes, martyrs, reformers—of those burning and shining lights who have done most to advance religion in their own souls, or among men—have they not been even distinguished for steadfastness and tenacity of principle, of doctrine, of purpose, and of action? And is not their eminent success in advancing truth and righteousness due to this same fixedness of principle, and persistent fidelity to it? Have not all the great benefactors of the race—yea, all great inventors and discoverers, who have advanced mankind in knowledge and true

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well-being, been also distinguished for their firm and immovable convictions, their steadfast aim, their indomitable perseverance? Are we not indebted to these qualities for all their glorious achievements? What else could have buoyed them up and cheered them on, through floods of reverses and disappointments, and tempests of scorn and derision, to final triumph? Who so immovable, and yet who, to every good intent, so progressive as Paul, Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Edwards, Washington, Wilberforce? Did not the great Apostle sum up his own character in those terse and pregnant passages in which he said: "This one thing I do;" "I have kept the faith;" "I determined to know nothing save Jesus Christ, and him crucified?" And does he not make it even fundamental in Christian character that we be "STEADFAST, IMMOVABLE, always abounding in the work of the Lord?" that we "hold fast that which is good?" that we "be established in the faith, as we have been taught?" Are we not assured that it is characteristic of the good man that his "heart is fixed?" that the "double-minded man is unstable in all his ways?" and that, "unstable as water, he shall not excel?"

This principle, indeed, rules everywhere. A government may be despotic; it may repress all enterprise and improvement among the people. This is a sore evil. It ought to be abated or removed. Yet a stable government, even though bad, is far less destructive of human weal than one that is fitful, capricious, "to nothing fixed but love of change." A legislator who adopts a system of policy, only to abandon and then restore it, then again to annul and reinstate it, thus establishing only perpetual revolution, extinguishes all the springs of enterprise and industry. Few dare attempt, and those who do, attempt in vain, to build up their fortunes on a system of policy which is liable to flux away, like a foundation of quicksand, with the next whim of the legislator. There are few, for example, who would not admit that any sort of tariff, steadily adhered to, would be better for a country than a tariff constantly vacillating from one extreme to the other. Governments must, indeed, vary their legislation to suit the varying exigencies for which they are called to provide. Nay, they must, in some rare exigencies, be themselves revolutionized in

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their very structure, to accommodate the altered state and necessities of the people. But all such changes, if they be justifiable, are but applications of one self-consistent principle to diversified circumstances; even as the immutable God hath ordained one regimen for a child, another for a man—one for the church, another for the world. Yet all this makes nothing against the proposition, that the worst of all governments are the unstable and revolutionary. By destroying all security and confidence, they destroy the first conditions and incentives of human effort.

In all the sciences, in every department of human inquiry, it is the certainty of what is known, and the tenacity with which we hold it, that enable us to use it as an instrument for discovering the unknown. The first rudimental efforts of the human mind to increase its knowledge, are based on the supposed truth and certainty of the perceptions of the senses, and of our original and intuitive judgments. It is impossible to conduct education with any success, unless we proceed in some fixed method, upon some established principles, and assume the certainty of what is taught as being true. There can indeed be no reasoning or argument, unless there be some acknowledged and unquestionable truths, some *data* which form the premises from which all conclusions are derived. Stability is the condition of all wholesome progress.

And even in the physical world, the same law obtains, and is capable of being still more vividly illustrated. How beautifully does it appear in all life and growth! A dynamic requires a static force. There can be no progressive motion without a stationary support for it. We cannot take an onward step without a firm foothold. Let him who thinks otherwise take his place on the treadmill. It is the fixed law of gravitation that holds the stars in their courses, and maintains their ceaseless, harmonious circlings in the depths of space. Let it be interrupted, and instead of the music of the spheres, we should have the crash of worlds. Even the bird must spread his wings, and the fish his fins, so as to convert the fluids in which they move into a momentary firmness and solidity, to support their advancing movement. "The most mobile of creatures, the serpent,

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makes a rest of its own body, and drawing up its voluminous train from behind this fulcrum, propels itself forward."

While it is thus beyond all doubt, that stability is essential to genuine progress, so it must not be forgotton that progress or improvement of some sort, is essential to all healthy stability. To be stationary, and in every sense moveless, is to become stagnant and degenerate. These two interests of permanence and progression, though in some sense opposite, and even antagonistic, are nevertheless not hostile. When put in due equipoise and fit combination, they mutually aid, regulate, and perfect each other. They produce a resultant motion, or force, which contains each in its highest perfection. It is the union of the centripetal and centrifugal forces that gives to each its due place and bounds, and enables them to keep the worlds in their appointed and harmonious circuits. So in the State. The fixed and circulative elements must be in due proportion and equipoise. Law and liberty, fast and personal property, the landed and the commercial interest, the permanent constitution and the flexible legislation, when properly balanced and combined, reciprocally sustain and invigorate each other. They are the opposite, to some extent antagonistic, yet, when rightly adjusted, mutually completing and sustaining poles of social and worldly well-being. Coleridge, in one of those pregnant sentences in which he so often, despite his more frequent extravaganzas, compresses a world of truth, says, that "the opposite interests of permanence and progression comprise in themselves all other interests of a State." In religion, too, if a steadfast faith in the truth as it is in Jesus is the condition of all salutary progress; if all progress in fact consists in propagating that truth, and leading men to believe, love and obey it; yet it is equally certain, that unless the Church makes constant advances in her understanding, or consciousness of the import, the reach, the limits, the applications of this truth, especially to new and varying circumstances; and unless she makes unceasing efforts to bring men under its saving power, the truth itself will become stagnant and impotent, a dead orthodoxy. Its vital significance and force will die out of the mind when its power is no longer felt in the heart and life, even although the form of

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sound words be still tenaciously held. No longer a living power, it cannot have a living import. They who do not "prove all things," all the articles of their faith, and test their beliefs for themselves by the oracles of God, interpreted in view of whatever light the latest researches and discoveries in sacred criticism can shed upon them, will not long be able or disposed to "hold fast that which is good." Not only has truth in the abstract nothing to fear from any new discoveries, which turn out to be real discoveries in any department of knowledge. The truth of God as it has been apprehended, believed, and experienced by the saints of all generations, their hope in life, and triumph in death, cannot be imperilled by any new researches. It will suffer nothing from the most rigid scrutiny under the intensest light. It covets such scrutiny, and such light. They will but disclose confirmations and illustrations of it before unperceived, and display features of divine beauty in it before unnoticed. These are innumerable. Like the Copernican system, Christian doctrine, though evermore one, and so fully tested that it cannot be overthrown, has not yet been so perfectly explored, that it will not display proofs and beauties before undiscovered, on each new survey, whether broad or minute, telescopic or microscopic. Constant attrition does not shatter or wear away the fabric of divine truth; it does but disclose its adamantine firmness, its heavenly brightness. Thus constant advances in the understanding, evidences, illustration and diffusion of Christian truth, do not destroy, they preserve and make conspicuous its unity and identity. Instead of indolent acquiescence, we have a living faith. And Christianity instead of being crowded and stalled into a mere effete form, becomes spirit and life: thus being kept evermore one and the same, and yet "ever new and ever young."

It is very obvious from this general view of the subject, that every man of true progress must be to some good degree a conservative. Every true conservative must in the right sense of the word be a man of progress. In short, our first and general answer to the question, who are the true progressives? is, they are the progressive conservatives.

The further resolution of this question involves more minute and specific inquiries. How far, and in what particulars, must

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one be conservative, or progressive? It is obvious that this question must be answered differently, according to the different spheres of human interest and activity to which it may refer. We propose to say something towards answering it, as it stands related to some of the chief interests of man.

Progress is a favourite watchword with all innovators upon received Christian doctrines. When silenced in argument upon the merits of the case, their cry is, We must have progress in theology, as in all sciences. If man is improving in all other spheres, is religion, his great interest, to remain unimproved? This carries a plausible sound to the ear at least, in this age of unprecedented material progress, when men have made the steam and the lightning their carriers. It is the wooden sword with which heresy tries to parry the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.

It is surely the most momentous, if the stalest of truths, that man's greatest need is religious improvement. It is the greatest need for all, in the Church and out of it. But how is it to be obtained? By denying, or explaining away, or essentially modifying so as to impair or neutralize any of the great doctrines, precepts, or institutes of Christianity? Or is it by bringing ourselves and others through grace, more perfectly to understand, realize, and every way conform to these doctrines and requirements? These questions answer themselves. But, whispers one who whose soul chafes under these doctrines, Is the whole truth of the Bible on these subjects yet understood? Do the received statements of Christian doctrine admit of no amendment, to adapt them to the existing state of science and knowledge? Is Christianity cast in an iron mould? Who are endowed with an infallibility that cannot be questioned, a perfection of knowledge in things pertaining to God, which allows no increase? The answer to this is short. While no Protestant claims to be infallible, or to have yet learned the *omne scibile*, yet all sound and evangelical Protestants claim that we are to hold fast what we do know to be the vital truth of God, and what his people have clung to as the ground of their immortal hopes in all ages and nations. They hold, that to advance in religious knowledge, is not to treat as false or uncertain what are known as surely as any thing can be known,

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to be the fundamental verities taught in the Bible. Universal scepticism is not the route to religious knowledge or its increase. The Apostle does not recommend it as the true course to religious insight and discernment, that "when for the time we ought to be teachers, we have need that one teach us which be the first principles of the doctrine of Christ." It is not thus that we "become skilful in the word of righteousness," or have our "senses exercised to discern between good and evil," or "go on unto perfection." Such a course, instead of being progressive, is retrograde towards the darkest ignorance, confusion and infidelity.

There lie patent on the surface of the Scriptures, and have ever been received and professed by all bodies of real, and nearly all nominal Christians, as undoubted divine verities, the doctrine that God is one Being, subsisting in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; that our race is in a state of sin and condemnation; that it is so by nature, and became so by the judgment of God visited upon it for the fall of its first progenitor; that from this state no man is capable of delivering himself; that the Son of God became man by taking to himself a true body and a reasonable soul, and so was, and continues to be, God and man, two distinct natures in one person for ever; that he suffered and died in the room of sinful men, and purchased eternal redemption for all that believe on him, by becoming a curse for them; that he rose from the dead and ascended to glory, and will at last judge the world; that, having himself removed the curse, he hath procured the Holy Spirit to break the power of sin, and transform his people into the image of God; that this salvation is freely offered, and will surely be given to as many as will receive it by faith; that faith, repentance, and holy living are necessary to salvation; that they whose souls are thus saved shall also receive the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting; that all shall be finally judged by Christ, and that all unbelievers shall be consigned to everlasting punishment. Other doctrines we regard as no less palpably taught in the Bible, and as interlocked with these. But we are now speaking of what is believed and professed in all quarters where we discern the lineaments of a sound Christian piety. Not every babe in

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Christ, indeed, at once knows them all. But all mature Christians receive them. They have been solemnly professed by every known body of Christian believers. They are, and ever have been, the faith of the true catholic and universal Church. They have never been assailed, except on purely rationalistic grounds. Even the objections urged against them on this score, when thoroughly sifted, have been shown to have no basis in true reason. They are the offspring of a depraved heart and mind. They have been advanced over and over again, and as often refuted and repudiated by the Church. There has been scarcely a novelty or supposed improvement in regard to any of these doctrines—surely none of any moment for the last three centuries—which has not quickly been found to be the disinterred skeleton of some thrice-slain heresy, tricked out in the drapery of a new and fashionable philosophy. Every plausible substitute for any of these doctrines has again and again plead for acceptance, or, at least, for allowance within the Christian Church, and as often been tried and condemned, and cast out. This is true of all the heresies which impugn or vitiate the doctrine of the trinity, the incarnation, the fall and corruption of man, vicarious atonement, spiritual regeneration, a judgment to come, the resurrection of the body, and eternal retributions. All these are so fundamental in the Christian scheme, they are so presupposed in all the workings of spiritual life and Christian experience, that their denial has ever been deemed a virtual rejection of Christianity itself.

If, then, the Bible, in the apparent meaning which it conveys to candid and unprejudiced people, and in the unwavering judgment of the Christian Church, after applying every test, and weighing all objections over and over again, contains these doctrines, is it now to be assumed that we cannot know whether they are true? Is it real progress, either in theology or practical religion, to treat these as unsettled and dubious?

Let us look at the consequences of such an assumption. It is a virtual confession that it is impossible to know what are the vital truths which God has revealed in his word, on believing and obeying which he has suspended our eternal destiny. If his own people have not been able to ascertain them in eighteen centuries, then we may well despair of discovering them. If

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their agreement, after the most thorough inquiry, as expressed in their confessions, private and public, their prayers, through life and in death, as to what the Bible teaches, does not indicate what the essence of Christianity is, then it is surely past finding out. But, to say that we cannot tell what Christianity is, is to surrender the whole field to infidels and sceptics.

Besides, it palsies or kills all preaching. The substance of the preacher's message, as given by the great Head of the Church, is, "he that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned." But how can a preacher denounce eternal damnation upon men for not believing or obeying that, of the truth of which he is uncertain, or which he deems liable to be proved false by the next adventurer in theological science? No man who has a conscience can do it. The result is, that religion is impossible. No one can know what it is, or how to preach and exemplify it.

Moreover, such a view vacates the work of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Ghost, in purifying the heart, illuminates the mind. He regenerates and sanctifies men by the truth. He gives them an unction that they may "know all things." It is in perceiving, feeling, and loving these things, that the Christian life has its being. It consists in knowing or spiritually discerning God and Jesus Christ, and the things which are freely given us of God. As He sanctifies by the truth, and the truth is one, so it follows, that as to all that is vital in Christian experience, the Holy Spirit will work faith in one and the same truth, in all Christians. Otherwise he is not a spirit of truth. The fact that any class of doctrines have always been steadfastly espoused by the people of God, affords the strongest possible presumption that they are taught by that Spirit who is the author of the Bible, and of all evangelical holiness. Were it not so, we can hardly see how he would be more a spirit of truth than a spirit of error. We, of course, in all this sort of remark, speak of the true people of God, and not of those apostate Christian communions from which they are commanded to come out, that they may not be partakers of their plagues.

Withal, the opinion that it cannot be known what Christianity is, and that the Church may yet learn that she has essen-

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it?" asks the errorist. "You say that my mode of defending Christian doctrine overthrows it. I retort the charge. I think the same of yours. Who then is umpire? Who shall decide when doctors disagree? Are you infallible?" To this we can only say, that each one is put upon his personal responsibility to God, in the last resort. "Every one of us must give an account of himself to God," for what he condemns and what he approves. For ourselves, we would take the responsibility of saying, that whoever defends the doctrine of the Trinity by making the three persons *mere* dramatic instruments of revelation, denies that doctrine. Whoever defends the doctrine of human depravity and spiritual regeneration, by asserting in man a plenary ability or "power of contrary choice," whereby he is adequate to make himself holy, vitiates, if he does not destroy, the whole doctrine of sin and grace, and seriously corrupts and weakens experimental religion. And we stand ready to abide the awards of the judgment day, in reference to such a judgment. We put these cases simply to illustrate our meaning.

In close relationship to the fallacy we have been exposing, is a fatalistic notion which figures largely in German Pantheism, and which we detect floating, not only in much of our secular, but even in some of our religious and theological literature. It is in substance this:—Whatever is, is good for the age and people among whom it exists. Whatever opinions spring up in a given age are true for that age. Thus truth is, of necessity, variable and progressive. What we call sin, too, is good for the times and persons that are polluted with it. It is a necessary stage of moral development, or of progress towards moral perfection. It is obvious that on this system nothing is true or false, good or evil in itself; that there is no room for a moral sense; that the most atrocious crimes can be easily exculpated; that all opinions which come into vogue are sufficiently vindicated by the fact that they exist; there is no standard above the fluctuating opinions of corrupt and short-sighted man, by which we can try and condemn even the most blasphemous sentiments; that the normal authority of the Scriptures is destroyed, and that the most unlimited licentiousness of opinion and conduct is fully sanctioned. To this category we are obliged to refer much of the popular declamation which makes the impulses of

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the popular heart, and the spirit of the age a test or standard of truth and righteousness. It is obvious that, on such a principle, conscience and the Bible are dethroned, nearly all preachers of righteousness have done wrong in denouncing popular sins and errors, and Christ and every other martyr have died in vain. Of like paternity, too, is the "intuitional" theology now growing into vogue. This makes consciousness the source and standard of truth. Hence, truth is as variable as that consciousness in different men, and in the same man at different times. It is clear that this system fulfils the purpose of its authors. It destroys the certainty of truth, and the authority of revelation, and every other standard beyond each man's likes and dislikes.

The near affinity of this type of thinking to the radicalism which makes such havoc with education, and with all the great ordinances of God for human well-being, is apparent. We need not dwell upon it at length, especially as many of the topics involved have been discussed in detail in our pages. But all must see its close connection with the patent methods of education styled "productive," "analytic," and we know not what else, which discard the process of committing to memory the great principles and rules in the several branches of study, in the words which have been elaborated, to express them aright, by the wisdom of ages; which first put the pupil upon a process of investigating and discovering each rudimental truth, as if nothing had already been certainly discovered and established; which, "instead of storing the memory, at the age when that is the predominant faculty, with facts for the after exercise of the judgment, make boy-graduates in arrogance" and crude, superficial knowledge. Neglect of catechetical instruction and Christian nurture is a necessary consequence, not only logical, but actual, of which we have abundant and melancholy evidence. Such progress brings us to the infidel maxim, that we have no right to give a bias to the religious views of our children, for as nothing is certainly known on the subject, they should be left to work out their own religious problems, without any antecedent guidance or predilection. All established creeds, of course, fall under the like condemnation.

Civil government, the family, the tenure of property, those

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great ordinances of God for the social regulation of man, without which this fallen world would become a universal Sodom, are not to be endured if they cross the schemes of these reformers, or become the cause or occasion of evils when perverted by fallen man. How often husbands abuse wives, and parents, children! Dissolve, then, all single families. Form whole communities into one household. Divide them into phalanxes and groups. Let the mutual relations and duties of all parties be regulated by taste and inclination. Thus let the evils of the family state be done away. Such is one radical reform proposed. It is not reformation, but destruction. For one misery that it would alleviate, it would gender a thousand now wholly unknown. Every experiment thus far has proved that if a house is not large enough for two, much less is it large enough for a hundred families. Woman, too, is sometimes abused and oppressed. Therefore she must hold "Women's Rights Conventions," to assert for her sex all the prerogatives and duties of man, thus openly defying the explicit commands of God. We have read before of those who take counsel together against the Lord and his Anointed. "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision." Truly it is safe to predict, that if those engaged in this mad enterprise should succeed, they would strip woman of that high and benignant influence which she now wields in the sphere which God has assigned her; they would cast her down from the elevation to which Christianity has raised her; they would debase and render miserable both sexes, and urge back society to heathen and barbaric degradation.

And need we speak of those who are ready to shatter the union of these States to fragments, because it tolerates domestic slavery within its borders? Of others who have repudiated Christianity and the Bible, because the apostles did not treat the holding of slaves as a bar to Christian communion, and an evidence of irreligion? Shall we speak of the larger number who have set up this anti-apostolic test of Christian character, and term of fellowship? who insist that the first duty of slaveholding States is to abolish slavery, although in their present state it should involve the ruin of both races, instead of preparing their slaves for ultimate emancipation, by discharging

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the duties to them as rational, accountable, and immortal beings, which the Bible enjoins?

Need we speak of the agrarian principles inculcated, on the plea that every man has a right to a place to live upon, as if this had ever been denied to any but those who expiate their crimes on the scaffold? It is doubtless true, that while man is a depraved being, the holders of property will sometimes abuse their trust, and oppress the poor. Yet the Bible contemplates the perpetual existence of these two classes, and prescribes their respective duties. The remedy for the abuses of property is not in the destruction of it. We can conceive of nothing that would be more fatal to all industry and thrift, that would more completely blight and paralyze society, (the extinction of religion alone excepted,) than insecurity in the tenures of property.

Such remedies are worse than the disease they offer to cure. There is no real remedy for the distempers and woes gendered by sin but the Christian religion—the blood that takes away its guilt, the Spirit that purges away its pollution. These will afford such mitigation of the woes of humanity as is possible on earth, and the complete final exchange of them for the bliss of heaven. They will purify, and sweeten, and bless every human relation. They will clear away all that is unjust, oppressive, and galling, from the relation of ruler and subject, husband and wife, parent and child, the rich and the poor, master and servant, employer and employee. Even in regard to the vexed question of our country, what else or better can we do than to diffuse that godliness which hath the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come, among masters, and servants, and all the people? This, and this alone, will ensure the rendering unto servants that which is just and equal. This being done, in time only the form of bondage will remain, and even that will disappear whenever religion, justice, and humanity require it. As to those methods of dealing with this subject which proceed on the unscriptural assumption that the holding of slaves is *per se* sinful, we may safely challenge those who adopt them to point us to any fruits they have yet borne, but the clusters of Sodom and the grapes of Gomorrah—sundered churches, the national Union imperilled, increased severity

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towards slaves, frantic apprehensions on the part of masters, desperate and often successful efforts to extend the area of slavery; Garrisonian infidelity, "doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, supposing that gain is godliness." These are the triumphs, such is the progress, thus far achieved by this supposed advance beyond the scriptural standard of morality on this subject.

Our readers now will be at no loss to understand how we would answer the question, Who are the true progressives? They are the men who believe, love, and obey, and do their utmost to lead others to believe, love, and obey the truth as it is in Jesus; not merely a misnamed "spirit of truth," which varies with every man's caprice, and discards all fixed, objective doctrines, laws, and standards of belief, but the "doctrine according to godliness," which has guided, sanctified, and consoled Christians of every age and nation. Other foundation can no man lay. This faith of God's elect, and not some denial of it on pretext of amending it, is that tree of life whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. It brings life, peace, blessedness, to the soul of the individual. It purges away the disorders which human depravity breeds in the workings of the beneficent institutions which God has ordained for the preservation, increase, and improvement of our race. It is the salt of the earth, which penetrates every sphere of humanity, and effectually antagonizes against its corruption. That this is so, all history is a swift witness. In brief, the first condition of progress in good, is to "hold fast that which is good." The more rapid the train, the firmer must be the track.

As to that counterfeit progress which deems innovation to be, of course, improvement—which thinks to do God and man service by spreading scepticism in regard to the essentials of Christianity, by abolishing or weakening subordination, government, the family, or the security of property, or by attempting social and civil revolutions for mitigating or removing evils which Christianity alone can mitigate or remove—we think we have shown its true, though, it may be, unconscious tendency. It is a progress simply of descent towards anarchy and infidelity, barbarism and heathenism. We would as soon commit

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the custody of man's dearest interests to a "Cyclops with one eye, and that in the back of his head."

In conclusion, we would commend to the consideration of those who are striving to leaven the Christian republicanism of America with an infusion of European Socialism and Red Republicanism, and to retouch the Christianity which planted and moulded our institutions, and has thus far been their glory and defence, with the chameleon hues of German Transcendentalism, the following testimony of a living French writer. Not having the original at hand, we give it as we find it extracted from the preface of M. Chevalier to the thirteenth edition of "De Tocqueville on the Democracy of America." It is the voice of one speaking from the midst of the workings of the very principles which some are labouring with such zeal and industry to import among ourselves:

"It is easy to show how much the *success* of the democratic republic in the United States *is due to the religious feeling of the people.* In Europe most of the disorder in society has its origin in the domestic circle, and not far from the nuptial couch. Frequently the European finds it difficult to submit to the powers of the State, only because tumultuous passions agitate his own dwelling, and that he is there a prey to the uneasiness of the heart or the instability of desires. In the United States the residence of the citizen is the image of order and of peace. North America, according to the unanimous opinion of all who have visited it, is the country where the conjugal tie is most appreciated. This good state of morals in America has its origin in religious faith. Religion would probably be powerless to restrain man in the presence of the temptations with which he is assailed by fortune; but it reigns supreme over the mind of woman, and it is woman who forms public morals. As long as Americans shall preserve the severity of their moral conduct, they will preserve the democratic republic. If their morals become relaxed, if they become vicious, it will be because religion has been deprived of its authority. Instead of a free nation, there will be a degraded mass, governed by the corrupt rich. Republican institutions may exist in name, but the name will become a deception. It will be like the Roman republic, which

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existed in name under the Cæsars, but the reality of which had completely disappeared.

"In the United States religion also governs the mind, restrains it in its aberrations, and thus becomes a guaranty of the duration of the republic. Everybody in the United States professes religious dogmas. The small number who are not sincere Christians affect to be so, lest they should be suspected of having no religion. Christianity, therefore, has an external adhesion which is unanimous. The result of this is, that in the moral world *every thing is fixed*, although the political world may appear to be entirely given up to discussion and rash experiments. The human mind, in the United States, has not before it an unlimited space; however bold it may be, it feels that there are insurmountable barriers before which it must stop. Hence it happens that in all classes there is a certain restraint, either voluntary or the result of force."

ART. III.—*Moral Æsthetics; or the Goodness of God in the Ornaments of the Universe.*

THE power and wisdom of God appear in so forming the eye and adapting it to the element of light as to make us capable of vision; but his benevolence is manifested in adorning the earth with such scenes of majesty and beauty as minister delight to every beholder. His power and wisdom are seen in so constructing the ear as to render us capable of distinguishing sounds. His benevolence appears in making us alive to the voice of melody and gladness.

The argument, on the illustration of which it is now proposed to enter, has nothing whatever to do with the grosser and more obvious uses of hearing and vision. It is much more limited. We shall regard the sights and sounds of the creation, only as they are beauties and melodies. We shall contemplate them only as so many illustrative tokens of the Divine goodness; and if reference be made to any utility which they may possess beyond that of being a manifestation of God, it is to a spiritual not a material utility.

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The whole earth teems with truth. Every object is a divine index, meant to point us to the invisible God. There is a theological expression in the face of nature. Not only are there geological features, and agricultural uses, and mineral treasures, but there is a divine significance in this earth of ours. It is intended to be a permanent and perspicuous testimony for God; and the religious contemplation of its beauties has from the beginning, ministered to the spiritual edification of the wisest and best men, who living have breathed on its bosom as a mother, and dead, have reposed in its kindly embrace. No one can be altogether insensible to the Psalmist's exulting celebrations of its spiritual teachings; or to the lessons of holy wisdom which the ample page of the creation opened to the ardent gaze of Paul. Not only are the enduring objects of nature significant, the everlasting hills, the stars shining as brightly now as at creation's dawn; but the variable aspect of earth and sky, now veiled in tempest, now smiling in light, and robed in beauty and breathing repose, soft as an infant's slumber, it teaches that although justly offended, God is yet placable. If the darkened sky, the desolating flood, the rushing wind, the tumultuous ocean, and the flaming volcano indicate the righteous indignation of the Most High, surely the tranquil beauty of the summer evening, the soft brilliancy of the shaded sun, the tender lustre of departing day, the sweet sound of waters flowing gently—surely these were designed to tell us of his love. And when we pass from nature to Scripture, we read in words of truth and grace, that "drop as the rain and distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass," how he has been pacified towards us by the sacrifice of his only begotten Son, and how this most gracious and divine Redeemer, "is made unto us of God, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption;" and how "a man shall be as a hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest, as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

The constitution of the human spirit has not been so wondrously fitted to the constitution of the external world by accident. The spirit of beauty was not shed so profusely upon the material universe, and the sense of beauty on the conscious

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majesty, the witness of his eternal power and Godhead. So that in every object, whether invested with grandeur, or apparelled with gentle beauty, may we read the authentic name of God, whether in "the fragrance of the breathing flowers," or in the majesty of the untrodden and primeval forest. What an image of grandeur and repose is a noble mountain range, with its outline undulating "as if touched by a tremulous hand," but, therefore, all the more delightful and dear to the imagination and the heart!

God has every where put his name on the works of his hands; in the bursting seed, the springing corn, the waving grass, and the modest flower, as well as in the headlong torrent, the thundering cataract, the giant Mississippi, with its sullen and angry roar, or Niagara with its "eternal thunder and unceasing foam." He hath spoken not only in the voice of the tempest, but in "the silence that is in the starry skies;" not only in the rushing, mighty wind, that tears from its firm foundation the mountain oak, but in "the sleep that is among the lonely hills."

In beauty and grandeur, the works of nature infinitely transcend the works of art; in other words, the works of God are incomparably superior to the works of man. Even when examined by the most powerful microscope, this difference is perceptible. No flaw can be found in the minutest works of God; but on the contrary, on the closest inspection, they exhibit beauties unsuspected before. What are the elaborate decorations of a regal hall, compared with a stately tree, growing in the wild majesty and graceful luxuriance of nature? How noble a forest of such trees, and how insignificant the finest statuary beside them! What painter can paint like God? What are the finest tints that man can give to canvass compared with the golden glories of the rising or the setting sun? In the defence and confirmation of this view, the sacred authority of the Lord Jesus himself may be invoked. "Consider the lilies of the field how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet I say unto you that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." Matt. vi. 28, 29.

We rise, then, to the conclusion that the creation, properly regarded, has not only a manifest adaptation to the grosser necessities of our nature, but an inspired and immortal signifi-

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the eye of man, of any creature, shall never behold them so beautiful, where no other than his own all-beholding eye shall ever rest upon them, or rejoice in them? Why has he done all this, but to please himself; to make them serve no meaner purpose than directly to show forth the profusion of his bounty, the exuberance of his love? And what an endearing exhibition, what an ennobling view, what a transcendent testimony of the Godhead is here! *He* loves to hear the song of the birds, which never falls on the listening ear of man. He delights in the minstrelsy of the brook as it flows on in its subterranean passage inaudible to us, or "wanders at its own sweet will," far away from the habitations of men, among the clefts of the rock, or pours its unheeded murmurs on the secluded valley, making music only in the ear of God. His eye delights to rest upon the grassy mound, the retired vale, the mossy couch, the hidden violet. He hearkens to the grasshopper's chirp, and watches the silent growth of the daisy, far down in the dell. "How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O Lord! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings. They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house, and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures." Psalm xxxvi. 7, 8.

God has built the universe for his monument, for his palace, for his temple. He has crowded it with wonders, and crowned it with a diadem of beauty. Above he has spread the unmeasured and vaulted sky, "sown thick with stars." Below he has covered the earth with a carpet of the richest embroidery, refreshing the eye with alternate changes from the delicate green of early spring, to the vivid splendors of summer; then deepening to the sober tints of autumn, in their turn, to give way to the more radiant brightness of the ice-clad, winter earth, the trees now leafless, but arrayed in snowy robes, and shining with pendants of silver.

So proud was an ancient architect of the work of his hands, that he secretly wrought his name upon the cornice of the building, and so skilfully was it done, that although at first invisible, and surmounted by another inscription, it ultimately stood forth revealed. Now God has written his glorious name upon the universe, the work of his hands, the memorial of his invisible

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where hailed with sensibility so enlightened and profound; it is no where associated with sentiments so pure and sacred, by the Greek poets as by the Hebrew bards, as in the Scripture given by inspiration of God. To the pagan Greeks, nature was a cold, dead thing. She became "a thing of beauty, a joy for ever," only when touched and transfigured by the finger of God, the pen of inspiration.

There is, confessedly, a different tone in the descriptions of nature, which we find scattered through the early Christian writers, from that which prevailed in the most feeling and tasteful of the orators and poets of profane antiquity. The latter often described the visible forms of nature with admirable truth and beauty. But they perpetually betray a want of elevated sentiment, of indivisible and delightful association, between the forms of nature and the feelings of the soul. Like the impotent astrologers at the court of Belshazzar, they beheld the hand writing of God, but they knew not the interpretation thereof. While they ignorantly made of nature a God, and transferred to the creature the homage due of right only to the Creator, it is plain that they did not understand the best lessons, that they did not enjoy the best influences of nature. The whole process is described with something more than mere philosophic accuracy, even with inspired authority and insight, by the apostle Paul, in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools. Not liking to retain God in their knowledge, in righteous judgment he gave them up to believe a lie. Their moral deterioration affected their intellectual apprehension, corrupting their judgment and degrading their taste. This diversity in *the tone* of Christian and Pagan writers, will be evident to any one on a comparison of the passages in which Cicero and Virgil have described nature, with corresponding passages in the works of the Christian Fathers, especially Basil the Great, and Chrysostom.* An illustration more familiar, but equally just and decisive, is presented by the difference of sentiment which prevails in the poetical works of Milton and Homer. Nothing can be more vivid, animated, and delightful, than the Homeric

* For particular examples of which see Humboldt's Cosmos, Vol. ii. Part 1.

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descriptions of the forms and forces of nature. We fancy that we can see his "well-ordered gardens," that we are admitted to the councils of his chiefs, and that we can descry the dim outline of the figure of the old man as he walks in silence along the shore of the far-sounding sea. But what we lack, and what we long for, with all this, is the association of spiritual sentiment.

The quality of which we speak, as distinguishing the poetry of Milton from that of Homer is not confined to him. It is not even confined to England. It is characteristic of the descriptions of nature, which we find in all the cultivated and Christian States of modern Europe, of France, of Italy, of Germany, and of Spain; not less, or scarcely less, than of England. Milton is a peculiarly religious poet. He was a peculiarly religious man. He shows this, even in his fierce political pamphlets. We have called them political pamphlets, with no disposition to disparage them, but simply because as such they were originally published, as such they were originally regarded and read, as such they were praised and blamed, prized and hated, received with execrations and hailed with delight. Though written for a temporary purpose, they carried within them the seeds of perpetuity the "ethereal and fifth essence,"—"the breath of reason itself, the precious life-blood of a master spirit." They are in truth profound philosophical treatises on the origin, the objects, and the ultimate grounds of civil government. They are the noblest defences of rational and regulated liberty in existence. They have done more for its propagation, and defence, than armies, and battles. His two tracts entitled the Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, and a Defence of the People of England, did more to discredit tyranny and uphold freedom in the world than the battles of Marston Moor, and Naseby. But their crowning glory is their exalted spirit of evangelical devotion. Whether writing on education, on history, on doctrinal theology, on personal topics, or on party politics, Milton always wrote religiously. Some of the most impressive prayers ever written by uninspired man, prayers full of devout affection, of holy ardour, of divine unction, are introduced in the midst of discussions on sacred and civil polity—topics which we know from daily experience may

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be handled by professedly religious men without one spark of holy feeling, or one sentence of devotional enthusiasm. No competent reader can rise from the perusal of the bitterest of his controversial writings, not even that famous and fatal Answer to Salmasius, without a higher sense of truth and duty.

On the question of his religious orthodoxy, we do not think it necessary to enter. At one period of his life he may have been an Arian; but at no period of his life was he indifferent to the subject of religion. Religion animates and exalts; it literally inspired his earliest poems, and it continued to burn with steady flame, but with ever growing brightness to the close of life. The same spirit of piety breathes through the Comus which glorifies the Paradise Lost. Religion pervaded and moulded his whole spirit. It was "the master light of all his seeing." But religious as was the time in which he lived, and the men with whom his lot was cast or chosen, religious as were his thoughts and works, the Christian element does not more thoroughly pervade and imbue the Paradise Lost, the greatest poetical effort of the human mind, than it does the earlier and less elevated poem of Dante, the Divina Commedia.

In conception and in execution, the Paradise Lost required a greater combination of rare qualities; more universal learning; more knowledge of truth and fable, of Christian theology and Rabbinical literature; more speculative knowledge of man; more practical acquaintance with men, because more exact discrimination of characters widely different; more exquisite appreciation of art; more exalted enjoyment of nature; more genial and expanded sympathy with the human race; above all, more creative imagination; more of the plastic and potent genius requisite to master and mould, to assimilate and adapt all these varied treasures, than was ever before demanded by any theme, or exhibited by any poet. What an ear for melody, what an eye for beauty, what a soul for truth must have been his!

The most difficult elements which his plan required him to deal with, were the supernatural beings introduced as speaking and acting; and in the management of these agents, his success is without precedent or parallel. His angels, good and bad, retain sufficient resemblance to men to be recognized as

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creatures, and excite a human interest. But projected from a higher ground, they rise above the ordinary level of humanity, and yet how insensible, how consistent, how grateful their elevation! what harmony of proportion, what distinctness of outline! "The force of nature can no further go" than in the conception of the chief of the fallen angels, the "archangel ruined," "the excess of glory obscured." How unlike all previous representations of Satan! What theological fidelity united with poetical elevation meet in the lost archangel! What innate and invincible affinity for evil in his fallen nature! What despotic wickedness in the very core and ground of his moral being! How gigantic and dread his purposes of mischief! What desolation and vastness in his agonies, and yet what defiance in his defeat! what grandeur in his despair! In the whole range of poetry, the only character that will bear comparison with the Satan of Milton, is the Prometheus of Æschylus; and how abject is the latter, chained to the rock and complaining of his physical tortures, compared with the "bad eminence" of that being "who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms:" and who, even in the last extremity, derives a certain dignity from indomitable intellectual pride, and strength of will! We do not compare the Divina Commedia with the Paradise Lost, therefore, in any other point of view, than as possessing in common with it, and in as large measure, the religious spirit. This diffusion of exalted religious sentiment is alleged and insisted on, to show that it is not the attribute of a particular mind, or the growth of a particular region, or the product of a particular age; but the effect of a common cause—Christianity.

After all, however, this discussion may appear to many very excellent persons, idle and profitless. Never accustomed, themselves, to associate the glories of the creation with Christian sentiment, they look upon any endeavour to throw a religious colouring over the material universe, with suspicion and dread. In vindication of the view taken, it may be enough to say to such persons, your views of the nature of man and the designs of Providence; of the agencies ordained for our nourishment in knowledge and love; of the exalted sympathy with God in judgment and feeling which it behoves us to cultivate; your views on all these high themes are not only defective, but, what

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you little suspect, they are contrary to pure religious doctrine, to right religious feeling, and to the manifest will of God. It is, indeed, truly modest in us to say that he shall create and spend the virgin Sabbath of the world in the pleased and propitious contemplation of what we, forsooth, are too enlightened and holy to think or speak of! Shall he make these things, and endow us with a capacity to appreciate and enjoy them, and shall we, with churlish and cynic pride, refuse to make delighted mention of his perfections and praises, shown forth in these his works? What a wilful obscuration of the glory of God—what a monstrous perversion of true theology and genuine religious sensibility is here!

It is plain, that the world would have been very different from what it is, if such persons had planned it. They would have clothed nature, not in the variegated vesture of God, not with that glory greater than Solomon's, to which a greater than Solomon has pointed us, but with a suit of sober drab. Instead of that fountain of visible glory, the sun, which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race, whose going forth is from the end of the heavens, and his circuit unto the ends of it—instead of this magnificent luminary scattering his unprofitable beams on the barren rock of Seriphus and the glowing sands of Sahara, there would have been a very economical and convenient contrivance to dispense the necessary *modicum* of light, and no more. There would have been no delicate streaks announcing his coming, no lingering beams on the purple mountains at evening; no cloud with golden fringe or bosom bathed in pearly light; no faint, receding, scarce distinguishable vapour floating in the azure sky and lost in its impenetrable depths. There would have been nothing of all this, because it serves a purpose which they have never contemplated, it ministers to a want they have never felt, it manifests a trait which they neither possess nor value.

All this rich tracery of the heavens, this delicate intermingling of light and shade, this effulgence "poured forth profuse," not only on flower and gem, but on the unshapely rock, and the unsightly waste—all this is not necessary to the comfortable existence of man in this world, to the common purposes of life,

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to the performance of our plain duties here, and a saving preparation for heaven hereafter.

Proceeding on this principle, they might rob the lilies of the field of that glory which our Saviour commended as beyond the reach of art; and while the stars in their world would shed as much light as might be deemed convenient, there would be in their beams nothing of

"That tender light which heaven to gaudy day denies."

They would be ennobled by association with no sentiment of natural beauty, or of moral grandeur—with the midnight prayer of the prevailing Patriarch—with the mystic lore of Chaldea and Egypt—with the shepherds of Bethlehem—the song of the angels, and the infancy of Jesus.

In the eyes of every Christian, our argument would derive additional interest and value, from being manifestly susceptible of application to the word, not less than to the works of God. There is, however, the less necessity for dwelling on this aspect of the subject at present, as it has recently been developed at large, and with admirable eloquence, by Dr. Hamilton of the Scotch Church, London, in his tract on the Literary Attractions of the Bible. It will suffice, therefore, for our present purpose, merely to indicate this interesting application of the argument.

The Author of nature is the Author of Scripture, and he has followed the same plan in his works and word—in the construction of the universe, and in the inspiration of the Bible. As he has beautified the one with islands, and mountains, and seas, and stars, so has he adorned the other with pathetic narrative, gorgeous description, and amazing incident—with the legislative wisdom of Moses, the lyric outburst of Miriam, the hoar majesty of Job, the evangelical elevation of Isaiah, the mystic splendors of Ezekiel, the pathetic beauties of Jeremiah, the manifold and many-toned melodies of the sweet singer of Israel. And then when we pass from under the august and awe-inspiring shadows of the legal and Levitical economy into the sweet and soul-subduing manifestations of gospel grace, within the veil of the New Testament—when we pass, as it were, with downcast eye, and reverent wonder, and chastened joy, into this Holy of Holies, the more immediate pavilion and presence chamber of

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God manifest in the flesh, and listen with rapt attention and loving spirit to those wondrous words of truth and grace which first began to be spoken unto us by the Lord, and were treasured up and told over again, and then committed to inspired and imperishable record—we think the argument rather rises in power and in preciousness; and we can find fit analogy, not in the tarnished beauties of this present world, which, with its "faded splendor wan," must be renovated and purified before it can become the permanent habitation of God's elect, but rather in the unpolluted garden of Eden, in which grew every tree pleasant to the sight and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. It is plain, that instead of this accumulation of poetry and beauty, this attractive exhibition of the treasures of heaven, this sweet and touching sentiment, this expressive and graceful allegory, this grand and stirring description, laying the world that now is, and the new heavens, and the new earth, alike under tribute, to furnish forth a revelation suitable to the majesty of the Lord of Hosts, the whole Bible might have been constructed, in a form as bare and didactic as the ten commandments; though even these, it should be remembered, were ushered in by Jehovah descending on the awful mount, girt with glorious majesty, attended by an innumerable company of angels, and enthroned in a cloud, whence went forth his fiery law. Whether, therefore, we look at nature, or Scripture, we find that God uniformly recognizes the existence, and appeals to the sense of beauty.

In closing, it may be well to add a word in illustration of the practical bearing of this subject. It is evident that a mere sentimental admiration of nature, such as Rousseau, Shelley, and Byron gloried in, is not what piety and truth demand. A sanctified sensibility, formed not on the visible and material splendors of the universe alone, but on its divine origin and spiritual significance, is what our Saviour himself and all his inspired servants exemplify and commend. The works and the word of God should never be dissociated in our thoughts. Every Christian should assiduously cultivate in himself the habit of hallowed association. A man may have a constitutional susceptibility to the beauties of nature, while he is wholly forget-

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ful of her Maker and Lord. Like the wretched Shelley he may even write himself "Atheist" among the most stupendous works of God. Let a taste for nature therefore be cherished, but let it not be divorced from the truths, the hopes, and the sanctions of the Christian revelation. This earth derives its chief importance from its connection with redemption by Christ Jesus. The Bible and Christian literature throw over the face of nature grander and more lovely lights than those which stream upon her from the sun and stars. The works of Milton, Cowper, Watts, and Wordsworth, may not only refine and exalt our taste for the glories of this visible world, but be made ministers to devotion; and as the Hebrews bestowed on the Tabernacle of Jehovah jewels of silver and jewels of gold borrowed from their Egyptian neighbours, so may we turn to pious and profitable use the beautiful descriptions of nature which embellish the writings of men, many of whom, it is to be feared, were themselves destitute of evangelical taste and sentiment. It is a wise and holy alchymy which thus transmutes base metals to gold.

There surely cannot be a higher wisdom than to see God in his works, nor a more sacred duty than to teach men to do so. The constant inculcation of this lesson is an eminent characteristic of the Bible. The Bible looks upon the world as God's world; it recognizes his hand and his counsel in all that he does or with high Providence permits to be done. The first truth which it reveals is, that "in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," thus destroying at a single stroke all false and fabulous cosmogonies, and placing the universal empire of God on an impregnable foundation. The Apostle declares that we cannot attain unto the adequate and fruitful knowledge of this great truth, save by the exercise of faith. "Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God; so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." The devout and believing reference of all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them to God, as their Creator and Sovereign, is a distinguishing mark of a soul anointed with the unction of the Holy One, and imbued with the wisdom of the just.

It is lamentable indeed to see men deeply read in the laws of nature, familiar with her phenomena and her forces, unable

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or unwilling to discern a personal intelligence presiding over all her mighty works and mysterious processes. It is not often, however, (as in the case of Humboldt in his Cosmos) that we see men who have made important contributions to science, stopping at the threshhold, and surveying only the magnificence of the outer temple; refusing to bow down before the inviaible presence of the Divinity within. For the most part, it has been left to the vain pretenders to a knowledge of the mysteries of science, to avow themselves without hope and without God in the world. It was long ago remarked by the great prophet and pioneer of our modern science, that "a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion."

The inconceivable glory of the heavenly world is a thought which arises almost inevitably in the Christian mind, on a survey of the ornaments of the creation. If God has made this world, which is only his footstool, so beautiful, what will heaven, the habitation and throne of his glory, be! If this earth, now cursed for man's sake, and dishonoured by the foul pollutions of sin, is still so lovely, what visions of joy must it have presented, what garments of beauty must it have worn, when clothed in virgin innocence, with the blessing of its Father and its God resting freshly upon it!

Sin is a blot on the creation; a deformity, a monster, a madness, which our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ will ultimately banish from this redeemed and renovated world. The creation is subject for a time only, and not willingly to this chain of corruption. There is a perpetual protest against the hateful presence of sin on the part of God's irrational creatures. By their cruel wrongs, their helpless sorrows, their partial joys, their tarnished, but still most touching beauties, they protest against the sin of man, which hath cast a shadow alike over the face of nature and over the providence of God. "For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now: and not only they, but ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit; even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body." Rom. viii. 22, 23.

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ART. IV.—*The Bards of the Bible*, by George Gilfillan. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

ANY work which tends to recommend and endear the Scripture, to produce a veneration for its doctrines and a keen sense of its beauties, should be welcomed with pleasure. When among other excellencies, we consider its sublime and beautiful poetry, we wonder not that men of the most refined taste, and the most correct judgment should discern higher attractives in the volume of inspiration than in all the celebrated writers of antiquity.

Bishop Lowth seems to be the first that discovered and developed the true nature and genuine source of Hebrew poetry, and that illustrated its beauties and sublimities by comparing it with the productions of Greece and Rome. Afterwards Herder undertook the subject with still more enthusiasm. He readily entered into all the thoughts and feelings of the Hebrew poets, caught the spirit which they breathed, chaunted the songs of Zion as they did, and seemed so much of an Israelite, that in reading his writings, he appears as a spirit that lived in their days, and who was sent to teach us how men then thought, and felt, and acted. And, in the work before us, another attempt is made to illustrate the literature of the Bible; not to present an elaborate and learned criticism, but to exhibit its beauty as uttered in the language of poetry. Its author, the Rev. Mr. Gilfillan, is a member of the "United Presbyterian Church in Scotland." He has attained eminence by his various contributions to periodicals, and by his "Gallery of Literary Portraits," which has been widely circulated; and is every where acknowledged a man of genius and imagination, capable of dazzling by his brilliancy, and of making an impression by his descriptions. In this work there are many instances of beauty, many strong flights of fancy, many interesting sketches of character, and several expositions of Scripture that are novel and ingenious.

But it is not our intention to analyze or minutely to criticise the work. If it were, we might speak of the general manner in which it is written, as implying a deficiency in that gravity and seriousness which become such a subject. We might com-

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plain of the intermixture of so many other themes with the sacred subject before him; of the frequent digressions into the fields of general literature; of the constant mingling of the modern poets with the sacred penmen. We might also refer to the Millenarianism which is scattered through the work, and which is, at the close, so prominently brought forward. Overlooking these and other things, we confine our attention to the style in which is it written.

Style is the peculiar manner in which one expresses his conceptions by means of language—a picture of the ideas which arise in his mind, and of the order in which they are there produced. It has a free and spontaneous origin, and a living connection with the thought. Just in proportion as it is good, it is characterized by the simplicity and freedom of nature—it is clear, and as a medium, shows the object distinctly; when somewhat elevated, it is warm and glowing, like the rays of the sun; in its highest state, it is rich and beautiful, like the works of creation. And like those works, it is variegated according to the different classes of subjects, the different ages of the world, and the different periods of life. A sense of congruity or propriety teaches us that a literary performance intended only for amusement is susceptible of ornament. But on the other hand, a serious and important subject admits of less decoration; a subject which in itself fills the mind with loftiness and grandeur appears best in a simple dress; it

"Needs not the foreign aid of ornament."

But whatever the style be, whether (according to the division made by the ancients) plain, or temperate, or sublime, it must, if good, be the true and genuine manner of expression that is suited to the mind of the individual; formed by nature and flaming spontaneously.

Applying these remarks to the work before us, we cannot but condemn its style as faulty and vicious.

It is *too inverted and transposed*—we say, too inverted; for there is an inversion in sentences which may sometimes be used with advantage, and which gives liveliness and force. Campbell, in his Philosophy of Rhetoric, presents two or three instances from our version of the Scriptures—"Silver and gold

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have I none"—"Great is Diana of the Ephesians." For blank verse, such inversion is peculiarly fitted for its loftiness and elevation, harmony and cadence may be regarded necessary. But in a prose work, to indulge in it to such a degree as to make it its characteristic style, is an evidence of affectation and conceit.

Such is the style of the work before us. It is constructed (for it evidently could not flow spontaneously) upon the Latin order and arrangement, without sufficient regard to the difference of the two languages—an imitation of those writers in the Elizabethan and succeeding age, who freely employed the liberty of inversion, and often sacrificed perspicuity and ease. Such a style is now regarded obsolete, and he who attempts to revive what was laid aside at the time of Dryden justly incurs censure. From the time of this writer, who did so much to form our language into its present state, his arrangement has been generally adopted as the best and most natural for expressing our sentiments. After having existed for nearly two centuries, can it be easily laid aside? After the most valuable treatises in every art and science have employed it, shall men arise and say that it is too mean a vehicle for the loftiness and fervour of their conceptions? A Carlyle, with all his originality and richness of thought cannot succeed; the attempt will issue in producing only a dialect in which the beauties of the English language will be sacrificed to quaintness and obscurity.

Another serious fault in the style of the work before us, is that it is *too florid.*

A writer may make ornament an object of regard, and if he have thought to sustain it, attend not only to the choice of words and the arrangement of his sentences, but also to that figurative language which his fancy suggests, and his subject admits. In the use of figures consists much of the beauty of language; they enrich and dignify it, bestow upon a sentiment a graceful dress, and make it eminently conspicuous. They also throw light upon a subject, and present the object in a clearer and stronger view than when simply expressed. They give a body to spiritual objects, and make them seen and heard by the sensible images which they delineate.

But care must be taken lest these ornaments occur too fre-

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quently or be applied unseasonably. They raise the style, cause us to depart from the ordinary way of speaking, and prevent the distaste occasioned by a tiresome uniformity; but they must be used sparingly and with discretion, or they lose the grace of variety, in which much of their merit consists. Care too must be taken that they arise naturally from the subject; that they flow of their own accord; that they be always suggested by a sprightly imagination or an awakened passion. Without this they have a bad effect; they are seen to be unnatural and far fetched; to have been carefully sought after, and designedly introduced.

To cautions like these, founded in nature, the author of the work before us pays but little attention. He aims at expressing every thing in a high-wrought, brilliant and splendid style. We are continually meeting with rich and gaudy ornaments; perpetually dazzled with the splendor and glitter of expression. Not that we would intimate that this splendor is a substitute for sentiment; that manner is intended to supply the deficiency of matter. There is a body of lively and ingenious thoughts under the figured language, calculated to entertain and instruct. But these thoughts the author seems willing to sacrifice to the ill-timed ornaments which occur to his fancy, and which detract from the weight and dignity of the matter. Such florid diction will impair the usefulness of the work, and prevent it from pleasing long, and from being read a second time. It may transport and excite the reader when it is first read, but at length occasions a kind of surfeit which will forbid a second perusal; like highly seasoned food, which gives the liveliest pleasure when first tasted, but which frequently disgusts on repetition. However pure and sweet the honeycomb, who would wish to make a frequent meal upon it?

Nor to the expression alone is this glitter confined; there are many thoughts bright and sparkling, but there are too many—their very numbers hurt and suppress one another, as Quintilian somewhere says, like trees planted too near together. Like too many figures in a picture, they occasion confusion, and being luminous and sparkling, they brighten its dark parts too much, so that there is a want of contrast and relief.

All this extravagance has the effect of drawing off our atten-

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tion from the subject to the style; of giving us the impression that the author is more anxious about his manner of saying things, than about the things themselves; while he is perpetually pointing out and forcing upon our attention what is remarkable and striking, we become wearied at his constant and studied efforts. It is not disagreeable to the mind to be occasionally roused by a powerful stroke, but it suffers a smart when the blows are continually repeated.

It is the more remarkable, that with the pure simplicity of the Scriptures continually before him, the author should have so profusely indulged in florid diction and pompous declamation. It is like Nero's gilding the statue of Lysippus.

We make another remark, and it is applicable to all who adopt this mode of writing. Throughout the work there is a seeming *disregard of all rules and directions*. Such directions, we know, have been multiplied to such a degree, and so insisted on, as to cramp genius and make the style frigid. We should never forget that nature, and not rules, is the basis of all good writing. But surely, precepts founded on good sense and reason may be useful in bringing to perfection the advantages received from nature in the art of writing, as in music, architecture, painting, or sculpture. The author of the work before us, like some in private life, who despise all regulations in manners and good breeding, sets at naught all such rules, and seems to regard the application of them as needless and injurious. His imagination, strong and lively, hurries him forward with impetuosity, without the appearance of reason to guide and govern it. All things appear to be said that first offer themselves to his mind, and said just in the way that he pleases. Hence multiplied instances of several metaphors meeting on a single object, the mingling together of metaphorical and simple language, the heaping up of figures one upon another, so as to produce confusion, the admission of figures of passion where there is no warmth. Hence the introduction of several new-coined words, which are not found even in Webster's Dictionary. Hence the continual use of antiquated, obsolete, and new-compounded words, tending to produce a barbarous dialect. All this savours of affectation, and shows the perpetual effort and struggle that are made to produce a style that will surprise and startle.

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We know that we are condemning a mode of writing which has been exceedingly admired and commended—the *fine style*, which, leaving the old beaten track, has high claims to originality. There are those who will be satisfied with nothing else; who will be pleased with nothing but what strikes by its novelty, and dazzles by its glare. But we hesitate not to say that it cannot obtain the approbation of the judicious and discerning; that it is opposed to all classical purity. He has not a correct taste who is pleased with exuberance of finery and excess of ornament. True taste makes use of the imagination, but instead of submitting, always keeps it in subjection. It invariably consults nature, follows it step by step, and deviates not from its path. In the midst of abundant riches, it is sparing in dispensing beauties and graces, and acts with wisdom and discretion. It knows precisely how far to go, and where to stop; what to add, and what to retrench. In a word, it invariably inclines to noble simplicity, natural beauties, and a judicious choice of ornaments.

Let young men who are receiving a liberal education, and preparing for public action, ever remember that simplicity of thought and expression is the true mark of elegance; that nothing accords with correct taste but what is easy and natural; that the best style is that which is opposed to the affectation of ornament and the appearance of labour. Let them practise the precept which the oracle of Delphos gave to Cicero, "follow nature;" let them, if they have imagination, be rich in figures; but let all flow from them without effort; let the mode of expression clearly intimate the manner in which the sentiment was conceived in the mind. Let them read the writings, and become familiarly acquainted with the style of the best authors. But let them not confine themselves to the purest models in their own language. Let them study the classics of ancient Greece and Rome, and from them learn how to write. Their customs and laws have changed; their actions gone, never to return; their states and empires have comparatively but little of our concern, but good taste, which is grounded upon immutable principles, is always the same; and among these ancient authors it is found in perfection; they are its depositaries and guardians. Their works have stood the test of time, have lived

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through the revolutions of the world, have continued to please in every climate, under every species of government, through every stage of civilization; and therefore present the purest models of taste. Let them study the sacred Scriptures, the sublimest book that was ever written, and yet the most simple in thought and expression. Thus acting, they may acquire that ease and natural manner which is so distinguishing an excellency in writing; which shows the author in his own character, without art or disguise. There is an advantage which friends derive from the works of such a writer, when he is taken from them by death; he lives not only in their affectionate hearts, but also in that rich legacy which marks his character. The friends of Dr. Dwight still read his writings, distinguished for graceful familiarity and ease, and can hear him conversing with them, as he once did, in the parlour, and in the recitation room. And the pupils and friends of the Patriarch of our church who has lately been taken from us, have the privilege of conversing with him, in the writings he has left us, so peculiar for simplicity, bearing his own "image and superscription." We find the same unaffected manner of instruction, the same gentleness and tenderness which so feelingly impressed us, and we exclaim, "he being dead, yet speaketh."

ART. V.—*The Book of Revelation, expounded for the use of those who search the Scriptures.* By E. W. Hengstenberg, D.D., Professor of Theology at Berlin. Vol. I. Berlin, 1849. 8vo. pp. 632.* Vol. II., Part 1, 1850, pp. 405; Part 2, 1851, pp. 230.

A foreign work on the Apocalypse, from almost any pen whatever, would be welcome, just at present, as a grateful relief from the monotonous confusion of vernacular expounders. There are some subjects which the Germans have worn thread-

* Die Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes für solche die in der Schrift forschen erläutert von E. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. und Professor der Theologie zu Berlin. Erster Band.

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bare, so that we cannot hear them quoted or appealed to without a feeling of impatience, and a wish to hear American or English authorities in preference. But among these subjects we are not disposed to reckon that of prophecy in general, or that of Apocalyptic exposition in particular. These have already been so roughly, nay, so violently handled by interpreters and prophets of our own, with such surprising unanimity of predilection for the theme, and such distressing want of it in the result, that we are ready to give ear to almost any voice, however feeble or anonymous, that speaks upon the subject from a distance and without participation in the previous strife of tongues. To such a voice from Germany our ears may be particularly open, on account of the comparative reserve with which the learned of that country have discussed the subject, and the small extent to which what they have done is known among ourselves.

If these considerations would incline us to regard with some curiosity and interest any German work of recent date upon the subject, how much more must we be anxious to discover the discoveries of such a man as Hengstenberg, the ablest of the German exegetical writers, as well as the best known among ourselves. It is needless to enumerate the circumstances which would naturally tend to excite this expectation. He was once a rationalist, and was brought to a fixed belief in Christianity by the critical study of the Bible itself. There is no man less liable to the reproach of believing as his fathers did, simply because they did believe so. His natural inclination is to extreme independence, and so far as human authority goes, to self-reliance. He never hesitates to throw aside the most time-honoured opinions, if he finds them to be groundless, with a decision always peremptory, often dogmatical, and sometimes arrogant. This characteristic quality of mind, while it cannot fail, in certain cases, to excite disapprobation, at the same time gives peculiar value to his testimony in behalf of old opinions, as the genuine product of his own investigations, and not a mere concession to authority.

Another striking feature in his writings is their spirit of devotion and the proofs which they afford of deep experimental knowledge. The great doctrines of the Trinity, atonement,

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and justification by faith, are evidently not held as mere speculative truths, but interwoven with his highest hopes and strongest feelings. Whatever may be his precise position with respect to the points of difference between the Lutheran and Calvinistic creeds, there can be no doubt that he holds fast to the doctrines of grace with as much tenacity as either Luther or Calvin; and that in reverence for Scripture, as an authoritative revelation, he is not a whit behind those great Reformers. His views of inspiration are particularly suited to command our confidence, when contrasted with the loose and vague opinions held upon that subject by Neander, and to some extent made current even here by his authority.

But besides the essential qualities of personal piety and general orthodoxy, there is something in the intellectual character of Hengstenberg that would naturally lead us to expect much from him upon such a subject. His turn of mind is eminently logical or rational. We know of no expositor in any language who so constantly and clearly states the reasons of his judgments. These, though sometimes erroneous, are always definite; distinctly apprehended by himself and clearly exhibited to others. At the same time, he possesses what is not always found in connection with this attribute, a remarkable power of generalization. If called upon to characterize his writings by selecting one distinctive feature, the first that would occur to us is the rare combination of minute exactness with entire freedom from all *petitesse*, and a strong taste and capacity for large and comprehensive views of truth. Nor do these views, generally speaking, exhibit anything of that poetical and dreamy vagueness which the Germans will persist in calling philosophical. So far is he from this extreme that he has sometimes been accused of having an English rather than a German mind; and although in the last half of the twenty years which have elapsed since he appeared as an interpreter of Scripture, there are some indications of a wish to wipe off this reproach, the attempt, if actually made, has been but partially successful. The change, so far as any can be traced, is rather in the style than in the mode of thought, and even in the former is confined almost entirely to the terminology. He talks more in his last than in his first publications of "the idea" and of ideality in

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general; but he has tried in vain, if he has tried at all, to write obscurely, or to get rid of his common sense. The reproach, if such it must be called, of being an English thinker, is one which he will carry to his grave.

Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret.

Of Hengstenberg's learning we should not think it necessary here to speak, but for the fact that his standing as a scholar does not seem to be correctly understood by all among ourselves who are familiar with his name and his translated writings. In Germany, his philological talents and acquirements are rated at the highest value, even by some who dissent most widely from his theological opinions. His writings are peculiarly distinguished for the rare lexicographical talent incidentally displayed in his interpretations. Had he chosen to devote himself to this branch of philology, he would probably have taken rank above Gesenius, whom he equals in industry and judgment, and in several other requisites surpasses.

Besides possessing erudition in general and philological learning in particular, he is specially fitted for the task which he has here undertaken by his thorough knowledge of the Old Testament, acquired not merely by solitary study for a score of years, and public labour as a teacher in that department, but by the preparation of the works to which he owes his reputation, the Christology, the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, the book on Daniel, and the Exposition of the Psalms, with his minor but important publications on Tyre, Egypt, and the Prophecies of Balaam. These tasks have forced him, as it were, to master the Old Testament completely, and have brought him more particularly into contact with the very books and passages on which the exposition of the Apocalypse must rest; whereas some of the most eminent interpreters of that book, even in Germany, though accomplished Grecians and New Testament critics, are without reputation or authority in Hebrew learning. The advantage which this gives him, is not merely in reference to the language and interpretation of the Old Testament, but to the order of investigation. Instead of beginning at the end of the New Testament, divining its import, and transferring the precarious conclusions thus obtained to the Old Testament, he

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has pursued the natural and rational order, first mastering the Hebrew prophets, and then applying the result of this investigation to a book which, in form and language, might almost be called a cento of Old Testament expressions. And this, too, not by reading up for the occasion, but by the patient, thorough, and successful toil of many years. Every one in the long series of his published works, has made a sensible advance in his preparation for the task which he has now undertaken and accomplished.

To this task he has long been looking forward, as he tells us in his preface, where we also learn that the immediate occasion of its execution was a long illness, by which his public labours were suspended, and during which he made the book of Revelation the constant subject of his thoughts, so that the outlines of his exposition were complete before his restoration, and he had only to fill in the details. A peculiar interest is imparted to this above his other works, by the synchronism of its composition with the late events in Germany, affording to the author's mind abundant confirmation of the truth of the predictions in this book of Scripture, and the correctness of his own mode of explaining them. The same cause has contributed to modify the form of his interpretation, so as to render it accessible to the whole class of educated readers, by transferring what is merely philological and critical from the text to the margin.

A book thus generated, could not fail to be highly interesting and instructive, whatever might be thought of the author's exegetical conclusions. And accordingly we find that, apart from the truth or falsehood of the meaning which he puts upon the prophecy, the volume is full of valuable matter. The text of the Apocalypse is adjusted with the utmost care and skill, according to the most approved principles and usages of modern criticism, with constant reference to the latest helps and best authorities. Of the text thus ascertained, we have a new translation, executed in that accurate yet spirited style for which the author is distinguished. We have also a translation, and in many cases a masterly exposition, of the most important passages, both of the Old and New Testament, cited as proofs or illustrations. This is a characteristic feature of the book, and of the author's habitual unwillingness to take for granted, or at

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second-hand, any thing that requires or admits of direct and fresh investigation. The facility with which even eminent interpreters too frequently rely upon the labours or authority of others, as to these incidental but important matters, and content themselves with laying out their strength upon the questions more immediately before them, renders more remarkable this incidental part of Hengstenberg's exposition, which, we do not hesitate to say, has added less, though much, to the bulk of the volume, than it has to its permanent and sterling value.

What has just been said applies not only to the explanation of particular passages or texts, but also to the clear, and in many cases, new and striking views incidentally presented, as to the scope and character of whole books, and their mutual relations. These are the more entitled to respect as the result of long continued and profound investigation, not of mere generalities, but of the most minute details. As we have not room to exemplify this general statement by quotation, we must be content to justify it by referring to the various suggestions, scattered through the volume, with respect to the mutual dependence and close concatenation of the latest canonical epistles, which are still too commonly regarded as detached and independent compositions, and the corresponding mutual relations of the latest prophecies. These passages are particularly interesting from the skill with which some of the very repetitions and resemblances, adduced by skeptical critics as proofs of spuriousness and later date, are not only shown to warrant no such inference, but used as illustrations of the organic unity and settled plan which may be traced throughout the Scriptures, and which stamp it as a multiform but undivided whole.

From what has now been said it will be seen that, in our judgment, this would be a valuable addition to exegetical literature, independently of the principles on which the Apocalypse is there expounded, and the results to which the exposition leads, and to which we must now turn the attention of our readers. In so doing, we shall not confound them or perplex ourselves, by any attempt at a comparison or parallel between the views of Hengstenberg and those of others, but simply state the former, leaving such as feel an interest in the history of the interpretation, to distinguish for themselves, as far as they are

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able and desirous, between things new and old. We may, however, note the fact in passing, that the writer most frequently cited in this work is Bengel, although there are occasional quotations from Vitringa, Bossuet, and the modern works of Ewald, Lücke, Bleek, and Züllig. Of the vast apocalyptic literature extant in the English language, the only trace we find is a rare quotation from Mede, or reference to him, and a correct but very general statement of the English millennarian doctrine as to one important passage. There is nothing more curious indeed in the theological literature of modern Germany, than the general silence, if not ignorance, of its learned men, as to the history of opinion in Britain and America, except where some eccentric or anomalous vagary of belief and practice has been accidentally or otherwise transplanted to the continent of Europe. It is sometimes as amusing as it is instructive to read thorough, clear, and masterly analyses of such fungous excrescences as Darbyism, Irvingism, Southcotism, &c., even in systematic works which are entirely blank as to the controversies and discussions which have agitated England and America for many generations, with respect to the doctrines of atonement and regeneration. In the present case, however, this blissful ignorance of Anglo-Saxon deeds and doctrines, on the part of one of the most learned Germans of the age, is an advantage, and a strong recommendation of the work, because, as we have said, it records the independent testimony of a great exegetical writer on a favourite subject of our own interpreters, yet without the least direct collision or collusion.

With respect to the author of the book of Revelation, Hengstenberg not only holds decidedly, but proves conclusively, that it was written by the man to whom a uniform tradition has ascribed it—John, the Apostle and Evangelist, the son of Zebedee, and the son of thunder. We mention this, which may to many seem a small thing in itself, or at least a work of supererogation, because a vast amount of misplaced ingenuity and learning has been spent by certain modern German critics in the effort to demonstrate that the book, if not the work of John Mark, which is Hitzig's paradoxical assumption, was composed by another and inferior John, or by some nameless writer

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of a later date. In this, as in other branches of apologetical theology, new forms of opposition call for new modes of defence, and the German front of infidelity can no more be resisted by the same means that disarmed the French philosophers and English deists, than a modern fortification can be carried by the rams and catapults of ancient warfare. The time was when all this might, however, have been left to be managed by the Germans in their own way, on the principle of letting the dead bury their dead. But now, when cheap translations of such books as those of Strauss are brought into extensive circulation, and made still more dangerous by the general tendency to German laxity of thought and principle with which the public mind is now infected, it would be something worse than folly to ignore the existence of the evil, or to despise the homogeneous remedy which Germany herself affords us, in the writings of her learned, orthodox, and pious men. To these remarks, which have a more important bearing on the general subject, than on the particular question which occasioned them, we merely add, in reference to the latter, that while it is satisfactorily disposed of in the introduction, a more detailed discussion of it is contained in the supplementary dissertations which accompany the last volume, and to supply the place of what is usually called an Introduction. This inversion of the customary order was occasioned in the present case, as in that of the work upon the Psalms, by the impatience of the author or the public for the appearance of a part before the whole was finished.

Another controverted point, on which he takes decided ground, and forcibly maintains it, is the period of John's life at which the book was written. This he denies to be the reign of Galba, when Jerusalem was still standing, when the chief persecutions of the Christians were begun and carried on by Jews, and when the errors fostered in the Church were those of Jewish origin and character. In opposition to this chronological hypothesis, he clearly shows that the unanimous testimony of the ancients, properly so called, is, that the Revelation was imparted during John's exile in the isle of Patmos, near the end of the long reign of Domitian, many years after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Jews, as a nation and a church, had ceased to

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exist; when their influence on Christianity was no longer felt, at least directly, and when the evils which assailed or threatened it, both of a physical and moral kind, proceeded from Gentile spite and heathenish corruption. The answer given to this question has, of course, a most important bearing on the whole interpretation, and virtually solves many minor exegetical problems.

We need scarcely say that Hengstenberg rejects with scorn the notion that the Book of Revelation is a mere poetical fiction, or an allegorical description either of past events or of the contemporary state of things, and regards it as being, in the highest sense, a prophecy, intended to exhibit in the most impressive form the future fortunes of the Church, under precisely the same inspiration which gives authority to the predictions of the Old Testament. As to the form of this great prophecy, he understands it to be borrowed from the Hebrew Scriptures, and especially from two of their most prominent and characteristic features, the ceremonial institutions of the law, and the symbolical imagery of the prophets. So far from understanding these in their original and proper import, as descriptive of a state of things like that which existed under the old economy, he supposes the apocalyptic prophet to have used them for the very reason that the old economy was gone for ever, and that its external forms might therefore be employed, without the danger, or at least without the necessity of misapprehension, to express the realities which they did in fact foreshadow.

From this it follows, as a general principle of Hengstenberg's interpretation, that the names and numbers of this book are all symbolical; that no mere man, with the unavoidable exception of the prophet himself, is expressly mentioned by his proper title; that Antipas, and the Nicolaitans, and Jezebel, &c., are all enigmatical descriptions; and that the usual computations, as to years and centuries of real time, are (with the grand exception of the Millennium,) a mere waste of arithmetic. The simple statement of this theory will no doubt quite destroy the interest which may have been previously felt by some in the details of the interpretation. As the office which we have assumed is not that of an advocate or judge, but a reporter, we feel no obligation to defend or to determine the truth of this hypothesis. We

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only wish that we could spread before our readers, on a smaller scale and in a manageable compass, the remarkable display of biblical learning and analogical reasoning, by which the author himself here maintains it. As it is, however, we can only hint, that by combining the acknowledged cases of symbolical representation which the book contains, with the extraordinary proofs of unity and systematic purpose, which, if not in every instance novel, are at least presented in a new light, and urged with a new power, he succeeds in making out a case which nothing but the blindest prepossession can deny to be plausible, and which nothing but the clearest and the strongest counter evidence can demonstrate to be false.

Another law which governs his interpretation is derived not so much from an induction of particulars in this case, as from the whole course of his previous prophetic investigations. The result of these, as is well known to the readers of his other publications, is, that the Old Testament predictions, as a general thing, are not so much descriptions of particular events, as formulas exhibiting sequences or cycles of events, which may be verified repeatedly, the costume of the spectacle presented to the prophet being borrowed from one or more of the particular fulfilments, which, however, are themselves to be regarded as mere specimens or samples of whole classes, genera or species, comprehending many of the same kind. This principle is here applied to the Apocalypse, which is therefore represented as a panoramic view of the vicissitudes through which the Church was to pass until the end of time, presented not in chronological order, but by genera and species, showing all the *kinds* of change to be expected, rather than the actual experience of single periods.

Closely connected with this view of the *subject* of the book is that which the author entertains as to its *structure*. The main fact which he assumes, in opposition to most interpreters, is that the Apocalypse is not a continuous prediction relating to successive periods, but a series of parallel predictions each including the whole history of the Church from the beginning to the end, but differing from each other in the figurative mode of exhibition and in the prominence given to certain objects in the several different parts respectively. This may be reckoned

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the essential feature of his plan, from which it derives its peculiar character, and is therefore entitled to a more particular description. The principle itself is defended *a priori* on the the ground of prophetical usage or analogy, and *a posteriori* from the consistency and clearness of its exegetical results. The whole book is divided into seven "groups," the theme of all which is substantially the same, to wit, the fortunes of the Church hereafter, *i. e.* from the date of the Apocalypse itself, and each of which affords a view, not of a part but of the whole. The differences between the groups are like those seen in the same landscape when surveyed from different points of observation, or through different media, or with very different degrees of light, so that what is dimly seen in one case is seen clearly in another; that which in one view occupies the foreground, is transported to the background in the next; the light is thrown on that which was before in shadow, and the mutual relations of the figures are indefinitely varied. Thus the Devil is not introduced at all in the earlier scenes, although his agency must be assumed from the beginning.

The first group is that of the Seven Epistles, co-extensive with the first three chapters. The second is that of the Seven Seals, which occupies the next four chapters. Then comes the group of the Seven Trumpets, filling also four chapters. These three groups or series are considered as preparatory to the four which follow. Then the Three Foes of the Kingdom of God occupying three chapters, (xii.—xiv.) The fifth group is that of the Seven Vials, (ch. xv., xvi.) forming a prelude to the sixth, (xvii.—xx.) in which the destruction of the Three Foes is predicted. The whole is wound up by the seventh group, (xxi. 1—xxii. 5,) that of the New Jerusalem, and a general conclusion, (xxii. 6—21,) corresponding to the opening of the book. In order to carry out this distribution, Hengstenberg assumes several episodes or interludes of considerable length, for which he thinks it easy to account on his hypothesis; one, for instance, comprising the entire seventh chapter, and another the tenth with a part of the eleventh.

These "groups," it will be seen, are not like the "acts" of a dramatic poem, to which others have endeavoured to assimilate the principal divisions of the book. The acts of a drama are

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and must be chronologically successive, each exhibiting a certain subdivision of the whole time of action, and none including the denouement or catastrophe, except the last. But according to Hengstenberg, each group contains a drama in itself, and each winds up with a catastrophe, or rather with the catastrophe common to them all, after which the scene is shifted, not for the purpose of continuing the action, but of recommencing it, and, in one case at least, going back to a point of time still more remote than that at which the series began at first. At the same time, all these parallel predictions, although each is self-contained, are connected with each other as the links of one chain, which would be broken by the loss of either. This may be rendered clearer by a rapid glance at each of the first four groups in order. The general title or inscription is contained in the first three verses, where the book is described as a revelation, made to John by Jesus Christ himself, of things to be soon accomplished, which Hengstenberg understands not merely of the incipient fulfilment, but of the first of those distinct fulfilments, which were to follow one another in a series, or cycle, to the end of time.

The remainder of the first chapter constitutes the special introduction to the first great division of the book, the Epistles to the Seven Churches, namely, those in and over which John's apostolical ministry was immediately exercised for many years, and through which the instruction here afforded, though directly adapted to their actual condition, may be rightfully extended to all times and places, without any gratuitous assumption of a typical or double sense, beyond what is involved in the nature of the case. The description of our Lord, contained in this introductory chapter, is supposed to have an intimate connection with what follows, the images presented being such as were precisely best adapted both to comfort true believers, and bring sinners to repentance, so that this vivid exhibition of Christ's majesty and justice, is a kind of emblematical summary of what is afterwards expressed in words.

The Angels of the Seven Churches, Hengstenberg denies to be either guardian angels, or mere messengers, or diocesan bishops, or individual pastors, but regards them as ideal representatives of the ministry, eldership, or governing body in the

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several churches. In this connection, he briefly but decidedly repudiates the doctrine of Vitringa and his school, that the Christian Church was organized on the model of the Jewish Synagogue, which, at least in its details, was a human institution of no great antiquity, whereas its real model was the simple patriarchal eldership, which lay at the foundation of the whole theocratical system, and yet was suited, in itself, to both economies or dispensations.

The Seven Epistles themselves are then explained as introductory to the prophecies which constitute the subject-matter of the book, and as intended to prepare those immediately addressed, not only for the following predictions, but for the events predicted, by exhibiting the spiritual nature of the gospel, and its bearing on the hopes of individuals, as well as of the Church at large; of which the readers of the book might easily have lost sight, in the blaze of prophetic imagery, by which so many have in every age been blinded to every thing except the mere outside of Christianity. Thus understood, the striking dissimilitude between the Seven Epistles and the rest of the Apocalypse, instead of indicating different writers, or incongruous and wholly independent compositions from the same pen, is really a strong proof of unity of purpose, because it places in the forefront of the prophecy the very corrective which was necessary to preserve it from abuse.

One point, upon which Hengstenberg lays great stress, as a key to the true date, and also to the just interpretation of the book, is the total and obvious unlikeness of the state of things described or pre-supposed in these epistles, to that which we know to have existed at the time of Paul's labours in the very same region. The points of difference which he specifies are, first, the declension of the churches in proconsular Asia from the warmth of their first love, and that strength of faith, so frequently commended in Paul's epistles; and secondly, the entire disappearance of that Judaic form of Christianity which caused so much perplexity to the preceding generation, until swept away by the destruction of Jerusalem.

The first epistle to the Church at Ephesus describes that Church as zealous for the truth in opposition to heretical errors, but as having lost the first warmth of its spiritual affection, and

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therefore calls it to repentance. The Nicolaitans here mentioned are identified as Balaamites, or followers of Balaam, by an etymological affinity between the names, as well as by the nature of the heresy itself, as here described.

The Church at Smyrna is addressed in the second epistle, as alike free from great sins and great merits, and the exhortation to repentance is accordingly exchanged for an earnest admonition to be bold and faithful. The comparatively good condition of this church may have been connected with the ministry of Polycarp, which probably began long before the date of the Apocalypse.

The Church at Pergamus appears in the third epistle, not entirely free from Nicolaitan corruption, yet eminently faithful in the midst of severe trials. The *Antipas* here mentioned is supposed by Hengstenberg to be an enigmatical title, and he seems to concur in the opinion of an old interpreter, that it means *against all.* At the same time, he believes the person immediately designated by it to be Timothy, who suffered martyrdom in Asia about the time of John's residence in Patmos.

The church at Thyatira, founded perhaps by Lydia, Paul's convert at Philippi (Acts xvi. 14,) presents a kind of contrast to the church at Ephesus, which showed a commendable zeal against error, but had left its first love, whereas this was still maintained at Thyatira, but without sufficient firmness in withstanding error. Instead of the common text, *the* (or *that*) *woman*, in chap. ii. 20, Hengstenberg adopts Jachmann's reading, *thy wife*, which he explains to mean the weaker and more deceivable part of the community, by whose means a corruption of the truth had been admitted, here represented as false prophecy, and designated as of heathen origin by the use of the name *Jezebel*, the wife of Ahab, at whose instigation the unlawful worship of Jehovah, under the forbidden form of golden calves, was exchanged for that of Baal; so that Balaam and Jezebel may both be regarded as historical types of the corrupting influence exerted on the Church by heathenism.

In the fifth church, that of Sardis, we have still another phase of spiritual character and state presented, namely, that of a nominal or formal Christianity, without its reality and power,

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and an appropriate exhortation to the few who still continued undefiled, to strenghten what remained and was ready to perish.

The sixth epistle, to the Church in Philadelphia, contains the only instance, in this group or series, of allusion to the Jews as either persecutors or seducers, and encourages the feeble church to disregard the arrogant malignity of those who falsely claimed to be the Church of God by virtue of their natural descent, but who were really the "synagogue of Satan," a description which must surely be offensive to those Christians of our own day, who are not ashamed to dote upon the Jews as such. In opposition to this error, Hengstenberg understands it to be taught here and elsewhere, that there has never been more than one true Israel or chosen people; that this body, even under the old dispensation, was a mixed one, free access being even then afforded to all heathen proselytes; that this same body was continued afterwards, and is perpetuated now in the Christian Church, not merely as the antitype, but as the actual continuation or successor of the old Church, the uncorrupted part of which was the basis, nucleus, or germ of the new organization.

The Church of Laodicea is described, in the seventh and last epistle, as lukewarm, *i. e.*, neither heated by divine love, nor aware of its own coldness, but though really destitute of what was requisite to spiritual life and health, engrossed by the delusion of its own abundance and prosperity, from which it is exhorted to escape by repentance, and to seek supplies in Christ.

These epistles Hengstenberg regards as containing a direct historical description of the spiritual state of the principal churches where John laboured—a state, however, which was not peculiar, or confined to them, but may be renewed in any age or country. Hence, although as really adapted to the wants of those immediately addressed, as Paul's or any other apostolical epistles, they are at the same time indirect predictions of certain spiritual changes and varieties which the Church may be expected to experience, through all the periods of her earthly progress. It is therefore equally gratuitous to argue that because they relate to local and temporary circumstances, they have only a fortuitous connection with what follows; or on the other hand, that because they form a part of this great prophecy, the churches here addressed are not the churches which

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were really so called, but mere ideas, types, or emblematical descriptions of the Church at large, in its various spiritual states and aspects.

These internal vicissitudes are not those of any particular period or periods in the history of the Church, but may all coexist in different portions at the same time, as well as follow one another, at successive times, in the same part or in the Church at large. According to this theory, the Seven Epistles constitute a substantive prophecy, including the whole field of history, and when this is concluded, the prophet does not pass to a new period, but begins afresh, in order to exhibit the same thing in a new light, and to make other parts of his great subject prominent. This second group or series is that of the Seven Seals, in which the prophet is caught up into heaven, and there witnesses the convocation of a great assembly, with a view to the protection of the persecuted Church against its mortal enemy, the world. The disclosure of God's purposes is represented by the gradual opening of a book or roll, with seven seals, the removal of which, one by one, reveals a part of the great mystery. The instrument or agent in this revelation is the Son of God, who appears both as the Lion of the tribe of Judah, and as a sacrificial Lamb, not merely ready to be slain, but slain already. As the judgments thus prophetically threatened were to be inflicted in the present life, there was need of some assurance that the saints should not be sharers in them. This assurance is afforded in a form analogous to that of the antecedent threatening, by an episode which occupies the seventh chapter, and in which the Church is first assured of the divine protection in this world, and then of everlasting glory in the world to come. The final triumph of God's people and destruction of his foes is sublimely expressed by a single verse, which, according to the usual division of the text, is the first of the eighth chapter, but which Hengstenberg considers as the close of the second group or series. When the seventh seal was opened, there was silence in heaven, considered as the stage or scene on which this great drama was presented. The half hour does not denote the actual duration, but the time of the scenic exhibition which John witnessed. The silence itself is that of death to the enemy, of late so noisy, and of calm repose

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to God's afflicted people, "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

Having thus brought the prophetic history once more to its conclusion, the inspired seer begins again and traverses the same field in a third group or series, that of the Seven Trumpets. It is, of course, impossible by abstract or quotation to give any just idea of the learned and ingenious arguments by which our author vindicates this method of dividing and distributing the parts, against that preferred by many eminent interpreters, who, influenced perhaps in some degree by the accidental or conventional position of the verse at the beginning of the eighth chapter, suppose the seven trumpets, if not the whole remainder of the book, to be included in the seventh seal. The point to which his reasonings all converge, however, is that the starting-point, the stages, and the goal may all be distinctly traced and fixed in each of these divisions, which must therefore be co-ordinate and parallel, and cannot be related to each other as the whole to a part, or the genus to its species.

This new scene, or rather this new drama, opens with a vision of seven angels, each provided with a trumpet, which are sounded in succession, and at every blast a portion of the future is disclosed, precisely as at the opening of the Seven Seals. This exact correspondence seems to show, not merely that the seals and trumpets are mere scenic signs of revelation or discovery, but also that the things disclosed are substantially the same in either case. For if they had reference to successive periods, however different the events of those two periods might be, the divine communication of them to the prophet could hardly have been naturally represented by the opening of seals in one case, and by the blowing of trumpets in the other. On the contrary, if merely a new aspect of the same great period was to be presented, it was altogether natural that this varied exhibition of the same thing should be figuratively represented by a different mode of publication; and if the predominant feature in this new view was to be the prevalence of war, it could not have been more appropriately signified than by the blowing of the martial trumpet.

The seven trumpets, and the several disclosures which they represent, are so distinguished and arranged as to form two

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classes. The first four announce judgments on four great divisions of the world, to wit, the Earth, the Sea, the Rivers, and the Sky. These are followed by the flight of an angel, or according to the text adopted by the modern critics, an eagle, denouncing three woes on the earth, which are then successively promulged by the blowing of the last three trumpets. There is also a significant distinction with respect to the space alloted to the two bands of trumpets, the second being described with far more fulness and minuteness than the first. The supposition that this difference was meant to represent the last disclosures as more fearful than the first, may perhaps be considered as confirmed by the fact that the injuries announced by the first four trumpets are restricted to the third part of the earth, &c., whereas, in the other three, there is no such limitation.

To this group, as well as to the one before it, there is added an interlude, contained in ch. x. 1—xi. 13, and intended to strengthen both the prophet and the Church for the approaching trials. This is interposed between the sixth and seventh trumpets, as the other was between the sixth and seventh seals. At the end of the eleventh chapter, we have reached a point beyond which progress is impossible, the same point too with that at the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth, to wit, the final triumph and unresisted reign of God and Christ. Here then, according to analogy, the drama recommences, and a new group or series is begun, namely, that of the Three Enemies of God and his People. These are the Dragon, the Sea-Monster, and the Earth-Monster. We have first a vivid scenic exhibition of the enemies themselves. The dragon is the devil, in his belligerent and persecuting character. The two beasts or monsters are his representatives and instruments on earth. The sea-monster is the great opposing worldly power, presented, first collectively or in the aggregate, and then in the successive phases, under which the warfare against God and his people has been manifested. The land-monster represents that earthly, sensual and devilish wisdom, by which this great opposing power has at all times been seconded and strengthened. The description of these formidable enemies, (in ch. xii.—xiii.) is followed (in ch. xiv.) by an anticipated view of their destruction and the triumph of God's people, the full disclosure

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of this glorious issue being reserved for a later group or scene of the grand drama. The fifth group or series is that of the Seven Vials (ch. xv. xvi.,) exhibiting the seven plagues by which the beast, the godless worldly power, is accompanied, not at one time merely, but throughout all ages. This forms the prelude to the sixth (ch. xviii.—xx.), in which the destruction of the Three Foes of God and his Kingdom is depicted, beginning with the beast as the instrument, and ending with Satan as the prime agent. The seven heads of the beast denote as many phases of triumphant and God-defying heathenism; five of these, viz. the Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Macedonian, had already fallen at the date of the Apocalypse. The Church was then persecuted by the sixth, the Roman empire, the downfall of which is predicted in ch. xvii., and vividly described in ch. xviii. Chapter xix. opens with a triumphal song over this event, followed by another which anticipates the downfall of all other enemies. The ten horns on the seventh head of the beast are the ten barbarian monarchies which rose out of the ruins of the Roman empire. Having been used as instruments of vengeance, they are now themselves destroyed. This being the last phase of the Heathenish Ascendency, the two beasts themselves experience the same fate with their followers and adherents.

The prime foe, Satan, still survives, and is yet to have a temporary triumph; but before this he is bound and rendered harmless to the Church, now at length in the ascendant, for a thousand years, (ch. xx. 1—6.) It is rather unfortunate for the effect of Hengstenberg's interpretation, that while he confidently sets down every other number and measure of time in the Apocalypse as merely symbolical, he no less confidently represents the millennium of chapter xx. as a literal period of a thousand years. The grounds on which he vindicates this seeming inconsistency are chiefly these: that this whole group, unlike the rest, is chronological in character; that this number is repeated ten times, showing that it is to be strictly understood; and finally that ten and its multiples are sometimes used as round, but never as symbolical numbers in Scripture.

The millennium, according to our author, is the thousand years from the crowning of Charlemagne to the beginning of the

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present century. During this period the Church has been paramount throughout the civilized world, to the exclusion of heathenism in all its forms. Satan has not been allowed to tempt the nations back to their former state. But now he is unbound again, and the Church begins to be environed by the most malignant form of gentilism, not that of gross idolatry, but that of a malignant anti-christian infidelity, in its various phases of pantheistical neology, revolutionary democracy, and socialistic anarchy. In this part of the interpretation, it is easy to trace the influence of contemporaneous events in European and especially in German politics, which have evidently operated on the mind of Hengstenberg precisely as the great events of their times did on Bengel and Vitringa. In either case the great majority of readers will suspect that the proximity of these events has given them an undue magnitude in the expounder's field of vision.

This view of the millennium is one of the three salient points of Hengstenberg's interpretation. Another, really involved in this, is his indignant and contemptuous rejection of the theory which identifies the beast with Papal Rome, a theory, as he asserts, of modern origin, the product of temporary causes, and utterly untenable on any consistent principles of exposition. The third point is his similar rejection of all previous solutions of the enigmatical number of the beast which he maintains is explicable only from some scriptural analogy, since all the other symbols, types, and enigmas of the book may be distinctly traced to the Old Testament. The number of a man he explains to mean, not a number denoting a man's name, but an ordinary intelligible number. The number itself he finds in Ezra ii. 13, the only place where it occurs in conjunction with a name, which name he therefore holds to be the one intended, viz. *Adonikam*, "the Lord arose or has arisen," a formula expressing the arrogant and blasphemous pretensions of the beast.

With respect to the closing chapters, we need only add, that they contain the final overthrow of Satan, the judgment of his followers, the renewal of the present frame of nature rendered necessary by the banishment of sin, and the description of the New Jerusalem, or new condition of the Church under this

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altered state of things, which last is the theme of the seventh and concluding group or series.

The simple statement of our author's exegetical method and conclusions has more than occupied the space allotted to the whole subject, and must therefore be allowed to pass for the present without note or comment, the materials for which, we need not say, are abundantly furnished even by the meagre outline which we have been tracing for the information of such among our readers as have not access to the work itself. We state in conclusion that, although the book is far more popular in form than any of the author's earlier exegetical productions, a demand seems to exist in Germany for something still more suited to the wants of ordinary readers, and an abridgment by another hand, but no doubt with the author's sanction, is announced, and has perhaps appeared already.

Art. VI.—*Did Solomon write the Book of Ecclesiastes?*

Professor Stuart, in his recently published commentary on this book, comes to the conclusion that Solomon was not its author. Let us look at the grounds on which this conclusion is based. These, as presented by Professor Stuart, are three: (1.) The use of certain expressions which do not seem natural in the mouth or from the pen of Solomon: (2.) A state of the nation implied in Ecclesiastes different from that existing in the days of Solomon: and (3.) The style and diction.

Under the first head, Professor Stuart instances the following passages:

1. Eccl. i. 12, "I, the Preacher, was king over Israel in Jerusalem." Professor Stuart says, "The preterite tense here (I was) refers of course to a past time, and it conveys the idea that, when the passage was written, he was no longer king. But Solomon was king until his death, and could therefore never have said, 'I was king, but am not now.' Then again, how passing strange for him, as Solomon, to tell those whom he was addressing that he was *king in Jerusalem!* Could he

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suppose that they needed to be informed of this? But a writer in times long after Solomon might easily slide into the expression that Coheleth had been king."—p. 68. Shall we then admit that an *inspired writer*, (for such Professor Stuart distinctly avows that he considers the author to have been,) "might easily slide" into the use of language, put by him into the mouth of Solomon, which it would be so "passing strange" for Solomon himself to have used? Professor Stuart's hypothesis seems to us to conflict with the true and proper inspiration of the writer of Ecclesiastes.

But, *is* there any absurdity in Solomon's using such language? All acknowledge that this book portrays his experience up till very near the close of his life. It bears abundant marks of having been written by an aged man. Now what would be more natural for Solomon, at between sixty and seventy years of age, in describing, (for the use even of the generation then living,) a reign of forty years' continuance, than to preface his account of his experience by saying, "I was king over Israel in Jerusalem?" Every body knew that he was king. True, but so was it equally well known to every body that he had possessed gardens, and orchards, and palaces, and men-singers, and women-singers. But he had in view, not merely the generation then coming upon the stage, he wrote for all coming generations. He wrote, too, under a new name, a name chosen with special reference to the character of the work. In view of these circumstances it appears to us not only not "passing strange," but perfectly consistent and natural, to preface his account of his long and varied, and instructive experience by stating what his rank and office had been—"I, the Preacher, was king over Israel in Jerusalem."

2. Professor Stuart next instances chap. i. 16, "I acquired more wisdom than all who were before me in Jerusalem." "Doubtless, being a king," says Professor Stuart, "he compares himself with others of the same rank, *i. e.* with *kings;* and how many of these were in Jerusalem before Solomon? *One only*, viz., David. Who then constitute the *all?* It is only a later writer who would speak thus; and even such an one could so speak only by omitting any special reference to the incongruity seemingly apparent in the declaration as attri-

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buted to Solomon." If we understand Professor Stuart, he deems the incongruity not only *seemingly apparent*, but *actually real*. But does he gain any thing by attributing the book to a later writer (a writer under the guidance of inspiration) who still puts this same language into the mouth of Solomon? It seems to us not. But we apprehend there is no necessity here for imagining the existence of the slightest incongruity. It seems gratuitous to limit the remark to kings. Solomon was a man as well as a king, and he speaks here of *all that were before him in Jerusalem*. Besides, Jerusalem we know was a royal city in the days of Abraham, and again in the days of Joshua. What should hinder Solomon, when recounting his own wealth and wisdom and magnificence, from comparing himself with the princes who for ages had reigned in the same city, (and perhaps left there remains of their public works,) whether Israelites or not? In chap. ii. 8, he speaks of the peculiar treasure of *kings*. We naturally understand him as referring to the multitude of tributary kings over whom he reigned. These were gentile kings. Why, not, here as well, suppose an allusion to *non-Israelite* kings? To us it seems perfectly easy and natural.

3. Professor Stuart says, "In i. 16, ii. 9, 15, 19, he speaks of his *own wisdom;* and in this he tells us that he far exceeded all others. This was true indeed of Solomon; but it was hardly the dictate of *modest* wisdom to speak thus of himself. A later writer might well speak thus of him, although there seems to be some little incongruity in attributing the words to him." —p. 69.

But we would with confidence ask the candid reader whether *taking the whole narrative into view*, there is any thing here like "an air of self-magnifying." The writer frankly tells, in true Bible style, his excellences and his defects, his grandeur and his vanity. The *air* of the whole taken together appears rather to be that of humility in view of his whole experience. Besides, we would again ask, where is the difference between an inspired writer of a later age putting such expressions into the mouth of Solomon, and Solomon's writing them himself? For, as Professor Stuart says, p. 67, "the book purports by its title to be the words of Solomon;" and adds, "now no one of David's

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sons was *king in Jerusalem* excepting Solomon. Coheleth then was Solomon."

4. After a passing allusion to ch. iv. 8, which Professor Stuart understands to be only a supposed case, from which nothing could be argued, he mentions ch. iv. 14, (13) as a passage in which he thinks it "difficult to avoid the conclusion" that the writer speaks of Solomon as an "old and foolish king," and of Jeroboam as a "poor, but wise and prosperous young man;" and then adds, "this would sound very strangely in the mouth of Solomon." On this we would simply remark that it is yet to be proved that there is here any personal allusion whatever, or that the case is anything more than a supposed one like that in v. 8. Professor Stuart himself remarks in his commentary, p. 171, that "it is not absolutely necessary to make out any other than merely a case supposed by way of illustration."

5. He next proceeds to ch. viii. 8, where, as he remarks, "an adviser is introduced, who counsels the prudent course of obeying the king in every thing. This would not be strange for a king to say; but when one clause declares that the prudent individual 'must not hesitate or delay even in respect to a *wicked command*,' it would seem very singular to find Solomon thus characterizing his own commands. Then again, when the writer gives his own views of this matter of unlimited obedience in vs. 5, 6, he says that such indiscriminate and blind obedience will incur the guilt of sin, and bring the inevitable judgments of God upon him who yields it, vs. 7, 8. All this is hardly congruous with *kingly* opinions." Why not, with the opinions of a king divinely inspired? But the whole argument is here based upon a new rendering of the text; and we apprehend some of the Professor's readers will not easily be persuaded to substitute his exposition of verse 8, middle clause, viz. "hesitate not even in respect to a wicked command," in place of the old and strictly literal rendering, "stand not in an evil thing," *i. e.* "*persist not*," as Gesenius explains it in his Hebrew Thesaurus.

Professor Stuart next proceeds, partly under his first and partly under his second head, to speak of the state of the kingdom implied in Ecclesiastes which, in his view, "indicates a period very different from that of Solomon's reign." He refers especi-

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ally to the "oppression of the poor, and robbing him of justice," particularly on the part of judges and rulers. "In x. 4," says Professor Stuart, (p. 70) "he describes rulers as being passionate and excessive in their anger. In x. 5—7, he describes the ruler as 'setting fools on high, while the wealthy and princes occupy a low place, and act as servants of the fools.' In x. 16—19, he covertly speaks of rulers as gluttons, drunkards, and sluggards; and even in *blessing* such kings as are of an opposite character, he says the same thing in the way of implication. Can we now, in any way, suppose all these to be the words of *Solomon*, describing himself as a haughty, violent, unjust, tyrannical oppressor? Was he a glutton, a drunkard, &c.?" Again, p. 71, Professor Stuart says, "But, beyond this there was a general gloom that overspread all ranks and conditions in life. Wherever the writer turns his eyes he sees little, except vexation, disappointment and suffering." . . . He comes fully to the conclusion that 'the day of one's death is better than the day of his birth,' vii. 1. Does all this look like being written during the peaceful, plentiful, joyful reign of Solomon?"

In reference to this argument we remark,

1. There is evidence enough from the Scripture narrative that irregularities and corruptions existed to an alarming extent even during the best ages. The method by which Absalom stole the hearts of the people, as recorded 2 Sam. xv. 3—6, implies their existence during the reign of the pious and upright David. The same thing is implied by the speed with which Absalom's rebellion spread among the people. What was the character of Joab? And yet David sought in vain to get rid of him. What was the character of Solomon's own brothers, Absalom, Amnon, Adonijah? And yet "David's sons were chief rulers." 2 Sam. viii. 18.

2. Solomon himself in the Proverbs frequently alludes to the continued existence of such disorders. In Prov. xvii. 23, he speaks of the wicked, who "take a gift out of the bosom to pervert the ways of judgment;" in verse 26, of "punishing the just;" in xviii. 5, of accepting the person of the wicked, to overthrow the righteous in judgment; in xix. 5, 9, &c., of false witnesses; v. 10, of a servant having rule over princes; in xxviii. 15, he compares "a wicked ruler over the poor people"

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to a "roaring lion and a ranging bear," and in the following verse declares that "the prince that wanteth understanding is also a great oppressor." In ch. xxix. 2, he speaks of the wicked bearing rule; in verse 4, of a *king* accepting bribes, and thus becoming the cause of his country's *overthrow;* and in verse 12, of a ruler hearkening to lies. But why multiply examples? They show simply that in the writer's day such disorders were not unknown, that such cases *might occur;* and what they prove in Proverbs, just that and no more do similar passages in Ecclesiastes prove. In both they are introduced as illustrations of principles.

8. It was in Solomon's *old age* that his wives turned away his heart, 1 Kings xi. 4, and that he followed their abominations, and "did evil in the sight of the Lord." How much of injustice, oppression, and misrule, may have prevailed in the kingdom during those last years, and of how much Solomon himself may have been guilty, we are not informed. We know only that the people considered the yoke imposed by Solomon *grievous*, and insisted on a pledge of relief from Rehoboam on his accession. Now if we take the book of Ecclesiastes to be the expression of Solomon's penitent reflections, during perhaps the very last year of his life, all seems easy and natural.

We can hardly persuade ourselves that Professor Stuart is serious when he says, "The passage in iv. 17, [v. 1, Keep thy foot when thou goest into the house of God, and be more ready to hear than to give the sacrifice of fools,] speaks in such a way of temple-offerings and services as hardly accords with the views given in 1 Kings iii. 3, 4, 15;* viii. 5, 62—64; x. 5; xi. 7," especially when he quotes this last passage among those from which we are to learn the views of Solomon—a passage which records his shameful idolatry. As well, it seems to us, might we expunge Deut. x. 16, ("Circumcise, therefore, the foreskin of your hearts,") from the writings of Moses, on the ground of its clashing with the law of the literal circumcision. If it was congruous and natural for Solomon to write, "the sacrifice of the wicked is abomination," Prov. xxi. 27; and "to

* So Professor Stuart doubtless wrote. The printer has made him refer to iv. 15.

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do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice," verse 3; why not equally so for him to write, "be more ready to hear than to give the sacrifice of fools," Eccl. v. 1? Surely our commentator has in this instance very far overshot his mark; for if this argument proves any thing, it must prove that the author of Ecclesiastes would reject the offering of sacrifices *in general*, as a business worthy only of fools. Does Professor Stuart need to be reminded that what proves too much proves nothing?

Equally wide of the mark seems the next example adduced by the Professor. He says, "The peculiar passage in vii. 26—28, respecting the extreme *baseness of women*, seems hardly consonant with the views of him who had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, and who was devoted, as it would seem, more than any other Jewish king known to us, to amatory enjoyments. Another and later writer, who looked attentively at the history of the close of Solomon's life, might well speak of such women as were in Solomon's harem as he has done."—pp. 71, 72.

And why not Solomon himself when brought to repentance for his folly? Why not record his experience, that among his counsellors there was, occasionally, though very rarely, one tried and faithful friend, in whom he could repose entire confidence, but not one such among his thousand women? To us it seems highly improbable that *any other man than Solomon* should have ventured to pen such a sentence as the one under consideration—"One man among a thousand have I found, but one woman among all those have I not found."

We come now to Professor Stuart's third source of doubt as to the authorship of Solomon, viz., *the style and diction of the book*. In an earlier part of his Introduction, pp. 60—66, he has clearly shown that the greater part of what has been called *later Hebrew* and *Chaldaism* in Ecclesiastes is not such. On p. 64 he says: "Taking the amount of what is left, we find only some ten or eleven cases which may fairly be brought within the confines of later Hebrew. And even as to these, some doubt must hang over them. It cannot for a moment be assumed, that the present Hebrew Scriptures contain all the stores of the ancient language." In like manner, on p. 66, he

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sums up his remarks in reference to the *probable Chaldaisms*, "amounting to only some eight or ten words at most." And yet when he comes to consider the style and diction in reference to the question of authorship, Professor Stuart seems to feel very clear that they decide against attributing the work to Solomon. The principal evidence in this part of the argument is drawn from a comparison with the Proverbs. After remarking (p. 72) that "the subjects (of the two books) are exceedingly diverse," he very properly adds: "However, this would not prove much if it stood alone; for the same writer might change his theme." "But," he adds, "when we come to the *colouring of the style and diction*, it is impossible to make out any thing but the widest diversity." But we would ask, would not the change of theme naturally bring with it a change of manner? Especially might not this be the case if years had elapsed, and important changes taken place in respect to the writer? On p. 73, the Professor says, "What most of all distinguishes Coheleth from Proverbs is, that the former repeats beyond all example in the Scriptures certain phrases entirely *sui generis*, which never occur at all in the book of Proverbs. Such are, *under the sun, under heaven, I turned to see, I said in my heart*, and the like." For an excellent answer to this branch of the argument, we would refer the reader to Professor Stuart's own remarks on p. 62. After showing that *abstract* terms were demanded by the nature of the subject treated in Ecclesiastes, and consequently could not be depended on to prove a late origin of the work, he says: "The same principle will apply to the use of *under the sun* and *under heaven*, scarcely found any where else.* The great question in Ecclesiastes is, the vanity of *earthly things*. An adjective from *haarets* (earth) the Hebrew has not; and to make the so often necessary sense of *earthly*, the writer had to betake himself to circumlocution."

We know that Solomon gave himself during the early part of his reign to the pursuit of wisdom, and that during the latter

* This remark does not apply with equal force to these two phrases. The first, *under the sun*, is peculiar to this book. The second, *under heaven*, which occurs only thrice in Ecclesiastes, appears six times in Deuteronomy, a book which partakes with Ecclesiastes the character of a practical discourse, and to some extent of an experimental narrative.

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part of it he was sadly led astray. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Proverbs (except chapters xxx. and xxxi.) were committed to writing during the former period. Equally certain is it that Ecclesiastes, if written by him, must have been written very near the close of his life. It is easy then to suppose an interval of twenty years, or even more, between the composition of these two works. Any one who has studied the history of our own tongue is aware that there have been periods when during a single reign very marked changes have taken place in the fashionable language of the English court. In 1560 for instance, Arthur Golding could complain that

> "All good inditers find
> Our English tongue driven almost out of mind,
> Dismembered, hacked, maimed, rent and torne,
> Defaced, patched, marr'd and made a skorne."

Now, the Hebrew language as spoken at the court of Solomon must have been peculiarly liable to such changes, both on account of its close resemblance to the dialects spoken by the neighbouring nations, and on account of the unprecedented amount of intercourse maintained by Solomon with those nations, either as allies or tributaries.

Professor Stuart quite scouts the idea of attributing any considerable change of Solomon's style to his intercourse with *foreign women*. "Would Solomon, (says he, p. 73) in his old age, be likely to change his mother tongue? Had he respect enough for his women to become a learner of foreign languages from them? Would a mere momentary, casual intercourse with them such as his was, produce such influence on his idiom? . . . Last of all, would the spirit of inspiration move Solomon to write in the idiom of his heathen concubines who were unlawfully selected?"

But the influence exerted over Solomon, by his heathen wives, during the later part of his life, seems to argue something more than a "*mere, momentary, casual intercourse.*" Besides, who can doubt that the court of Solomon was thronged by their foreign attendants, as well as by numerous ambassadors with their trains? And kings, especially learned kings, are not apt to be bashful about employing foreign words. On the contrary, we naturally expect them to be among the boldest of

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innovators. Finally, the spirit of inspiration, we might reasonably suppose, would lead Solomon to employ just that style and diction to which he was accustomed, and which he would naturally have employed if uninspired. Professor Stuart confidently pronounces the argument drawn from this source, *vanity of vanities.* The candid reader must judge.

Thus we have gone through with the whole series of the arguments which lead Professor Stuart "to the decision *that Solomon was not the author*" of Ecclesiastes. Who the author was, he does not pretend to guess; but thinks it probable the work may have been written soon after the return from the Babylonish captivity, p. 76. Let us turn and glance very briefly at some of the reasons which would lead us to an opposite conclusion.

1. First we have *the claim set up by the work itself.* A book presents itself to us, with satisfactory evidence of its title to a place in the sacred canon, and purports or claims to be the work of Solomon; and this, not only in the title, which might be suspected to be of a later date, but in the body of the work. This surely is a strong proof of Solomon's authorship. For what is the alternative? Is it that Solomon is purposely introduced upon the stage and made to say *what Solomon might have been supposed to say*, as Professor Stuart suggests on p. 61? We should answer unhesitatingly in the negative, for this simple reason, that the reader does not *naturally* so understand it. If Solomon be not the author, the natural alternative is to regard the treatise as a spurious production, a pious forgery, like some of the Apocryphal books. And can this character be regarded as consistent with inspiration?

2. *Uniform ancient tradition.* Professor Stuart, himself, remarks, p. 67, "If this question be referred to the decision of past times, then is it easily answered. One and all of the older writers declare for Solomon." And yet he is so thoroughly convinced of the opposite, by the objections considered above, as to add on the same page, "we shall perhaps deem it strange if any future critic should engage in such an undertaking," viz., as to prove Solomon the author of Ecclesiastes!

3. Although learned Jews, mentioned in the Talmud, (see Professor Stuart, p. 81,) made various objections to this book,

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and some of them appear to have denied its claim to inspiration, yet none of them assailed its genuineness as the work of Solomon. Had it been a late work, by an uncertain author, it seems hardly credible that no tradition to that effect should have been preserved among the Jews, at least to such an extent as to furnish a ground for objections to those who were disposed to reject the book.

4. Finally, it seems pertinent and well worth while to notice certain coincidences between the style of Ecclesiastes and that of Proverbs; not that we regard such coincidences as weighing much in the argument, for one writer may certainly imitate the style of another; but they may, in some degree, go to balance the *differences* of style and manner of which Professor Stuart makes so much. Under this head we would mention,

(1.) The fact that the author of Ecclesiastes, in a moral discourse on the vanity of human pursuits, illustrated by a narrative of his own experience, still falls so much into the *proverbial* style. Every chapter of the book contains proverbs, many of them introduced where there seems no more demand for them than in many of the discourses of the prophets, where, nevertheless, the proverbial method is not adopted. (See, for instance, ch. ii. 13, 14; iv. 5, 6; v. 5, 10; vii. 1; ix. 4, 16–18, &c.)

(2.) The style and diction of many of these passages correspond strikingly with those of similar passages in the book of Proverbs. Professor Stuart remarks that the difference of style in the two books is rather to be felt than described. This is doubtless true. But we would ask the reader skilled in Hebrew to turn to such passages as i. 8, 18; iv. 9, 12, 13, 14; v. 10–12; vii. 1–9; ix. 17, 18; x. 8, 9, 12, 18, 19; xi. 1, 7, and say if he finds anything in them which would surprise him if found in Proverbs instead of Ecclesiastes. Here is "the golden Hebrew of the golden age;" nor is there any appearance of these sentences having been composed in imitation of Proverbs. They have all the freshness of originality.

(3.) The difference of style in the portions not proverbial may certainly be attributed partly to the subjects treated, and partly to the difference in the age and circumstances and feelings of the writer, (supposing Solomon to be the writer.) And even here passages occur which strikingly remind one of the

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preceptive portions of the book of Proverbs. Such, for example, is the perfectly natural and easy use in chap. xii. 12, of the address *my son*, which abounds in Proverbs, but does not appear in any of the Prophets.

The uniform use of the term *God* in Ecclesiastes (instead of *Jehovah* or *Lord*,) may be attributed to the philosophical character of the treatise. It certainly does not characterize the style of the prophets who flourished after the captivity.

A word more in respect to the argument from the *diction*. This might lead, in the absence of any other evidence, to the impression that Proverbs and Ecclesiastes were written by different authors; but it would go but little way towards proving that they were the productions of different ages. The free use of an abbreviated form of the relative pronoun is one of the most striking characteristics of the Hebrew of Ecclesiastes; and this Professor Stuart clearly shows cannot be relied on in proof of a modern origin of the work. It is found in the book of Judges, and probably belonged to the *colloquial* language from the earliest times; and what wonder that Solomon in writing Ecclesiastes in his old age, should employ a more colloquial style than he did years before in seeking out and setting in order the Proverbs? Chaldaism, too, is not of necessity modern. The language of Abraham was no doubt Chaldee. Laban evidently spoke Chaldee, as appears from the Chaldaic name which he gave to Mount Gilead. And who can tell how much influence that dialect exerted in different ages upon its neighbouring and cognate Hebrew, and especially during the reign of Solomon?

Professor Stuart very justly remarks that much may have belonged to the spoken language of the Hebrews, which has not come down to us in any of their writings. In like manner there are usages in the Greek of Homer which do not appear in the writings of subsequent ages, and yet belong at the present day to the spoken language of the Greeks. But what would become of the critic who should argue that therefore the Iliad was written long after the time of Plato and Xenophon?

Arguments similar to those employed against the antiquity of Ecclesiastes have been employed also to prove a late origin for several other books of the Old Testament. Even the Pentateuch has not escaped attacks of this kind. We are persuaded that

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the more thoroughly these arguments are examined, the less weight they will be found to have. We are also satisfied that the more the original of Ecclesiastes is studied and understood, the less will the charge of looseness and vulgarity of style, made by Bishop Lowth, and so often since repeated, be found to weigh.

Thus much we have felt constrained to say in reply to Professor Stuart's argument, on account of the great influence which his deservedly high popularity in the world of biblical letters will not fail to give his book. We trust the candid reader will find sufficient reason to dissent from the scheme proposed by the venerable Professor.

Art. VII.—*The Heidelberg Catechism and Dr. Nevin.*

The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism. Translated from the original Latin by the Rev. G. W. Williard, A. M. (With an Introduction by Dr. Nevin.) First American Edition. Columbus: Scott & Bascom, Printers. 1851.

The great instrument by which God has chosen to diffuse and perpetuate his truth among men is the living voice. John Bunyan, as usual, clothes a great truth in a quaint conceit when he represents "Ear-Gate" as the principal entrance to the town of Mansoul, through which Diabolus first carried the city, and against which those valiant soldiers of the great King Shaddai, Captain Boanerges and Captain Conviction "did bend their main force." The pen and the press, powerful as they are, are mostly powerful in seconding, extending, and perpetuating the impressions of the living voice. They are utterly inadequate to the first publication of truth as to the making immediate, profound, and general impressions on the minds of men. They could never have called the world to repentance and preparation for the coming of the Son of God as did "the voice" of John the Baptist. They could never have sent out the "line" of the gospel "into all the earth, and its words unto the ends of the world," within the space of a quarter of a cen-

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tury, as it was "sounded forth" by the preaching of the apostles and primitive Christians. They could never have rolled up the population of Europe in one vast surge, and precipitated it upon Asia, as did the preaching of Peter the Hermit. They could never have made nor begun the Reformation, though they had a mighty and indispensable agency in extending and completing it. They could never have awakened the slumbering churches of England and America as did the preaching of Whitefield and Wesley. They could never have agitated the general mind of Britain and of this country, as we have recently seen it done by the presence and the voice of one man. The pen and the press have done and are doing great things, and will do greater still. But they cannot transcend their office. They cannot pass out of their sphere. Their power must be exerted, for the most part, upon minds and communities already attentive, thoughtful, and mature. To arouse the soul, to pour into it the vivifying power of new truth, is the peculiar work of the living voice, trembling under the vast emotions which that truth has already awaked, and transmitting those emotions, by the mysterious and irresistible power of sympathy, to other souls.

If this truth has, in any case, a special and peculiar force, it is in its application to the training of the young. Then especially is "Ear-Gate" the main avenue, and the voice the most effective, in fact the only effective instrument when truth is to be adapted to the ever changing moods of the young mind—all eager as it is for knowledge, yet impatient of protracted attention; curious of facts, yet easily wearied of abstractions; earnest and tender, yet prone to levity; deeply and keenly susceptible at once to the things of the spiritual and the sensible world. Oral instruction was the great ordinance of God for perpetuating religion in the ancient Church. "I know Abraham that he will *command* his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord." Gen. xviii. 19. "These words which I command thee this day—thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt *talk* of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." Deut. vi. 6, 7. "*Tell* ye your children of it, and let your children *tell* their children, and their children another generation." Joel i. 3.

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"The priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law *at his mouth.*" Mal. ii. 7. Thus the whole historical and spiritual life of the Church was to be borne along from generation to generation by the living voice of parent, priest, and prophet. In what precise form this oral instruction was administered, cannot now, we believe, be determined. The religious instruction of Theophilus, (Luke i. 4,) of Apollos, (Acts xviii. 25,) and of the Jew addressed by Paul as the representative of his Church and nation, (Rom. ii. 18,) are all alluded to under the term κατηχεω. All had been "catechized," whatever sense was then attached to the word, in the first principles of religion. The Greek commentators of the early Church appear to have generally understood the word in these passages as implying a system of early oral instruction and religious truth. The Hebrew words (one of which signifies to *narrate*, or *rehearse;* the other to *inculcate*, literally to *sharpen*,) denote a constant and earnest oral teaching, but imply nothing as to the recipient of the instruction. Κατηχεω, if we look at its derivation, seems to include more, and to denote a process vocal and audible on both sides (qu. κατ'ηχω διδασκειν) in which the thought and the voice of the pupil give back an *echo* to that of the teacher. Such a meaning must, however, we think, rest on the *vis etymi* and not on the *usus loquendi*; though such great names as D'Outrein and Melancthon have claimed even the latter in its support. "Κατηχειν (says Melancthon) signifies not simply to teach, but carries with it the idea of reading or lecturing and hearing the pupils recite what has been said;" and again, "that method of teaching in which the utterances of the master are called forth by questions is properly denoted by κατηχειν." That it was not restricted by the early Christian writers to its modern signification, *i. e.* instruction by question and answer, is evident from the fact that some of their writings of this sort, for example the κατηχησεις of Cyril of Jerusalem are composed in a continuous style, without question and answer. The communication of instruction, however, by ερωτησεις and αποκρισεις dates from a very early period, as we find a specimen of it in Justin Martyr, and it became thereafter a favourite method of solving difficult questions in religion and ethics, and of conveying Christian knowledge to the young and ignorant.

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Oral instruction, at least, in a familiar way, which is the proper and universal idea expressed by κατηχησις,* whether by question and answer or otherwise, was held in the highest estimation in the early Church, not only as a means of holy nurture to her own children, but of recovery to the lapsed, and of conversion to pagans and others who were yet without. The fathers of the Church were general and firm in the belief that they had direct scriptural and apostolic sanction for the practice. They looked upon the γαλα of Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12, 13; and the λογικον αδολον γαλα of Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 2, as referring distinctly to familiar oral instruction† in Christian truth adapted to young and simple minds, and interpreted the στοιχεια της αρχης των λογιων του θεου, Heb. v. 12, and the λογος της αρχης του Χριστου, Heb. vi. 1, as denoting the elements of Christian doctrine imparted in the same form. Those who were under this kind of instruction (κατηχουμενοι) were regarded as εν προθυροις της ευσεβειας‡ "in the vestibule of piety." One class of Christian ministers was specially devoted to this sort of instruction, and were called κατηχηται, Catechists. It has been thought by some that this was a distinct office. It might have been so in particular cases, but was, we think, generally attached to the office of pastor, and Jerome and Augustine have observed that while the apostle Paul has in other cases separated the functions of Christian ministers, he has spoken of these two together—"Pastors and Teachers." It is altogether probable that in some of the larger and wealthier churches the office of Catechist was distinct. Some of the most venerable names of the ancient Church are enrolled among the catechists of Alexandria. Pantænus, Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen head the list. Pantænus was the teacher of Clemens, as Clemens was of Origen, and in both cases the pupil succeeded his master in the office of catechist. Jerome entitles Clemens κατηχη-

* Κατηχησις est familiaris per vivam vocem facta institutio in elementis Christianæ religionis. Suicer. Thes. Ecc. e Pat. Græc. Catechesis proprié est elementaris institutio Christianæ religionis, viva docentis voce tradita, et a discentibus reddita. Henr. Altingius in explic. Cat. Pal. p. m. 2.

† Γαλα ἡ κατήχησις. Clem. Alex. Strom. on 1 Cor. iii. 2.

‡ Greg. Naz. Or. 40.

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σων magister,* and Origen adjutor κατηχησεως,† which renders it probable that in the church of Alexandria that office was a distinct one, and formed the proper occupation of those eminent men. Jerome says‡ that Origen availed himself of the great concourse of youth to him for literary instruction, to teach them in the Christian faith. According to Eusebius,§ when the entire charge of catechetical instruction was devolved upon him by Demetrius, then bishop of that church, he immediately forsook his profession of literary teacher, to devote himself wholly to that work. In such high estimation was the business of catechetical instruction then held, as to command the whole time and labour of the greatest minds of the Church.

And in the like estimation it continued to be held so long as truth was looked upon as the proper glory and power of Christianity, and *the teaching of truth* as the great means of converting souls and rearing up a holy posterity to perpetuate the Church. But when the *ecclesiastical* spirit overcame the evangelical, and the Church grew more and more worldly and material in all her institutions and instrumentalities, relying on the secular arm rather than the sword of the Spirit, and adopting the usages of paganism in order to convert pagans, and making more of a splendid ritual than of a pure faith, and magnifying church orthodoxy above vital piety, and addressing the senses by shows and music and incense, rather than the soul by the vivifying light of truth, catechetical instruction of course declined. During the proper period of Roman domination, it was almost extinct and forgotten. The peril of awakening intellect and stimulating thought is an *arcanum imperii* of all despotisms, and pre-eminently of that, the most enormous and inexorable despotism under which the prostrate intellect and soul of man ever groaned. There were occasional attempts in councils held for ecclesiastical discipline, to revive the practice

* Alexandriæ ecclesiasticam scholam tenuit et κατηχησεων magister fuit. Catal. Scrip. Ecc. Cap. 48.

† Ibid. Cap. 64.

‡ Concursus ad eum miri facti sunt, quos ille propterea recipiebat, ut sub occasione secularis literaturæ, in fide Christi eos institueret. *Ibid.*

§ Ecc. Hist. Lib. VI. Cap. 3.

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of catechetical instruction. It was enjoined on the clery in the Canons of the Council of Braques, A. D. 572, of Tourain 813, and of Mentz 1347. The Capitularia of Charlemagne also required it. But the spirit of the dominant Church was too strong for the edicts of princes or the canons of councils. Rubrics, breviaries, rosaries, and agends were much more to the mind of Rome than Catechisms. They amused and tranquillized the minds of men with a semblance of religion, but did not implant those fructifying germs of thought and irrepressible aspirations which always accompany truth. Images were, in her esteem, a much safer medium of instruction than books.*

Few and meagre, however, as were the catechetical productions of that dark period, they are never to be forgotten. There is a curious specimen still extant of a German Catechism composed by an unknown monk of Weissenburg, in the ninth century, containing an explanation of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, and, (instead of the ten commandments,) *a list of the deadly sins.*† This substitution was not unfrequent during that period. The Papal Church has never faltered in her policy to abrogate the law of God that she may keep her own traditions.

As the spirit of life began to stir in the Church and resistance to Rome waxed stronger, Catechisms were multiplied. The Waldenses, in their Confession of Faith presented to Francis I., allude to catechetical instruction as in use among them. John Wickliffe composed in English several tracts under the title of *Pauper Rusticus*, intended to teach the poor the principal truths of Christianity, "without an apparatus of many books." Among these were an exposition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.‡ Huss wrote a catechism in his prison at Constance, which is still extant among his works. And, (stirred up, it is said, by these examples,) Gerson, the learned and excellent Chancellor of Paris,

* "Gregorius Papa idola et imagines in templis collocavit, *ut essent pro libris imperitæ multitudini.*" Sibelius, quoted by Van Alphen, Prol. ad Cat. Heid. p. 17—as if idolatry were a refuge from ignorance! This was, indeed, throwing the blind man into the ditch instead of attempting to restore his sight.

† Augusti, Versuch einer Einleit, &c., p. 33.

‡ From the decrees of the Councils of Braques, Tourain and Mentz, it appears that these were of old considered the heads of catechetical instruction.

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wrote a tract, (how sweet the title!) "*de parvulis ad Christum trahendis,*" and spent the last days of a life distinguished by the highest honours of genius and learning, in *catechizing little children.*

One of the first evidences of re-awakened Christian life at the era of the Reformation, was the restoration, and that in tenfold glory and efficacy, of the noble art of catechizing. More catechisms were produced within fifty years after 1517, than in ten centuries before. Luther, in his "*brevis formula decalogi, symboli apostolici et orationis dominicæ*" (1518 and 1520) and in his "Larger" and "Lesser Catechisms" (1529) led the way. His example led to the composition of a multitude of catechisms by his followers. Buddæus* enumerates no less than twenty by the Lutherans alone; and his list is by no means complete. The Romanists, alarmed by the rapid spread of the new doctrines in this form, were compelled in self-defence to resort to the same method. This is candidly admitted by the Jesuit Possevin while urging on his own church the importance of catechetical instruction. "Some object, 'the heretics use this sort of teaching. Do you think it right to imitate them? At least, you will not deny that the word *catechizing* ought not to be used, for that savours too strongly of heretical practice.' Who can bear such trifling? Ought not a Christian rather to acknowledge his own fault than to screen his individual sin to the general peril and disadvantage?"† Fleury composed a "Catechismus historicus," which, bating the Romish errors and superstitions it contains, is an admirable model, as it uses the *events* of Scripture as a means of impressing its truths and precepts on the young mind—a method which might undoubtedly be used so as to render this kind of tuition more interesting and attractive to the young. Loyola and his disciples pressed with great ardour into the career of catechetical instruction. Catechisms were extensively used not only in the educational institutions of the Jesuits, but in their foreign missions. The Council of Trent‡

* Isag. Hist. Theol. Lib. Post. Cap. I. § 12.

† Epist. de necessitate, utilitate ac ratione Cath. Cat. cited by Van Alphen and Augusti.

‡ Father Paul. Lib. 8.

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ordered the preparation of a Catechism, which, under the direction of the Pope, was composed, or at least completed and arranged by Cardinal Sirlet,* and was of course proclaimed as the "*lydius lapis, certissima et infallibilis norma, ad quam examinanda est omnis doctrina*"—("the touchstone, the unquestionable and infallible model whereby all doctrine is to be tried;") whereas the Protestant Catechisms followed each answer with an array of *proofs* from the Bible, implying the duty of searching the Scriptures, whether those things were so. (A striking exemplification of the genius of the Protestant and Roman Churches!) In brief, the Socinians, Remonstrants, Anabaptists, Catabaptists, and Quakers, in fact all the sects and subdivisions of religious opinion, in which the boundless and lawless mental activity of that age manifested itself, expounded their several doctrines in Catechisms. Even the Turks are reported to have felt the general impulse of Christendom, and to have reduced the doctrines of Islamism into this form.†

The Reformed Church, properly so called in distinction from the Lutheran, contributed its full share to the catechetical symbols of which the age was so prolific. Besides many "Confessiones," "Articuli," "Theses," "Rationes," and "Expositiones Fidei," (various titles and forms indeed, but all exhibiting a harmonious system of the Reformed doctrine,) the sixteenth century gave birth, within that Church, to the Catechism of Geneva, (by Calvin, 1536,) that of Zurich, (by Bullinger, 1559,) and that of the Palatinate, (by Ursinus, 1563.)

None of these enjoyed a higher repute, or exerted a wider or more enduring influence among the Reformed churches, than the last. It was composed by order of Frederic III., Palatine of the Rhine, Elector of the Empire, and Duke of Bavaria, in 1562. The work of preparing it was committed to Caspar Olevianus, Court-Preacher of the Elector, and Zacharias Ursinus, Professor of the Collegium Sapientiæ, assisted, as some affirm, by Peter Boquin and Immanuel Tremellius. The finishing and arranging hand was undoubtedly that of Ursinus, and it has, therefore, been regarded as his work. In the Electoral

* Moreri. Sirlet. † Hoornbeek in Van Alphen. Prol.

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diploma, which accompanied its publication and ordered it to be introduced in the churches and schools of the Palatinate, Frederic declares his intention, in causing it to be prepared, to have been "that his people might be led to the right knowledge of God, their Creator and Redeemer, from his own word." He expresses his conviction that "there can be no well established order, either in church, state, or families, unless the youth are instructed from their earliest years, in true and pure religion, and constantly exercised in it." He states that he has caused this Catechism to be prepared, that the pastors and schoolmasters, throughout his estates, may have a fixed and definite form by which to conduct such instruction, and earnestly enjoins upon them to be diligent and faithful in using it to that end. We should be glad to transfer this admirable document to our pages entire. It breathes the spirit of a wise and pious prince, "ruling over men in the fear of God," and "watching for their souls as one that must give an account." That such was the true character of Frederic, the testimony even of those who were by no means friendly to him places beyond a doubt. The diploma is dated January 19th, 1563.*

Ursinus, in rapid progress and early maturity in learning, wisdom, and piety, was one of the wonders of that wonderful age. He was born at Breslau, July 18th, 1534, of a respectable family, but so far from being *pecunious* (we borrow the quaint term from Bayle,) that he was assisted in obtaining his education both by public and private liberality: another noble son whom the Church has raised for her own service and the glory of her Lord, and an illustrious example of the wise economy of such liberality! He entered, in his eighteenth year, the University of Wittemberg, where he passed five years, the beloved pupil and intimate friend of Melancthon. He afterwards visited several foreign cities and universities, among the rest, Geneva, (where he formed a friendship with Calvin, who gave him his books, inscribed with his autograph,) and Paris, where he resided a short time to perfect himself in

* It is given entire by Van den Honert, Schat-Boek der Verklasingen over den Nederlandschen Catechismus, Voorreede, p. 9, &c., and by Niemeyer Coll. Conf. in Ecc. Ref. publ. p. 428, &c.

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French and in Hebrew under the tuition of Mercier. When about twenty-four years of age, he was called to preside over the Elizabethan school in his native town of Breslau. But his "Theses de Sacramentis," which showed his opinions to be of the Reformed stamp, caused so much disturbance that he voluntarily resigned his office and left his country, "*honestissimo cum testimonio Senatus*," declaring that exile was a welcome discharge from the intolerable labour of keeping school.* From Breslau he went to Zurich, where he resided for a while in the society of Peter Martyr and Gesner. Thus did his wanderings lead him, Θεου ὑπ' αμυμονι ποιμενι, to intimate communion with the master minds of the Reformation, and ripened him for the great work of his life.

Just after he had completed his twenty-seventh year, he was invited to the University of Heidelberg, and in the following year, was appointed to the professorship of *Loci Communes*. In the faculty of that renowned University, he was associated with Boquin and Tremellius, and with these eminent and pious men, *und manu, concordibus votis*, laboured in the tuition of youth and edification of the Church of God. Many eminent preachers and theologians were formed under their care. In the year 1562, he was employed, as we have stated above, by order of the Elector, in the preparation of the Heidelberg Catechism. In 1571 he was invited to the chair of Theology in the University of Lausanne, whither he was inclined to go, as his health was suffering severely under his multiplied labours; but the urgent wishes of the Elector, who at the same time permitted him to choose one or more colleagues to lighten his toil, induced him to remain at Heidelberg. He thereupon took a colleague, and shortly after, a wife, being married to Margaret Trautwein, in 1572—"and yet" (apologetically subjoins Melchior Adam,) "he was none the less diligent" (why should he

* Moreri. *Dav. Pareus.*—"fatigues si terribles (*i. e.* de conduire la jeunesse au Collège de Sapience) que le bon Zacharie Ursin l'estimoit heureux d'avoir été exilé par les Lutheriens, puisque cet exil le délivroit de cette terrible carrière." We find this mentioned only by Moreri. But *sympathy* prompts us to insert it—the only joke we have met with of "le bon Zacharie Ursin." That he continued in this "terrible carrière" to the last "egregiè omnes partes implens præceptoris et magistri fidelis" (Mel. Adam,) is a proof of the *vis indefessa* of his principles and character.

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be?) "in the education of youth and the composition of useful works." By this marriage he had one son, who was *hæres paternæ virtutis.*

In 1577 the death of the great and good Elector and the accession of his son Louis, who brought Lutheranism into the Palatinate with a high hand, were followed by a sweeping revolution in the University, and Ursinus, dismissed from his professorship, and once more an exile, betook himself to Neustadt, whither he was invited by Casimir, a younger son of Frederic, who inherited his father's attachment to the Reformed faith. This prince founded at Neustadt, the principal town of his own estates, a college named after himself *Casimirianum*, in the faculty of which Ursinus was once more associated with some of his former friends and colleagues of the University of Heidelberg. There, in the various labours of a professor and an author, he spent the last five years of his life, manfully combatting the various infirmities of an over-worked system, and even from the bed to which sickness at last confined him, dictating not only a multitude of letters, but several works of considerable size, among which was his "Refutatio Jesuitarum." At last, "having fought a good fight and finished his course, he received from the heavenly Arbiter and Rewarder that amaranthine crown. For he died in the Lord, as if falling into a sweet sleep, with his friends around him, on the sixth of March, 1583, and in the forty-ninth year of his age." He left behind him a request that as he had lived without pomp, so he might be carried to his grave without it, and interred no where else but in the common and public cemetery. This wish was complied with, and a monument erected to his memory by the *Schola Casimiriana*, bearing an epitaph which presents a glowing, but not more than just picture of his great talents and virtues.

His writings were collected after his death and published in three folio volumes by his grateful pupils, Pareus and Quirinus. But by far the most important work of his life and most durable monument to his memory, is his immortal Catechism. Over what a multitude of young minds has it scattered the seeds of truth! How many, while repeating its "form of sound words," have "with the heart believed unto righteousness, and with the mouth made confession unto salvation!"

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His other voluminous works have been comparatively neglected. But the Catechism, translated into fourteen languages,* expounded in innumerable churches, and repeated by innumerable youth, has entered into the life-blood and circulated through all the veins of Reformed Christendom.

In no way, perhaps, has its influence been more profoundly and permanently diffused than by the unparalleled extent to which it has been used as a text book of theological instruction. Van Alphen gives a list of no less than ninety Commentaries and illustrative works of various kinds, which had been written upon it by eminent divines before his time, (1729.) A very large portion of these were originally delivered in the shape of lectures in the universities and theological schools.

The ascendency of the Catechism in the Palatinate, the country of its birth, was, it is true, subjected to many and severe interruptions and reverses. First, by the accession of Louis and the forcible re-instating of Lutheranism, (1577,) afterwards by the disasters of Frederick, the titular and transient king of Bohemia, (1620;) shortly after and yet more terribly by the Thirty Years War in which Popery was brought into the Palatinate by the merciless Tilly at the point of the bayonet; and finally, by the accession of a prince of the Romish faith, (1686.) But the same storms which expelled it from its native seats, wafts its imperishable seeds across the sea to this western continent, to find a far wider field, and to yield, we hope, far richer harvests in the German Reformed Church of the United States.

* Niemeyer (Coll. Conf. Ref. Præf. p. 62,) enumerates them. Besides the original German and the immediately subsequent Latin version by Lagus and Pithopœus, it was translated into Dutch, Greek, Modern Greek, Spanish, Polish, Hungarian, Arabic, Cingalese, French, English, Italian, Bohemian, and Hebrew. Henry Alting (Explic. Cat. p. 6,) adds "the lingua Indica," by which he may mean the Cingalese. The same writer says, "*sed authentica est sola editio Germanica in qua omnia non rotundiora modò, sed etiam ἐμφατικώτερα.*" "The German edition alone is of authority, in which every thing is not only more fully but more energetically expressed," (ibid.) It is an interesting fact, which deserves to be mentioned, that many, if not most of the above translations into the languages of distant races were made under the auspices of the United States of Holland, who sent missions along with their colonies to the ends of the earth. A copy of the noble edition in Modern Greek, translated and published by order of the States General (1648) is now before us. A just monument has yet to be erected to the liberality and Christian zeal of that heroic Republic.

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But no church of the Reformed family has imbibed the doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism more deeply, adhered to it more steadily, or brought a larger share of sacred learning to its defence and illustration, than the venerable Reformed Dutch Church. Her princes and fathers were the first (of foreign countries)* to adopt it as a symbol of their faith, in the Synod of Wesel,† 1568, and solemnly re-affirmed this act at the Synod of Embden, 1571, of Dort, 1578, of Middleburg, 1581, of Gravenhagen, 1586, and finally, in the National Synod of Dort, 1618–19, where the foreign‡ as well as the native divines expressed their cordial and entire approbation of its doctrines. Her temples have resounded with its exposition, and her children have been imbued with its truth for nearly three centuries. The solid bulwarks which the learning of her Altinges and Hoornbeeks, and Hommiusses, and Van Tyls, and a host of other eminent divines has thrown up around the Protestant faith, were erected, even to the outermost buttress and escarpment, on the outline of the Catechism. The heartiness with which she adopted it, and the predominance which her free institutions and her vast opulence and power, as well as the learning of her divines and schools, gave her, in the seventeenth century, contributed largely to the unparalleled prominence and diffusion of this, her favourite symbol. Holland was indebted to a pure and living faith for strength to stand up against the most fearful odds ever perhaps successfully encountered by a nation, and ultimately to wrest her liberties from the iron grasp of Philip II.; and she sought, with grateful ardour, to repay the debt. She poured it into the minds of the youth who resorted from far to her Universities and Schools of Theology; she taught it to the exiles from

* In varias easque florentissimas orbis Christiani provincias magno piorum gaudio et fructu introducta est, atque etiamnum obtinet: cujus primum exemplum dedere Ecclesiæ Belgicæ, Anno 1571, H. Alting, Explic. Cat. p. 6.

† Van den Honert. Schat-Boek der Verk. over den Ned. Cat. Voorreede, p. 19.

‡ Bishops Hall and Davenant were the delegates of the Church of England. "I well remember," says Trigland, "that the divines of Great Britain highly extolled that little book, and said that neither their churches, nor the French, had such a suitable catechism; that the men who had composed it had been unusually assisted by the Spirit of God at the time; that they had, in sundry other matters, excelled several divines, but in composing that catechism they had excelled themselves." Kerc. Hist. p. 1145, quoted by Vanderkemp on the Cat. Pref. p. 26.

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England, Scotland, France, and Germany, whom her heroic arm sheltered from persecution; she sent it to her colonies in the East and West Indies; and, in fine, she, too, transmitted it with her emigrant children to America, to experience a freer and wider diffusion after the decay of her own liberties, and (it must be added) the decline of her own piety in the Old World.

Of the numerous commentaries on the Catechism, which we have above alluded to, that of Ursinus himself has, of course, taken precedence,* being the author's exposition of his own work. Ursinus, while occupying the chair of Theology in the "*Collegium Sapientiæ*," "regularly went through an annual course of lectures on the Catechism down to the year 1577."† These lectures, taken down at the time of delivery, were published after his death by his friend and pupil, David Pareus. It would appear, from a letter of Sibrand Lubbert‡ to Pareus, (dated 1591,) that some one had already published Commentaries on the Catechism, which did him great injustice. He expresses much satisfaction that Pareus had given them to the world in a correct form.

The work received, also, the fullest authentication from other disciples and friends of Ursinus, among whom were Quirinus Reuterus, (one of the editors of Ursinus,) and Bartholomew Keckermann, afterwards Professor of Theology at Dantzic. Where Pareus inserts observations of his own, he does so separately and under his own name. The only instance of this we have observed is the "Additio Davidis Parei de Transubstantiatione et Consubstantiatione," appended to the exposition of the 78th Question.

This "Opus Catecheticum," originally published in Latin,

* Innumeris commentariis, Germanicis, Latinis, et aliarum linguarum illustrata est: quos inter Ursiniani, Explicationum Catecheticarum titulo evulgati, primas facile tenent. H. Altingi, Exp. Cat. p. 6.

† Henr. Altingi Mon. lit. et piet. cited by Van Alphen, Prol. p. 32.

‡ An eminent theologian of that day and Professor of Theology at Franeker. He had been a pupil of Ursinus, and was so highly esteemed by him that when the Elector allowed him to choose an associate in his professorship, he nominated Lubbert; who, says Moreri, "répondit modestement qu'il ne se sentoit assez habile pour bien remplir une place, où ce Professeur illustre avait acquis tant de gloire." Moreri adds, that Ursinus could find no other whom he was willing to recommend. Lubbert himself composed a Commentary on the Catechism.

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was translated into various languages, passed through a multitude of editions, and was held in high repute in all the churches of the Reformation. Pareus was (as well as Ursinus,) a voluminous writer. His Critical Commentaries on the New Testament have ranked with the best productions of that class. But none of his works have reached a circulation at all to be compared with this compilation of the lectures of Ursinus. Many wondered, he tells us,* that with such pressing occupations of his own, he should bestow so much time and labour on the work of another, whence no reward or reputation would accrue to himself. But, he adds, "I shall have fruit enough, if others derive rich fruit from hence; glory enough, if the glory, that is, the truth and purity of heavenly doctrine, be by any labour of mine, transmitted unimpaired to posterity."

There is extant a beautiful and deeply touching letter from the editor, David Pareus, to his accomplished and eminent son, Philip Pareus, from which we learn that the work had been under his hand for many years, and had been subjected to frequent and severe revision. "Even as a precious gem," he says, "is never so perfectly shapen and polished by the hands of the jeweller, but he desires to render it still more lustrous, and at every glance sees some new charm which may be added to it; so I never take this CATECHETICAL TREASURE into my hands, but I seem to hear the living voice of my preceptor again, and to learn something which had before escaped me; and I never lay it aside, but something here or there occurs to my mind which I wish to render more exact and explicit."

Along with this letter, he commits to the hands of his son a copy of the work which had received his "*ultima cura*," his "*postrema recognitio;*" and solemnly charges him, in the event of his death, (*si quid humanitùs mihi accidat,*) to give it to the world in that form. This letter is dated from his "Patmos," as he terms it, (a retreat to which he had fled from the war then raging in the Palatinate,) the 30th December, 1621, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and about four months before his death. Any additions or modifications after the above date

* Pref. and Ded. 1598.

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must, of course, be looked upon as *corruptions*. The great popularity of the work caused many surreptitious editions of it to be issued, which as Philip Pareus tells us were often interpolated and otherwise corrupted. The only editions to be relied upon as genuine are those which were published before the death of David Pareus by himself, or after it, by Philip. We have before us three editions. That of Heidelberg in 1612; that of Geneva, 1622; and that of Hanover, 1634.

Such is the work which Mr. Williard has just presented to the world in an English translation, and which we have reached by a much longer *détour* than we expected. But these introductory and explanatory remarks, will not, we think, be deemed amiss in reference to a work, the wide circulation of which in a pure form, would be an immense benefit to our churches and community, and in fact, to the great and daily increasing portion of mankind who read the English language. It is a vast and various treasure of sacred knowledge, in which profound learning and logical acuteness have contributed their maturest and noblest efforts towards the defence and illustration of Christian truth. It has other and still higher excellencies. It is not only profound but deeply practical, not only exact but warm with the breath and pulse of Christian life. It solves a multitude of doubts and difficulties which are ever afloat in the popular mind in reference to the higher and harder points (the δυσνοητα) of Christian theology. The lectures which form this commentary were delivered, be it remembered, to theological classes, from which came forth not a few of the eminent professors, preachers, and authors of that day, among whom were Kimedontius, Keckermann, Lubbert, Pareus, and Quirinus. We should rejoice to see a translation which would do full justice to it, placed in the hands of every minister and theological student, and in fact, in every reading family through our country. We do not know a system of divinity which combines more (generally uncombined) excellencies, or better suited to furnish Christians of every profession and grade of acquirement with "a reason of the hope that is in them." It breathes, moreover, that fiducial and joyful spirit in which all, we think, will allow that the European cast of piety has greatly the advantage of our own, and resembles much more the scriptural and primitive

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model. It is as rare to hear the language of *doubt* there, as of *assurance* here. Doubt in fact, seems to have attained, with us, to a rank among the Christian graces, as if it were an evidence of humility and sincerity; instead of being, as it certainly is, a dishonour to our Lord, a reflection on his truth, and a violation of the plain precepts to trust and rejoice in him at all times, and to offer unto him the sacrifices of praise continually. We have often been struck with the contrast at this point between the piety of undoubted Christians in Europe and our own country, and have been puzzled for an adequate cause of it. But since we have been led to look more narrowly into the genius of this Catechism, we are inclined to think that its extensive use among the Swiss, Dutch and German Churches has had not a little to do with it. One of its principal beauties is that many of the answers* are in the form of an act of faith. This, whenever faith is vital and sincere, would naturally tend to give it a confident and *appropriative* character. The same cheerful spirit pervades, as might be expected, the commentary which is the author's expansion of his own work. We would gladly welcome it to general circulation as a probable corrective to an acknowledged defect (accompanied, we gratefully own, with many admirable peculiarities) in Christian life and piety as it has been developed in our highly favoured country. Why should not the characteristic activity and liberality of American Christians be accompanied, as these qualities were in the first age, with the fulness of Christian joy?

The old English translation of this work, we may add, by Parry, (which passed through repeated editions in its day,) is a very unskilful performance, and besides, is now antiquated and extremely scarce.

We heartily wish that we could speak of Mr. Williard's work, in its concrete form, with as cordial approbation as we can and do of the project which gave birth to it. But we are speaking of an authoritative exposition of the most widely received perhaps of all the symbols of the Reformed Faith; and we shall speak candidly, though not, we hope, unkindly. We feel compelled to express at once, our earnest hope and firm conviction,

* E. g. 1, 2, 21, 32, 52, 53, and many others.

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that *the work, in its present form, can never go into general circulation in any of the Reformed Churches.*

The editorial and typographical execution of the work are, *ultra spem veniæ*, negligent and inaccurate. The *errata* in spelling, pointing and numbering are so frequent and material as to be a serious blemish. The classics and fathers quoted in the exposition, are sometimes cruelly handled. But more and worse than all this, *the 84th, 85th, and 95th questions of the Catechism, with the Scriptural proofs thereto pertaining, are omitted entire;* the exposition, meanwhile, jogging on as if quite unconscious that it had parted company with the text. This must, we think, be regarded as a *peccatum mortale* as it regards the present impression.

It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Williard entered on his work with so meagre an apparatus. "The Latin *copy*," he says, "from which we have made the present translation, was published in Geneva in the year 1616, and is, *without doubt*, a copy of the best and most complete edition made by Dr. David Pareus, the intimate friend and disciple of Ursinus. It is, in every respect, greatly superior to another copy, the use of which we secured from the Rev. Dr. Hendron, of the Presbyterian Church, *after having made very considerable progress in the work of translation.*" Why Mr. Williard considers his own and only copy "without doubt the best and most complete," and "in every respect greatly superior" to the (not very graciously acknowledged) copy of Dr. Hendron does not appear. We are sorry to abate his good opinion of it. But, by turning back to the letter we have quoted above (p. 105) from Pareus himself, the reader will perceive that he pronounces the copy which he then sent to his son (Dec. 30th, 1621) the one which had received his *ultima cura* and the final form in which he wished his compilation of his master's lectures to go down to future ages. That edition could not, of course, have been published till 1622, about six years later than that possessed by Mr. Williard. He had, it seems, but two copies, and "secured the use" of the second, only "after having made very considerable progress in the work." He ought, we think, as we are sure he *might*, have obtained larger materials for collation.

He had, it seems, also, "the old English translation by Par-

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ry," "printed in the year 1645," "which," says he, "we constantly consulted in making the present translation." He did more, however, than "consult" it. "The old English translation," he tells us, (Pref. p. iv,) "contains considerable matter which is not to be found in either of the Latin copies now in our possession. We have, in several instances, taken the liberty of inserting short extracts, changing the style and construction of many of the sentences so as to adapt it to the taste of the modern reader. Whenever this is done, it is marked by the word 'addenda.'" In this practice, (which Mr. Williard acknowledges with a praise-worthy frankness,) we must remind him that he has departed from all the just principles which ought to guide a translator. We cannot well conceive a larger "liberty," than for a translator to "insert short extracts" from unknown sources, (Parry is, we believe, unknown, save by this translation,) "changing the style and construction so as to adapt it to the *taste* of the modern reader." Especially are such "liberties" to be censured, when taken with the writings of a man who poised and pondered every word in which he spoke God's truth, with such a *religiosa diligentia* as did Ursinus.*

The instances are neither few nor unimportant in which Mr. Williard has failed to present the meaning of his author with fidelity and precision. On p. 9, Ursinus, speaking of "the testimony of the Holy Ghost," says that it is "*renatorum proprium*," which Mr. Williard renders "*being also applicable to the unregenerate*, does not only convince their consciences, &c., but also *moves and inclines their hearts* to assent to this doctrine and to *receive it as the truth of God.*" Here "the testimony of the Holy Ghost," by which, says Ursinus, "we mean a strong and lively faith, wrought in the hearts of the faithful by the Holy Spirit," &c., by an erroneous translation, which precisely reverses the *protasis* of the proposition, is predicated of "the unregenerate!"

* "If any of his pupils imperfectly comprehended anything that was said in his lectures, or had any other doubt or difficulty to submit to him, he directed them t lay the same before him in writing, saying that he would reflect on the subject home, and give the solution at the opening of the next day's lecture. He thus relieved himself from extemporaneous responses, and furnished his students with *well-premeditated* solutions of their doubts."—Mel. Adam, vit. Urs.

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On p. 230, "*dum adhuc vivebant,*" is translated "when he hitherto existed," which transfers to Christ what is affirmed of "the disobedient," (1 Pet. iii. 19.) Mr. Williard was betrayed into this mistake, we doubt not, by an inaccurate copy. But, if it were so, it shows the importance (hinted at above) of larger means of collation.

In the Exp. of 2. 66, Ursinus speaking of the application of the word *sacramentum* to Christian ordinances, says, "*ista quidem satis concinna est metaphora,*" which Mr. Williard (p. 341) renders, "this is, indeed, beautiful and significant!"

On p. 379, we have the words of our Lord, *do this in remembrance of me*, expounded as follows:—"This remembrance or commemoration of Christ, precedes and is taken for faith in the heart; after which, we make public confession, and acknowledgments of our thankfulness." In what possible sense can the commemoration of Christ "*precede* and *be taken for* faith in the heart?" The Latin is perfectly simple, thus, "*Haec recordatio et commemoratio est primùm ipsa fides in corde: deinde publica confessio et gratiarum actio.*"

In the farther treatment of the Lord's supper, p. 395, we have the following unfathomable statement: "There is, therefore, no invisible thing or action that brings to view the nature or thing signified by the sacrament." The Latin reads, "*nulla igitur res sive actio invisibilis rationem sive appellationem sacramenti tueri potest.*" This is distinct enough. Ursinus is reasoning to prove that "the sacraments were instituted to be *visible testimonies* and pledges of grace;" against the Romish doctrine that the body of Christ, *invisible under the bread*, is the sacrament. He therefore affirms, directly in point, that "no invisible thing or action can have the nature or the name of a sacrament;" because, as he says, in the same connection, "Sacraments or signs ought to be visible; and that does not deserve to be called a sacrament (as Erasmus says) which is not accomplished by an external sign."

But we will not fatigue the reader with farther specimens, though they might easily be multiplied.

Mr. Williard has committed a much graver error than any of those we have noticed, in ushering his work to the Christian public under the auspices of Dr. Nevin. The Heidelberg Cat-

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echism surely needed no "Introduction" to the Reformed Churches; as little did the name and commentary of its author. And in introducing these, Dr. Nevin has availed himself of the opportunity to "introduce" a good many other things besides, forming, on the whole, very uncongenial company, to say the least, both for the author and the book. Besides, the damage which Mr. Williard has thus incurred is uncompensated, as far as we can see, by the slightest gain of any sort. For, in relation to Mr. Williard himself, and the execution of his work, Dr. Nevin maintains a profound silence, which is even more killing than *faint praise*.

But though Dr. Nevin carefully abstains from praising Mr. Williard or his translation, Mr. Williard abundantly praises "the excellent 'Introduction,' from the pen of Dr. Nevin, which," he tells us, "will be read with much interest, and throw much light upon the life and character of the author of these Lectures."* Mr. Williard has thus fully endorsed the statements of Dr. Nevin, and compelled us to look upon the "translation" and "Introduction," as part and parcel of the same work.

While, in fact, Mr. Williard gives whatever weight his full commendation may carry with it, to the "excellent Introduction," he cautiously limits his adhesion to the doctrines of the Commentary. "We do not, of course, intend," he says, "to be understood as giving an unqualified approval of every view and sentiment contained in these Lectures." As he has not thought it necessary thus to "qualify" his "approval" of the Introduction, the reader is, of course, left to conclude that he is entirely identified with it.

What sort of "light" is thrown by Dr. Nevin's Introduction on the Catechism and Commentary of Ursinus, as well as on his "life and character," we propose, by a brief analysis, to show.

Dr. Nevin has certainly found no lack of "characteristic perfections" in the Heidelberg Catechism. "Its very style," he tells us, "moves with a sort of priestly solemnity which all are constrained to reverence and respect;" there "runs" in it "a

* Translator's Pref. p. iv.

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continual appeal to the interior sense of the soul, a sort of soleman undertone, sounding from the depths of the invisible world." "A strain of heavenly music seems to flow around us at all times, while we listen to its voice." We cannot object to these encomiums, though we are far from aspiring to understand them. If they be indeed *peculiarities* of this Catechism, to Dr. Nevin must, we think, be conceded the merit of having first discovered and brought them to light. The Catechism has been lauded by learned divines and venerable Synods, from Bullinger down to the Westminster Assembly, with commendation quite as strong and various as may safely be awarded to any merely human composition. It has been pronounced "solid, clear, logical, scriptural;" "*vix alia*," they have assured us, "*dari poterit solidior, concinnior, perfectior et ad captum adultiorum pariter et juniorum accommodatior.*"* But for Dr. Nevin it has been reserved to apprehend and disclose "the priestly solemnity" of its movement and "the heavenly music which flows around" it. If these epithets, reduced to pedestrian style, mean simply the full, rich and harmonious exhibition of truth, the matter comes then within the range of our humble consciousness; and we must say, that in our plain way, we have been profoundly sensible to the same qualities in the Westminster Catechism, whose luminous and comprehensive statements have often penetrated and charmed our very soul.

Dr. Nevin commends the Catechism for "its care to avoid the thorny, dialectic subtleties of Calvinism." And again in his "History of the Catechism," he tells us that "the knotty points of Calvinism are not brought forward in it as necessary objects of belief, one way or the other."† Among these "knotty points" and thorny dialectic subtleties of Calvinism," he enumerates the doctrines of "predestination,"‡ "a limited

* See the "Judicia Theologorum, &c., de Catechizandi ratione," among the Acta Syn. Dord. Sess. XV.

† History and Genius of the Heid. Catechism, p. 131. The "Introduction" so largely consists of extracts from that work, that we are justified in viewing them as a connected exposition of Dr. Nevin's sentiments; especially, as at the close of the "Introduction," he refers his readers to the "History."

‡ Hist. and Gen. of the Heid. Cat. p. 135.

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or particular atonement,"* "irresistible grace,"† "the perseverance of the saints," and more faintly, the relations of the human will to conversion and salvation. These are the "knotty" and "hard points," "the thorny dialectic subtleties of Calvinism" which the Catechism has taken "care to avoid," and in relation to which it maintains, if we are to believe Dr. Nevin, a cautiously guarded non-committal. An astonishing statement truly! Why then was it called by way of eminence "the Calvinistic Catechism?" Why attacked as such, by Romanists, Lutherans, Socinians, and Remonstrants? Why adopted by all the branches of the Reformed Church as an embodiment of Calvinism? Why was its author banished from Breslau as a Calvinist? How totally must *he* have misapprehended the character of his own work![‡] How must the Dutch, German, and Swiss Reformed Churches be amazed to find that they have been expounding from their pulpits, and teaching to their children, for almost three centuries, a Catechism in which doctrines which they have ever deemed vital and precious forms of evangelical truth, are "avoided" and "not brought forward as necessary objects of orthodox belief!" How incredibly strange that the Westminster Assembly never detected this Laodicean latitudinarianism, but blindly gave it their earnest

* Hist. and Gen. of the Heid. Cat. p. 135. † p. 136.

‡ See his Exposition and "Miscellanea Catechetica" passim; from the latter of which might be compiled an elaborate demonstration of the Five ("knotty") Points of Calvinism. We would particularly refer the reader to No. 4 of that collection, consisting of a long letter on Predestination and the questions involved in it, addressed to a friend who was perplexed on these points. He assures his troubled friend that it is as clearly revealed as any other truth in the Bible, and that it is attended with no difficulty, "provided only we read the Holy Scripture without prejudice and without bias, and with the sincere desire not of reforming God after our own fancies (*non reformandi Deum ad nostras ἐγκρίσεις,*) but of *learning of him from himself*, and of ascribing all glory to him and transferring it from ourselves to him. Thus," he adds, "have those things become easy to me which appeared difficult, so long as I depended on the authority of men, who neither profited themselves nor me!" He clearly presents the doctrine with its adjuncts in that aspect in which it is so beautifully expressed in the XVII. Article of the Ch. of England; "The godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort." All the Five Points of (what is called) Calvinism protrude themselves in this long and admirable letter. The author tells his friend at the close, "*totam noctem impendi huic scriptioni, summa cum difficultate.*" It is dated Sept. 11, 1573.

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commendation! How superfluous the labour of Coppenstein in "*ex-calvinizing*" it, since it contained no Calvinism at all! How utterly, in fact, has it been misunderstood, by friends and foes, in that age and in all succeeding times, till the "light" has been "thrown upon it" by the Introduction of Dr. Nevin!

The reader has but to take this work into his hand and read over Questions 1st, 2d, 7th, 8th, (but if we would complete the enumeration, we must include by far the greater portion of the Catechism; we will only add, therefore, the 21st) with the author's own exposition, and he will see these same "hard, knotty points" unfolded as rich life-germs of truth to all the uses of Christian comfort and sanctification; aye, and guarded too, by the author, in armour of proof against all assailants. We will promise him from our own experience, not only a full satisfaction of his doubts, (if he has any,) on this particular question, but a most edifying and delightful improvement of his time. The Heidelberg Catechism "avoiding" Calvinism! Verily, the temerity of mere assertion "can no farther go." If its Calvinism was strong enough to satisfy the Calvinists of that day, and the "hard-handed Puritans"* of England, a hundred years later, we certainly think it may satisfy us.

Dr. Nevin commends "the broad, free character which marks the tone of its instructions. It is," he says, "moderate, gentle, *soft*." Rather questionable praise, we think, for "a form of sound words"—and certainly not more questionable in itself than in its application to the Heidelberg Catechism, which, after all Dr. Nevin has said of its "freedom from controversial," "polemical" and "party prejudices," really wears a more hostile and warlike front towards error and errorists than other Reformed symbols. For example, the Westminster Catechism confines itself to the simple and direct statement of truth,† whereas the Heidelberg Catechism repeatedly connects with such statement, a specification of the opposite error.

Prominent among its "characteristic perfections" is "the

* "Early Christianity," No. II.

† So does the Catechismus Genevensis (by Calvin.) The nearest approach which it makes to a hostile demonstration in any direction, is where it declares any departure from the command of Christ, in the doctrine and celebration of the Sacraments, to be *summum nefas*.

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mystical element," "the rich mystical element that is found to enter so largely into its composition," "the rich vein of mysticism which runs every where through its doctrinal statements."* Here is another occult quality of which its author and his early expounders never appear to have dreamed. Ursinus himself makes short work with μυστηριον by a very brief explanation of its classic derivation and use, and its scriptural and theological application, in his exposition of the 66th Question. He nowhere else uses the word, as far as we remember, even in reference to the Lord's supper. But Dr. Nevin has found a "rich vein of mysticism entering largely into its composition," "running every where through its doctrinal statements." What is this? Dr. Nevin has thought proper to enlighten us. "The mystical element," he says,† "is that quality in religion, by which it goes beyond all simply logical or intellectual apprehension, and addresses itself directly to the soul, as something to be felt and believed, even where it is too deep to be explained. The Bible abounds with such mysticism. It prevails, especially, in every page of the Apostle John. We find it largely in Luther. It has been often said that the Reformed faith, as distinguished from the Catholic and the Lutheran, is unfriendly to this element . . . and so is ever prone to run into rationalism. And it must be confessed that there is some show of reason for the serious charge." A very serious charge indeed! That "the Reformed faith as distinguished from the *Catholic* and the Lutheran, is unfriendly to an element" with which "the Bible abounds," and which "prevails in every page of the Apostle John!" But it is satisfactory to know that the Heidelberg Catechism being "the product of the Reformed Church in the full bloom of its historical development" has eliminated this hostile quality and thus "surmounted the force of the objection now mentioned;" in other words, has approximated to "*the Catholic* and Lutheran" systems. It seems difficult to conceive again why it was then so "fiercely assaulted" at once from Lutheranism and "from the Church of Rome itself!"‡

But as for the existence of this "mystical element," this "quality which goes beyond all intellectual apprehension" in

* Intro. p. 15 and 16. † Int. p. 15. ‡ Int. p. 16.

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the Heidelberg Catechism, it is sufficient to oppose to the assertion one plain declaration of Ursinus himself from innumerable others. It occurs in the Prolegomena to the Catechism No. IV. § 7—"Instruction must be short, *simple*, and *perspicuous*," ("*brevis, simplex et perspicua*") on account of the ignorance and infirmity of learners." And *herein*, he says, *lies the great necessity and value of catechetical instruction.* How totally then must the worthy author have failed of his own aim and conception of a good Catechism, if he has made one which is pervaded "through all its doctrinal statements" with "that quality which goes beyond all intellectual apprehension!" How ill adapted would such a Catechism be to impart that "true *knowledge* of God and of his Son Jesus Christ, without which" (Ursinus tells us in § 3 of the same chapter) "no one that has attained to years of discretion and understanding can be saved;" (sustaining the assertion by John xvii. 3.) This whole No. of the Prolegomena is occupied with the demonstration of the necessity of a clear, solid and intelligible communication of the doctrines of Christianity. It has ever been deemed an extraordinary merit of this Catechism, that it was "*ad captum tam juniorum quam adultiorum accommodatus.*" Hear what Bullinger says of it,* after stating that he had read it with great eagerness and many thanks to God. "*Ordo libelli dilucidus est, et res ipsæ sincere verissimeque propositæ. Plana sunt omnia, piissima, fructuosissima, succinctâ brevitate comprehendentia magnas res et copiosas.*" So far were the ablest men of that day from detecting "the rich mystical element, going beyond all intellectual apprehension" which Dr. Nevin has discovered, "running everywhere through its doctrinal statements."

That it "addresses itself directly to the soul" is perfectly true. So do all the Reformed symbols; because they speak that "word of God which *pierceth* even to the dividing asunder of the soul and spirit." But they "address the soul" none the less "directly" because they address it *through* the intellect. "How many things are necessary for thee to *know?*" (says the

* In a letter written 1563, the same year in which the Catechism was published. It is quoted by Van Alphen. Oec. Cat. Pal. Prol. p. 40.

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Heidelberg Catechism, (Q. 2). Again, "Whence *knowest* thou thy misery?" (Q. 3.) "What is true Faith? (Q. 21.) Ans. True Faith is not only *a certain knowledge*, whereby I hold for truth all that God has revealed to us in his word, but also an assured confidence, which the Holy Ghost works *by the gospel* in my heart," &c. Here every thing is rational, (in the true sense,) manly, intelligent, and eminently free from the "mystical element," by Dr. Nevin's own exposition of it. The Reformed creeds, and those who ministered them, sought not to stupefy and overcloud the human intellect with "mysticism," but to quicken and invigorate its faculties by the vital beams of truth, and to call them forth to their highest and noblest exercise, in the contemplation of the sublime verities of revelation. They therefore opened wide to them the Bible. Their first and most earnest labour was to make it speak in the vulgar tongue of every race. They invited all men to come to its light, and to search into its truths, in a spirit at once reverential and free. In a word, they "fed the souls of men with *knowledge* and *understanding*," not with "doctrinal statements going beyond all intellectual apprehension!"

We dismiss this point with simply remarking that these words, "mystery," "mysticism," "*mystical*," (Rev. xvii. 5,) have been great favourites with the Papal Church. In fact, there have been wise and good men not a few, (and the Reformers among them,) who thought they could read on her brow, written by the finger of God, the name of "MYSTERY."* For that very reason, the Reformers eschewed both the word and the thing. They looked upon it as a sort of bandage which Rome tied over the eyes of men, when she wanted to put her hand into their pockets, or her "hook into their noses." When they spoke of "mysteries," it was of "the mysteries of God" and "of the kingdom of God;" the "deep things of God," and not the inventions and impostures which men have covered over with the veil of *mystery*. Nor do we know any

* It is painful to observe Dr. Nevin's fondness for this word; to hear him for example, frequently (even in the course of this Introduction) allude to the sacrament under the name of "the awful mystery." It brings to one's mind Bellarmine's "*tremenda mysteria missæ*," and the like Romish misnomers of "the Lord's SUPPER."

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sense in which any of them (and Ursinus as little as the rest) would have accepted the compliment which Dr. Nevin has here paid to the Heidelberg Catechism. With historical "mysticism" they certainly had little sympathy; and as little, we believe, with that "quality" in a certain school of modern German philosophy, which "goes beyond all intellectual apprehension." The independence of the logical and intuitional consciousness was not yet brought to light. They speak as if they thought it necessary (in all things intelligible) to be understood in order to be "felt and believed."

But it soon becomes apparent in what direction this deep current of "mysticism" is wafting us. "The mystical element of the Catechism" (says Dr. Nevin, p. 15,) "is closely connected with the Catholic spirit," "its sympathy with the religious life of the old Catholic Church." This too, is numbered "among its characteristic perfections!" If by "the old Catholic Church" Dr. Nevin means the old (Roman) Catholic Church, (and we can understand the author of "Early Christianity" in no other sense,) what are we to make of its direct antagonism to the Papal Church and doctrine, in every one of the "*præcipui articuli*,"* in which the fathers of the Protestant Church made the "controversy" with Rome to consist. To select a few examples;—see its pointed condemnation of the claim of Rome to be "the only true Church, out of which there is no salvation," in Q. 54; of the Romish doctrine of good works in Q. 91, and in its whole treatment of the doctrine of justification; of the mass, Q. 80; of the power of the keys, Q. 83, 84, 85; of the use of images, Q. 96, 97, 98; of the invocation of saints, Q. 30, 99, 100, 102; and of enforced celibacy,† in the treatment of "marriage" in connection with Q. 109. This compliment of "sympathy with the old Catholic Church" appears simply ludicrous when we pass out of the Catechism into this "exposition of its true meaning,"‡ and see the author, with the whip of small cords in his hand, laying about him vigorously and with a will, at "schoolmen," "Papists," "monks," and

* See the "Epilogus" to the Confess. Augustana. Hase, Libri Symbol. Ecc. Evang. p. 45.

† And of "penance" and "extreme unction" in the Expos. of Q. 68th.

‡ Dr. Nevin's Int. p. 19.

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"mass-mongers." A strange manifestation of sympathy, indeed! And still the question recurs, how came it that the Catechism was so "fiercely assaulted at the time of its appearance, (as Dr. Nevin tells us it was, p. 16) from the Church of Rome?" She generally knows her friends, even her secret friends, too well to make them the objects of her "assaults."

Dr. Nevin, however, is determined to divest the Catechism, not only of all the "knotty" "hard points of Calvinism," but of all bristling manifestations of hostility towards Rome. He therefore sets himself to dismantle one of the *propugnacula* of the Reformed faith, in the following style.

"A great deal of offence, as is generally known, has been taken with the unfortunate declaration, by which the Roman mass is denounced, at the close of the 80th question, as being 'nothing else than a denial of the one sacrifice and sufferings of Jesus Christ, and an accursed idolatry.' But it should never be forgotten, that this harsh anathema, so foreign from the spirit of Melancthon and Ursinus, and from the reigning tone also of the Heidelberg Catechism, forms no part of the original work as published under the hand of Ursinus himself. It is wanting in the first two editions; and was afterwards foisted in, only by the authority of the Elector Frederick, in the way of angry retort and counterblast, we are told, for certain severe declarations the other way, which had been passed a short time before by the council of Trent."

We have here given Dr. Nevin's statement on this subject *entire*, without omitting or italicising a word, that there may be no possibility of unfairness. We now beg the reader to compare it, statement by statement, with the following passage from his "History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism," (p. 54, 1847,) which we transfer from his pages to our own with the same scrupulosity. "One remarkable distinction characterized the first edition, as compared with all which have been published since. The 80th Question, in which the Roman mass is denounced as an 'accursed idolatry,' was not suffered to make its appearance. In the second edition, it is found in its place, only the *accursed idolatry* is still suppressed. Finally, however, as in this same year the decrees of the Council of Trent came out anathematizing all who would not own the

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mass to be divine, the Elector took pains to have the question restored in full to the form in which it was originally composed, while the previous text was allowed to go out of use as defective and incorrect. This gave rise, subsequently, to no small controversy and reproach."

The comparison of these passages brings to light two entirely irreconcilable discrepancies.

1. The "Introduction" states that the passage in question "is *wanting in the first two editions.*" The "History," that "in the second edition it is found in its place, *only* the 'accursed idolatry' is suppressed."

2. The "Introduction" affirms that it "*forms no part of the original work as published under the hand of Ursinus himself.*" The "History" states that in the first edition, the whole 80th Question *was not suffered to make its appearance;* in the second it is *found in its place, only* the "accursed idolatry is *still suppressed,* but that, finally, the Elector took pains to have the Question RESTORED *in full to* THE FORM *in which it was* ORIGINALLY COMPOSED, while the previous text was allowed to go out of use as *defective* and *incorrect.*"

How widely then, has Dr. Nevin changed ground between 1847 and 1851! We shall convince the reader presently, that his *progress,* in this respect, (we fear in others too,) has been in the direction of *error* and not of *truth.* We might quote him against himself, for he has given us the right to do so, by referring us to the "History" at the close of the "Introduction." But a "historian" who makes opposite statements of facts in the space of four years, without a syllable of retractation or explanation, is an *authority* so precarious that we cannot bring ourselves to rely upon it. Nor need we. A brief statement of unquestionable *facts* will put this matter in its true light.

The Catechism was first published in German, (as we have seen,) in January, 1563. Three successive editions were issued during that year. The first did not contain the 80th Question. The second contained it, with the exception of the last clause, "and an accursed idolatry." The third contained it *entire as it now stands,* closing with the declaration—"Und ist also die Mess im grund nichts anders, denn ein Verläugnung des eini-

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gen opffers uñ leidens Jesu Christi, und ein vermaledeite Abgötterey."

To this third edition was appended the following notice,

"*An den Christlichen Leser.*

Was im ersten truck übersehen, als fürnemlich folio 55, ist jetzunder auss befehl Churfürstlicher Gnaden addiert worden, 1563."

"*To the Christian reader.*

What was overlooked (or omitted) in the former edition, as, especially, fol. 55, has now been added by order of his Electoral Grace, 1563.

On the 55th folio stood the 80th Question.* The Catechism *containing the 80th Question in this complete form*, was translated, the same year, 1563, into Latin, and shortly afterwards, successively, into the numerous European and Asiatic languages we have mentioned above, all carrying with them the 80th question, *precisely as it now stands* in the popular editions in use in the Reformed Churches.

These are the *facts* in the case which no man will contest.† Now for the charge of Dr. Nevin, that "the unfortunate declaration, by which the Roman Mass is denounced, at the close of the 80th Question, *forms no part of the original work* as published under the hand of Ursinus himself, but was *afterwards foisted in, only by the authority of the Elector Frederick.*"

"To foist. To insert by forgery." Such is the whole definition of Dr. Johnson. Have then the Reformed Churches been teaching, preaching and expounding for nearly three centuries a *forgery* under the belief that it was a truth of God? Such is the heavy charge brought against them by Dr. Nevin. Blessed be God, there is no truth in it.

We will take the phrase in its largest latitude. It can bear but three interpretations, viz., that the clause in question was inserted *after the death of Ursinus, without his knowledge*, or *against his consent and convictions.*

* Kœcher, Cat. Gesch., p. 250.

† The reader is referred to the following authorities:—Van Alphen Oec. Cat. Pal. Prologus, p. 29, &c., Kœcher Cat. Geschichte der Ref. Kir. p. 250. Augusti. Versuch einer hist. krit. Ein. in die beyden Haupt. Kat. p. 115, &c., Niemeyer Coll. Conf. in Ecc. Ref. Praef. p. 57, &c. The latter presents the historical argument in its fullest and at the same time its briefest form. He printed both the German and Latin copies in his collection from the editions of 1563.

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It was not inserted *after the death* of Ursinus. The whole question stands precisely in its present form in Niemeyer's copies, both German and Latin, printed from editions of 1563.* Ursinus died in 1583, twenty years afterward. It was not, therefore, inserted *after his death.*

It was not inserted *without his knowledge.* He expounded his own catechism throughout, year by year from 1563 to 1577, (fourteen years.) The work before us consists of these "Expositions." It could not have been inserted therefore, *without his knowledge.*

It was not inserted *against his consent and convictions.* Let the reader but look through his "Explicatio" of this question, and of the whole subject from Q. 75th to 80th, and see how he sustains every position and clause in it, *and this among the rest,* from the nature of things, from Scripture, and from the fathers, and he will be satisfied that not only his mind but his heart was in it. Let him read his "Theses de Sacramentis"† and he will receive yet more abundant proof.‡ We will not tire him with citations, but content ourselves with *one* which of itself will banish all doubt. In the year 1569, (six years after the publication of the Catechism) Ursinus *added* to the exposition of this 80th Q. eight "discrimina" in support of its doctrine, in which he re-asserts and proves it, *clause by clause,* and deduces from the whole the following conclusion. "*Hæc discrimina ostendunt, missam Papisticam in fundamento nihil esse aliud, quam abnegationem unici sacrificii Christi et horribilem idololatriam.*" "These *discrimina* show that the Popish Mass, at bottom, is nothing else than a denial of the one sacrifice of Christ and a horrible idolatry." A repetition, almost word for word, of the passage in question! It could not, therefore, have been inserted *without his consent and against his conviction.*§

* Collectio, &c. p. 411 and 448, Kœcher says too, that he had *before his eyes,* while writing his "Catechetische Geschichte," a copy of the edition of 1563, in which the 80th Q. stood entire. See Cat. Gesch. des Ref. Kir. p. 251. 1756.

† Bound up with the edition of 1622.

‡ We have not the entire works of Ursinus within our reach, But Van Alphen says (Oec. Cat. Pal. Prol. p. 30) in reference to this 80th Q.—"In operibus Ursini *non tantum legitur integra,* sed etiam *quod ad singulas partes explicatur et asseritur.* Vide illa Tom. I. p. 285."

§ See these "discrimina," Lat. ed. of 1622, p. 541. Willard's Tr. p. 421.

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But we will go further. *It was contained in the original draft as written by Ursinus.* Else why was it said to have been "*omitted,*" (übersehen,) in the *notula* appended to the third impression? Can any thing be said to be *omitted* in the printing which was not *contained* in the manuscript copy? This very inscription substantiates beyond a doubt, the statement of Dr. Nevin (1847) that, in the third edition, "it was *restored* to the form in which it was *originally composed.*"

What shall we say then of Dr. Nevin's charge—in contradiction to all history, (his own "History" included,) that it was "*foisted in afterwards*, only by the authority of the Elector Frederick?" We have no disposition to find a name for it. It is sufficient for us to have demonstrated "the innocence of the Heidelberg Catechism."

Having thus far dealt with *facts*, shall we offer a probable conjecture as to this *gradual* insertion of the 80th question? It was a bold declaration of the truth of God. The previous questions, (75 to 79) had contained a full statement of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. This ("What is the *difference* between the Lord's Supper and the Popish Mass?") merely presented it *in contrast* with the corrupt and idolatrous substitute of the Papal Church. The Elector had to encounter the hostility of the imperial throne and of the Popish princes. Even his Lutheran brethren were disaffected by the Calvinistic features of the Catechism. He was overawed for a moment by the manifold perils of his position, and thought perhaps that the positive statement of the *truth* was enough, without holding up the opposite *error*. In the first edition, therefore, "the 80th question was not suffered to appear." In the second, he gathered more courage, and "it is found in its place, only the *accursed idolatry* is still suppressed." In the third, he *encouraged himself in the Lord his God*, and let the whole truth come out; in fact, "took pains" (ashamed it may be of having so far yielded to the fear of man) "to have the question restored in full to the form in which it was originally composed," saying, that "even if it should come to the shedding of blood, it would be an honour for which, if my God and Father should so please to use me, I could never be sufficiently thankful in this world or the next."

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For the words of this noble confession, we are indebted to Dr. Nevin* (the Dr. Nevin, we mean, of 1847,) as well as for the picture of his calm heroism at the Diet shortly after, where he was called to account for his Catechism, and "witnessed a good confession" before the Emperor and Princes, saying "in conclusion, he would still comfort himself in the sure promise of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, made to him as well as to all saints, that whatever he might lose for his name in this life, should be restored to him a hundred fold in the next."†

"The unfortunate declaration," Dr. Nevin tells us, gave "a great deal of offence." To whom? Not to the Reformed Church. "The evidence of this, we have in the free, full response with which it" (the Catechism) "was met, on the part of the Church, not only in the Palatinate, but also, in other lands. It was, as though the entire Reformed Church heard and joyfully recognized her own voice in the Heidelberg Catechism." We are indebted to Dr. Nevin ("Introduction," p. 14) for this glowing description of its hearty and general approval; which is fully sustained by other authorities. Buddæus, (himself a Lutheran) tells us that even the Lutherans praised it.‡

To the Papal Court and Hierarchy, the whole symbol, and pre-eminently this declaration "gave" no doubt "a great deal of offence;" for it fell upon them with the awful force and majesty of truth. To them it was, indeed, "an unfortunate declaration," for it and other like utterances of God's truth by the preachers, writers, and creeds of the Reformation, broke the spell by which Rome had long held the nations entranced in her "strong delusions," and was at least "the beginning of the end" of her power.

It was "so foreign from the spirit of Melancthon," says Dr. Nevin. Now, Melancthon understood his own "spirit" as well

* History, &c. p. 65.

† Hist. & Gen. of the Heid. Cat. p. 66, 7. See also the account of his truly blessed death in this same work, p. 69.

‡ Isag. Hist. Theol. p. 341. "Catechismus Heidelbergensis.... *magnâ* non tantum a reformatæ Ecclesiæ addictis, *consensione* receptus, *sed et a nostratibus interdum laudatus est.*" The Catechism was libelled, he adds, by a Jesuit of the Palatinate, and defended by the illustrious James Lenfant, in a book entitled "L'innocence du Catechisme de Heildelberg demontrée contre deux libelles d'un Jesuite," &c.

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as most men. Let him express it for himself. In an address from the University of Wittemberg to the Elector Frederic, Duke of Saxony, we meet with the following expressions, and more like them. "*Missarum perniciosus et impius abusus.*" They are numbered "*inter gravissima omnium et maxime horribilia peccata.*" "*Meræ imposturæ ad fraudem et fallaciam propter quæstum excogitatæ;—unde impuri sacrificuli occasione corradendæ pecuniæ,*" &c. (Mere tricks, devised to deceive and ensnare for the sake of gain—whence impure priests take occasion to scrape up money," &c.) The profanation of the Lord's Supper by the Corinthian Church is called to mind, and the judgments which followed it, and it is added, "Wherefore, since we far more unworthily, and by utterly abominable practices, pollute a most holy ordinance, there is no doubt but we are yet more dreadfully punished with wars, pestilence, and infinite disasters, the greatness of which is before our eyes; and not only so, but (what is still more sad and more to be dreaded,) with that blindness, and as it were frenzy, of a reprobate mind, which are daily observed in the ministers and defenders of the *Mass.*"

To this document stands subscribed the name (*clarum et venerabile!*) of "Philippus Melancthon."*

"So foreign" adds Dr. Nevin, "from the spirit of Ursinus." Now we may suppose the reader pretty well satisfied by this time "what manner of spirit" Ursinus "was of" in this matter. However, we will give him one more manifestation of it.

In his exposition of the 78th Question, he says of the worship of Christ's body in the bread as performed in the mass, "this is that fearful idolatry which is practised in the Popish mass, which, without doubt, is so detestable to God that it would be better to suffer death a thousand times than once to commit it." *Hæc est ipsa illa horrenda idololatria, quæ in missa Papistica exercetur, quæ haud dubiè tam est detestabilis* Deo, ut satius sit mille mortes oppetere, quam semel eam committere.* Lat. Ed. p. 431. Cf. Williard, p. 399.

* Sententia Academiæ Wittembergensis ad Principem Frider. Duc. Sax. Elect. (Luth. Op. Tom. II.)

† Mr. Williard translates "detestabilis" "displeasing." *Displeasing* is not a *translation* of *detestabilis*.

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We are sorry to strip the brow of Ursinus of one of the laurels with which the eloquent and somewhat poetic eulogium of Dr. Nevin has adorned it. But the truth must be told. We fear he is hardly entitled to all the μαλθακοι λογοι, the epithets of "moderate," "gentle," "soft," "quiet soul," (Int. p. 16,) with which Dr. Nevin has somewhat profusely bepraised him. There is reason to fear that he regarded the abominations of Popery with even more than a *holy* indignation. We commend him to the charitable judgment of the reader in this matter, while we subjoin a single passage for his consideration. But he will excuse us for dropping it into a foot-note, and leaving it modestly covered over with the veil, (however thin to learned eyes,) of its original Latinity. It may dissipate some of the saintly hues in which Dr. Nevin has drawn him; but, one thing is certain: it will leave him no longer entitled, either to praise or censure, on the score of "sympathy with the old (Roman) Catholic Church." The letter below was addressed "to a gentleman of Breslau who had just come back from Italy."*

In fact, if Dr. Nevin is looking for "sympathy with the religious life of the old Catholic Church" in any such sense† as he means, we do not know "to which of the saints" (in the Protestant calendar at least,) he "will turn." "In Luther," he says above, (Int. p. 16,) "we find largely" that "mystical element" which "is closely connected with the Catholic spirit of which we have just spoken." Luther too, we insist, must have the privilege of speaking for himself. Hear then his voice: "*Quid ergo sequitur?—Missas quas sacrificia vocant, esse summam idololatriam et impietatem.*" And shortly after, "*Quare concludimus, constanti fiducia, Missarum usum sacrificiorum idem esse quod negare Christum.*"‡ "What then follows? That the masses which they call sacrifices are the height of idolatry and

* Zach. Ursini Epistola ad amicum (Patricium Vratislaviensem) *ex Italia reversum.* Gratulor tibi felicem reditum *ex cloaca Diabolorum*, et precor, ut prosit tibi *balneum* quod *post illam* ingressus es. Quod si opus est, etiam *pumicem* huic schedæ inclusum tibi mitto, quo *fricatus* redeas nobis *lautus sat commodè*," &c.

† For the exposition of that sense, we refer the reader again to "Early Christianity" in the September and November numbers of the Mercersburg Review.

‡ Luther de abroganda Missa priv. Op. Tom. II. p. 260.

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impiety. Wherefore, we conclude with unshaken confidence that the use of the sacrifices of the masses is nothing else than to *deny Christ.*" A startling approximation that, to the "harsh anathema" in the 80th Question! The next page completes the resemblance—"*tanta impietatis novissimæ execramenta.*"*

Luther too shakes off Dr. Nevin's compliment of "sympathy" &c., in the same rude way as Ursinus: "That dragon's tail," (the mass) "hath drawn after it many abominations and idolatries."†

Calvin declares that "if all the angels of heaven should come to the mass, they could not purify it from its pollutions by their holy presence."‡

This feeling and conviction then, and the severity with which it is expressed, were common to all the Reformers. It was this that made them Reformers. It was not with them a matter of temperament, but of faith. The stern soul of Calvin, the fiery vehemence of Luther, the tranquil Ursinus, the serene and philosophic Melancthon, were all equally terrible in denouncing the impieties of the mass. They thought and spoke of it differently from what we do, because they knew more of it. They had emerged from the unfathomable pit of Romish corruption, and they fled, and called other men to flee for their lives. Luther said at his table, "I would not take a thousand florins for the advantage of having gone to Rome. If I had not been there, I should always have thought that I was speaking too strongly. . . I confess that I have often been too violent, *but never towards the Papacy.* To speak against that, a man ought to have a tongue on purpose, whose words should be thunderbolts."‖

A milder age followed the stormy period of the actual Reformation, abounding in "Irenica" and "conditions of peace." The works and lives of such men as Junius,§ Paræus, John

* Luther de abroganda Missa priv. Op. Tom. II. p. 261.

† "Cauda ista draconis traxit multas abominationes et idololatrias."

‡ "Ne omnes quidem Angelos, si Missæ intersint, posse eluere ejus sordes sua sanctitate." Epist. qui liceat participare cultui Romanæ Synagogæ. Op. Calv. Tom. IX. p. 205.

‖ Michelet. Vie de Luther, Tome II. p. 103.

§ Polyander asked Junius shortly before his death which of his numerous works was his own favourite. "My Irenicon," said the good man, "for in all the rest I wrote as a theologian, in that as a Christian."

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Turretine and Werenfels, form a most interesting feature in the Church History of that period. The various branches of the Protestant Church felt a strong affinity towards each other. The Churches of England and Holland held across the channel, "*junctas manus, pignus amicitiæ.*" Good and great men in the several Protestant communions, earnestly sought to bring about a "Christian alliance." But the works written by men of this stamp (and even for this express object) uniformly maintain "that there can be no sound agreement betwixt Popery and the profession of the Gospel, no more than betwixt light and darkness, falsehood and truth, God and Belial; and therefore no reconciliation can be devised betwixt them." We cite the exact words of Archbishop Usher.* The meek and pacific Bishop Davenant goes still farther. "The Roman Church" ("being," as he elsewhere says in the same letter, "in doctrine a false, and in practice an *idolatrous* Church,") "is no more a true Church in respect of Christ, or those due qualities and proper actions which Christ requires, than an arrant whore is a true and lawful wife unto her husband. You would not think, I am sure, in that sense, of calling that strumpet a true Church."† "*Sane non possumus, salva conscientia, cum iis consociari,*" says John Turretine,‡ the very embodiment of the pacific and comprehensive spirit. And all these peace-makers spoke the same language.‖ Without exception, however, they admitted (as did also the earlier and sterner Reformers,) that there were persons of sincere piety within the communion of the Church of Rome.§ Why, then, do they, with one voice, proclaim the impossibility of a reconciliation with the Papal Church, consistently with a good conscience? One, from their

* Sum and Substance of Chris. Rel. p. 413, fol. 1678.

† Letter to the Bp. of Exon. Life, pref. to Comm. on Col. p. 36, 37.

‡ De Artic. Fundamentalibus. Dilucid. Joh. Alph. Turretine. Vol. III. p. 63.

‖ Even the Romanists admired these men. See Moreri's eloquent tribute to "l'illustre Alph. Turretin" and Werenfels (Sam.) whom he pronounces "*Théologiens du premier ordre et animés à l'envi d'un esprit de prudence, de charité et de concorde.*" Dict. Hist. "Werenfels."

§ Arch. Usher thinks that "even a Pope may be saved. For some, (in likelyhood) have entered into and continued in that See ignorantly. Wherefore, they may possibly find place for repentance," &c. He is remarkably cautious in handling that point. Sum and Subst. &c. ibid.

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many reasons, and generally the first and foremost was the perpetual sacrilege and idolatry of "the Roman Mass."

What, then, is the Roman Mass? To answer this question, we shall not go to "Morse & Co.* (albeit with us decidedly respectable authority,) but ascend, at once, to a source of information which Dr. Nevin at least will admit to be august and indisputable—the Council of Trent.

The nine "Canons of the Mass" (passed by the Council of Trent, at its 22d Session, Sept. 17, 1562,) ordain the following among other "Capita doctrinæ Missæ;"† that the Mass is not a commemoration of a sacrifice, but a true and proper sacrifice of Jesus Christ, offered up to the Father by the hands of the priest; that Christ instituted the apostles and their successors as priests, thus to offer up his body and blood; that this offering up of the body and blood of Christ is a propitiation for sins not only of the living, but of the dead; that this sacrifice is rightly performed to the memory and honour of the saints; that it is rightly performed with such ceremonies, vestments and outward signs as the Church ordains; that it is rightly performed when the priest sacramentally communicates alone; that it is rightly performed when the words of consecration are uttered in an unknown tongue, and in a low voice."

The nine Anathemas corresponding to the Canons, ordain that whosoever shall speak in opposition to any doctrine or usage contained in any one of these Canons is anathematized and damned. ("*Anathemate fulminari, lit.* thunderstricken with a curse, *et damnandum esse.*")

Here then, a mortal and a sinner clad in vestments and muttering (in a low voice and an unknown tongue) formulæ of purely human (and most of them of heathen) invention, pretends to offer up to God the person of his beloved, and now glorified Son; the overpowering splendour of whose presence is such that his own beloved Apostle at the first glance, "fell at his feet as it were dead," (Rev. i.); who saith of himself, "I live for evermore!"—of whom his inspired Apostle testifies, "he hath by *one* offering *perfected for ever* them that are sancti-

* "Early Christianity," Merc. Rev. Sept. 1851.

† Pet. Soav. Pol. Hist. Conc. Trident. l. VI. p. 520, 1.

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fied." A sinful creature offers up in sacrifice his CREATOR; in the face of his own words, "No man taketh my life from me. I lay it down of myself." And this horrible mockery is gone through, not only to make a propitiation for the sins of the living, but to reverse the doom and alter the eternal state of the dead; nay more, and (if possible) worse, that human nature which "the Mighty God" (Is. ix. 6,) assumed into an unspeakable union with his own, is offered up in sacrifice "*to the memory and honour*"* of dead men whom Rome is pleased to call *saints;* some of them persons under whose crimes the very earth trembled while they lived upon it—men who would have been hanged in any country under the government of laws: and this unutterable rite is what Rome has made out of "the Lord's Supper;" that sweet and happy festival of grateful commemoration and holy communion in which the Redeemer, to *bring to mind himself*, and *to show forth his death*, took bread and blessed it and said, This is my body, and took the cup saying, This is my blood, his actual person being then before their eyes, and within the reach of their hands, his breast supporting the beloved disciple, his voice speaking to them, his mouth eating and drinking along with them. And Rome has not only thus turned the table into an altar, and the feast into a sacrifice, and the blessing into a muttered and unintelligible *consecration*, and the affectionate memorial into a fearful immolation, and "the broken bread" into a wafer, and taken away the "cup of blessing" from those to whom Christ gave it, saying, Drink ye *all* of it, and changed the words which Christ *spake to* his disciples *that his peace might abide* in them, and *that their joy might be full*—words, O how full of kind explanation even of their unexpressed doubts and difficulties, (John xiv. 8, 9; xvi. 19,) and clear, deep revelations of truth and grace, into words of which they cannot understand a syllable, doubly concealed as they are by an *unknown language* and a *low tone*:† but when she has thus changed "the Lord's Supper" into her own "Mass," if any man speak a word‡ against jot or tittle of the new rite which she has thus brought

* "In memoriam et honorem sanctorum."—Hist. Concil. Trident.

† "Summissa voce," "non lingua vulgari."—*Ibid.*

‡ "Si quis dixerit" is the sole prefix to every anathema.—*Ibid.*

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into the place of that which Christ bequeathed to us, she excommunicates him from the Church on earth, (*her* Church, blessed be God!) and dooms him to eternal fire in hell—aye, and gives him a foretaste of it too, in present and material fire, *wherever she has the power.*

This, reader, is "the Roman Mass."* To see how desperately many, even of the Roman bishops and clergy, struggled step by step, against the *horribile decretum*, you have but to look into the debates which preceded its passage in the Council. But the Pope, through his legates, was inexorable. The canons (curses and all) were at last passed *by a plurality of votes;* and Rome, on that day, branded on her own brow the mark of an idolatrous and apostate Church, which will cleave to her in the sight of God and man till she is herself "consumed by the breath of the Lord, and destroyed by the brightness of his coming."

Will it be believed that Dr. Nevin has, within a few weeks, applied to this mixture of "abominable idolatries" the title of "the tremendous sacrament of the altar;" and in reference to the Papal Church and power in general, has held the following language: "The Papacy itself is a wonder of wonders.† There is nothing like it in all history besides." (That is undoubtedly true.) "So all men will feel who stop to *think* about it in more than a fool's way. History, too, *even in Protestant hands,*‡ is coming more and more to do justice to the vast and mighty merits of the system in past times. . . . Think of the theology of this old Catholic Church,§ of its body of ethics,‖ of its canon law. The Cathedral of Cologne is no such work as this last. The dome of St. Peter is less sublimely grand

* Can we wonder that Luther said of it, "It is incomprehensible that such an impious abuse is daily endured by God." ("Inæstimabile est tantum impietatis abusum quotidie a Deo ferri."—Op. II. p. 250.) Or that Melancthon ascribes to it the "wars, pestilence, and infinite disasters" which afflicted Germany in his day? It seems, even now, that no country in which it is performed *by authority* can have either liberty or peace.

† Cf. Rev. xiii. 3; "all the world *wondered* after the beast."

‡ These italics are ours.

§ "The old Catholic Church" *is*, then, "the Papacy." Cf. above, p. 58.

‖ This "body of ethics" has been admirably expounded by one of her own most gifted members, Pascal. See his "Lettres Provinciales."

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than the first. . . However much of rubbish the Reformation found occasion to remove, it was still compelled to *do homage to the main body of the Roman theology as orthodox and right;* and to this day, *Protestantism has no valid mission in the world any farther than it is willing to build on this old foundation!!*"*

When Dr. Nevin chooses to expatiate in this strain from his theological chair at Mercersburg, and in contrast with "the vast and mighty merits of the Papacy," to discourse of "Protestant myths," and dilate on the "vast errors and monstrous diseases of Protestantism;" nay, even to indulge in bitter sneers at "plenty of Bibles" as the means of reforming and saving the world, while he extols "the Papacy" as "the power of order and law, the fountain of a new civilization," &c., &c.; much as we may wonder and grieve at the strange and sad spectacle, it is not for us to interfere. But we cannot permit him, on the plea of "introducing" a Catechism which we all revere, and an exposition which bears the stamp of long and wide approval, to come, in his *mystical presence*, into the sacred arcanum of theology, and, by a few quiet postulates, unlock the very citadel of the Reformed faith, and deliver up the key to the Romanists.

We do not hesitate to say that by the process through which he has made the Heidelberg Catechism to pass in this "Introduction,"† the strongest contrapositions which can be framed in words must speedily blend into each other. A man may reason that

"Black's not so black, nor white so very white,"

till he has lost the power of distinguishing them. He may eventually persuade himself that "darkness *is* light, and light darkness." He may even bring his understanding to embrace the monstrous absurdity, that Popery is "early Christianity."

But, while we deplore that he should thus bewilder himself, it would be treason to Christian truth, to allow him volun-

* Mercersburg Rev., Nov. 1851. "Early Christianity," over Dr. Nevin's initials. See also the previous No.

† The reader may see the same process applied to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England in Tract No. 90, of the Oxford series.

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tarily an opportunity of extensively bewildering and misleading others by misrepresenting and (we must use the right word) *calumniating* a manual so clear in the doctrine and so instinct with the life of Protestant Christianity as the venerable Heidelberg Catechism. It is, says Dr. Nevin, "a Calvinistic Catechism," yet it "avoids" Calvinism; it is "throughout decidedly Protestant,* yet it manifests great "sympathy for the old Catholic Church;" it does indeed contain one "harsh anathema," but that, "it should ever be remembered," is a forgery! Suffer Dr. Nevin thus to "go about the bulwarks" of this ancient creed, knock off the "hard, knotty points of Calvinism," and spike the tremendous ordnance that utters its thunders from the 80th Question—and he will soon *make* the Catechism what he *calls* it, "moderate, gentle, *soft*"—quite harmless towards Popery and every other error; itself in fact, "a city broken down and without walls."

But we forbear. *Adstat Typographus.* The reader, no doubt, is weary, and so are we. Enough we think, has been said to convince him that Mr. Williard's work, executed, and especially "introduced" as it is, cannot hope to be received with affection and confidence by the Reformed Churches; with some measure of which they would surely have welcomed it, even with its present imperfections, if it had come before them unattended by the "Introduction" and the "Translator's Preface."

An adequate translation of this noble "Body of Divinity" must therefore be still considered a *desideratum.* Can we look to Mr. Williard to supply it?

If he will return, affectionately and cordially, to the faith which shed such unfading glory over the early annals of the German Reformed Church; if he will look more to Heidelberg and less to Mercersburg; and, taking this "Opus Catecheticum" in that final and condensed form in which Pareus bequeathed the Lectures of his venerated teacher to future times, "consulting" meanwhile the Latin much more "constantly" than "the old English translation," above all, retrenching inexorably, all "addenda" and "extracts" whether "short" or

* "Hist. and Gen." &c. p. 130.

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long from apocryphal sources—will re-produce the work in English with as close an imitation as possible, of the terse and elegant conciseness of the original—he will perform a work,

Οψιμον, οψιτιλεστον, ου πλους ουπω' ολιται;—

a service for which (long after the crotchets of Dr. Nevin have passed into oblivion,) future generations of enlightened Christians will "rise up and call him blessed."

SHORT NOTICES.

The Eldership of the Christian Church. By the Rev. David King, LL.D. Glasgow. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285 Broadway. 1851.

The reputation of this work is already established. It has special reference to the duties and qualifications of Ruling Elders.

Select Discourses of Sereno Edwards Dwight, D.D., with a Memoir of his Life. By William T. Dwight, pastor of the Third Congregational Church, Portland. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 47 Washington Street. 1851.

The memoir, prefixed to this volume, will excite commiseration in behalf of its subject, who, for the greater portion of his life, was weighed down by bodily sufferings such as few men have been called upon to endure; and these discourses, we think, will greatly elevate and extend his reputation for ability and research, as a theologian.

Lays of the Kirk and Covenant. By Mrs. A. Stuart Menteath. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1852.

This stirring volume is full of the genuine spirit of the Scottish Covenanters. The most affecting incidents in the heroic struggles and sufferings of Scotland's ecclesiastical history are the themes of separate poems, which evince not only cordial sympathy in the cause they celebrate, but very considerable poetic talent.

The Heavenly Recognition; or, an Earnest and Scriptural Discussion of the Question, Will we know our friends in Heaven? By the Rev. H. Harbaugh, A.M. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1851. pp. 288.

This is a work interesting from its subject. Those who have

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friends in heaven will be disposed to receive with pleasure, any scriptural argument in favour of a doctrine which their hearts yearn to have placed beyond reach of doubt. Few Christians indeed, we believe, ever seriously question a doctrine which is not only so congenial with their feelings, but which the Bible every where implies.

The Authority of God; or, the True Barrier against Romish and Infidel Aggression. Four Discourses. By the Rev. J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D., President of the Theological Institute of Geneva. With an Introduction, written for this edition. Author's complete edition. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285 Broadway. 1851.

These discourses had their origin in the Popish Bull establishing a Romish hierarchy in England, and in the denial of the inspiration and infallible authority of Scripture, by Professor Scherer, of Geneva. They are characterized by all the logical force, zeal for sound doctrine, and vivacity, of their celebrated author, and are peculiarly adapted to the exigencies of the times.

The Royal Preacher. Lectures on Ecclesiastes. By James Hamilton, D.D., F.L.S. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285 Broadway. 1851.

Dr. Hamilton is one of the most popular modern theological writers. He is a man of learning, of genius, and of a delightful temper, as well as of fervent piety. These Lectures abound in examples of ingenious exposition, and of rare eloquence, and their whole tendency is for good.

Stray Arrows. By the Rev. Theo. Ledyard Cuyler. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285 Broadway. 1852.

A collection of the fugitive pieces of their prolific and sprightly author.

Sacramental Meditations and Advices. By the Rev. John Willison, Dundee. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285 Broadway. 1851.

A reprint of an excellent old work.

Confessions of a Convert from Baptism in Water to Baptism with Water. From the Second English Edition. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 265 Chestnut street.

The Converted Unitarian. A short Memoir of E—— E——, a patient sufferer, who entered into rest August 13, 1825. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 265 Chestnut street.

There is such a general similarity in the exercises of Christians, not only in their strictly religious feelings, but in their struggles after truth, that few methods of instruction or conviction are more effectual than the truthful delineation of the progress of any soul from error to sound doctrine. The two books

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above mentioned belong to this class, and we trust will be instrumental of much good.

Why am I a Presbyterinn? Part III. By a Mother. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1851.

The first and second parts of this little work, already known to our readers, will serve to prepare the way for the reception of this continuation of the work.

Looking to the Cross; or the right use of Marks and Evidences, by William Cudworth. Published originally in 1748. Now published with Preface and Notes, by the Rev. Horatius Bonar. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1851.

Come to Jesus! By Newman Hall, B. A. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 265 Chestnut street.

It is I; or the Voice of Jesus in the Storm. By Newman Hall, B.A. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 265 Chestnut street.

The two last named works are very attractive recent publications of our Board. Their very title is enough to secure them a welcome.

Theology of the Puritans. By Leonard Woods, D. D. Boston: Published by Woodbridge, Moore & Co. 1851.

The title, "New England Theology," would have described the aim of this pamphlet still more accurately than that which it now bears. Our readers are well aware that those innovators who have attempted to tear out of the Calvinistic system its bones and sinews, and still retain the confidence of Calvinistic communions, have uniformly sought to make a hiding-place for themselves out of an undefinable something, which they have called "New England Theology." When called to answer for their novelties, and silenced at the bar of scriptural and church doctrine, and of sound logic, they have claimed nevertheless that they accord with "New England Theology," and so are entitled to all the respect and deference which are due to the faith of a body so numerous and respectable as the New England Congregationalists. Indeed these speculators have assumed, with such a tone of assurance, to be the representatives and defenders of "New England Theology," that multitudes not thoroughly acquainted with the facts, have supposed them right. Hence they have concluded that there is no recognized standard of doctrine among our Eastern brethren; or if there be any, that it is too lax and pliant to command or deserve respect. Judging from the bold and confident assertions of theological reformers, we should suppose that the great body of New England churches and ministers had espoused their peculiar views. We have deemed such representations false, and

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injurious not only to New England but to the cause of truth and righteousness; that they were simply the device of errorists for giving to the opinions of their own small cliques the pretended authority and sanction of a whole communion. Such turns out to be the fact. Dr. Woods has conclusively proved it in the pamphlet before us. The deception had been carried so far as to become a grave imposture. It was time for the public mind to be disabused. And on no man living did the task so properly devolve as on the oldest and most eminent living New England theologian. No one could be so competent a witness. The pamphlet itself shows that no one could be more thoroughly master of the proofs and arguments that decide the question.

He proves, 1. That in two successive general Synods, the early New England churches solemnly and unanimously adopted the Westminster and Savoy confessions as the true expression of their faith, and explicitly declared their agreement in doctrine with the Calvinistic churches of Europe, Presbyterian and Congregational; and that beyond all doubt this was the only doctrine accepted, defended, or even known among them for the first century of their existence. 2. He then shows that when these doctrines began to be questioned, Edwards appeared for their defense, and that all classes in New England ever since have agreed in recognizing him as the divine of highest authority, in the statement, exposition, and defense of the doctrines received among them: that next to him in authority, are Bellamy, Dwight, and Smalley, who followed in his track: that they all alike defended, with scarcely a variation, the doctrines of the Shorter Catechism which contains the substance of the Savoy Confession publicly adopted at the beginning. 3. That beyond the writings of Edwards, or any individual theologian or theologians, this Shorter Catechism ever has been and still continues to be the acknowledged symbol of the faith of ministers and people.

4. He shows that by no public act has New England ever revoked or disowned her adherence to the ancient symbols of her faith, which she had solemnly adopted. On the contrary, in innumerable ways, they have been all along recognized as occasion has required. The Catechism is constantly recommended by ecclesiastical bodies. They most earnestly urge that children be instructed in it. The most recent instance in which a general Association, representing the ministers of a whole State (Connecticut) had occasion to declare its faith as to fundamental doctrines, it adopted the *ipsissima verba* of the Catechism, even where it asserts the doctrine of imputation,

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which, beyond all other doctrines, has been supposed to be universally discarded in New England. This too, after thorough discussion of this particular point, in which it appeared that they who supposed they discarded it, found themselves mistaken. They had only rejected an absurd caricature of it.

Finally, Dr. Woods shows that Hopkins and Emmons carried but a small proportion of ministers with them, and that it was well understood by themselves, and by all, that their peculiarities were unacceptable to the great body of churches and ministers. As to Dr. Taylor, he always avowed himself the author of improvements upon the received theology. Thus it appears from every source of evidence, that if there be any system that deserves to be called "New England Theology," it is the theology of the Assembly's Catechism, and of Jonathan Edwards, *i. e.* essentially, of the whole Calvinistic world.

Dr. Woods takes occasion to expose some prevalent misconceptions respecting the words "guilt," and "imputation;" also on the subject of original sin and inherent depravity, which lead many to suppose they reject some articles in the Catechism, while they in reality accept what is meant by them. He then makes an *index expurgatorius* of certain heresies in direct conflict with New England Theology, which are claimed by their authors and abettors to constitute it, viz., conditional decrees; native innocence; the inability of God to exclude sin from a moral system; self-regeneration; regeneration by self-love; the opinion that conviction of sin is unnecessary; and that Christ did not die as a vicarious sacrifice to satisfy divine justice.

Thus the venerable author has spoiled the chief shelter in which our theological reformers have of late been most inclined to quarter. We are not surprised that they are not pleased to see their main fortress falling down upon their heads. But this is the fate of every house built on the sand. We have met with no attempt to evade the arguments of this pamphlet, except the allegation that Edwards taught that all sin consists in acts, because he taught that all virtue consists in benevolence! But in the very tract in which he teaches this latter doctrine, he speaks of this benevolence over and over again, as a "disposition," a "propensity," a "principle," &c. This argument only betrays the straits of those who use it. It is about as conclusive as this:—"Man reasons. Therefore, man is *not* a rational being." We are glad that Dr. Woods has contributed so effectively to put an end to the iniquity, 1, of impressing Edwards into the endorsement of doctrines to the overthrow of which those of his works were devoted, on

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which his fame chiefly rests; and 2, of calling all sorts of heresies "New England Theology."

An Inaugural Address delivered in the chapel of the Theological Institute of Connecticut, East Windsor Hill, August 7, 1851. By Rev. Nahum Gale, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Duty. Published by request.

This address will be read with great satisfaction by the friends of truth, both on account of its intrinsic merit, and the indication it affords of the growth and success of the important institution whose corps of teachers is enlarged by so welcome an accession. When it is remembered against what formidable opposition this Seminary was planted by a small band of country ministers, among whom Nettleton was conspicuous, and that it has been sustained and invigorated, (often by remarkable providential interpositions) until its permanency is no longer doubtful, we see how God honours faith, zeal and self-denial for him and his cause. He glorifies himself by making the weak strong, and by enabling the humblest who are valiant for the truth, to achieve the most unlooked for triumphs.

The particular topic of the address is, the advantages of studying the religious errors that have been developed in the church. He shows how it will confirm the student's faith in the truth; guard him against being deceived by new doctrines, and supposed improvements in theology; display the fallacy of supposing error in principle to be harmless in its practical results; and teach him how it can be most successfully refuted. These points are happily illustrated and cogently enforced, in a style combining clearness, vivacity and vigour.

We are happy to see that Professor Gale strongly insists that greater prominence is due to this branch of study in preparing for the ministry. The disposition to ignore historical theology, which has prevailed with some parties in our country, has tended to produce a narrow, provincial, metaphysical theology, out of sympathy with Catholic Christianity, and empty of its life and power. We are glad to see a phalanx rising up in sections where these idiosyncrasies have most flourished, who condemn this one-sided, uncatholic spirit. Professor Gale thus defines his stand-point, which is a good augury of his future usefulness. "We live in the middle of the nineteenth century. And can it be, that the cardinal doctrines of theology are yet unsettled? Has the study and experience of sixty generations secured us no fixed truths, and marked out no straight lines of duty? Must we regard all questions ever agitated about inspiration, the Trinity, the person of Christ, the atonement, and the nature of man, as still open questions?"

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The New Testament; or the Book of the Holy Gospel of our Lord and our God, Jesus the Messiah. A literal translation from the Syriac Peshito Version. By James Murdoch, D. D. New York: Stanford & Swords. 1851. pp. 515. 8vo.

The Peshito is the oldest and most valuable of the versions of the Scriptures in the Syriac language. Of its origin no satisfactory account can be given, though all the traditionary accounts current in the Syrian churches unite in ascribing to it a very high antiquity. It is certainly known that it existed and was in common use in the middle of the fourth century; for the citations of Scripture found in the numerous writings of Ephrem Syrus, who flourished at this period, are taken from this version, and his commentaries are based upon it. How long it had then been in existence it is impossible to say. Every different period has been assigned to it by scholars, from the close of the first century to the beginning of the fourth. Dr. Murdoch gives his reasons for believing it to have been translated late in the first, or early in the second century. Not only its antiquity, but its fidelity and accuracy render it of great worth to the critical student.

The text followed in this translation by Dr. Murdoch is partly that of the edition issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1816, and partly that issued by the same society in 1826. The text is divided into paragraphs, the chapters and verses being noted in the margin. The more important Syriac words are frequently placed in the side margin, with occasional foot-notes containing comments and critical observations. It is stated in the preface that the endeavour was made to translate as literally as possible in consistency with idiomatic and perspicuous English. In general, technical theological terms were avoided when good substitutes could be found: thus we have Paul the *Legate*, in place of the *Apostle*, Jesus the *Messiah*, in place of Jesus *Christ*, &c. In the Appendix there is a list of the lessons into which the Syriac New Testament is distributed as read in public worship, and an account of the different Syriac translations of the Scriptures.

The work was commenced by Dr. Murdoch early in August 1845, and completed in June 1846, since which time it has been subjected to repeated revision and correction. When it was finished, it was supposed to be the only English translation of the New Testament ever made from the Peshito; but after about three months the London press issued "A Literal Translation of the Four Gospels from the Peshito by J. W. Etheridge," and announced as in preparation, by the same author, "The Apostolical Acts and Epistles, from the Peshito."

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The typographical execution of this volume is of a sort which adds greatly to the pleasure of the reader. Many clergymen and other students of the Bible will, we doubt not, find this a very acceptable addition to their libraries, and that for a better reason than to have it grace their shelves.

A General Biographical Dictionary. By John Gorton. A new edition: to which is added a supplementary volume completing the work to the present time. In four volumes. 8vo. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1851.

This appears to be a reprint of the former edition, with the addition, we should judge, of two or three thousand names. In its present form, it is probably the most complete and reliable work of the kind within so convenient a compass. To how recent a period it is brought down, appears from its containing such names as those of Sir Robert Peel, President Taylor, and the poet Wordsworth, all of whom died in 1850. In so immense a compilation universal accuracy is out of the question. This work is doubtless as free from errors as any similar one of equal extent; but that it has not escaped them entirely we discovered casually by turning to its account of Gesenius.

The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah and that of the Lamentations, translated from the original Hebrew, with a commentary, critical, philological, and exegetical. By E. Henderson D.D. London, 1851. 8vo. pp. 303.

We have not had opportunity to examine this volume minutely, but its probable character can be sufficiently indicated to the critical scholar, by saying that it is from the commentator upon Isaiah and upon the minor prophets.

An Introduction to the New Testament; containing an examination of the most important questions relating to the authority, interpretation, and integrity of the canonical books, with reference to the latest inquiries. By Samuel Davidson, D.D., of the University of Halle, and LL.D. Vol. III. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons. 8vo. pp. 656.

This volume completes the work. An account of its character and of the ability with which it has been executed, was given in this journal for January 1849, upon the appearance of the first volume.

The Indications of the Creator: or, The Natural Evidences of Final Cause. By George Taylor. New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau street. 1851. 12mo. pp. 282.

It is a curious and significant fact, that we have not sent a single number of our journal to the Press, for a long series of issues, without being called to notice one or more new works bearing on the great question of the Christian Evidences. Nor does the multitude of these contributions to the argument, from one side or the other, evince more clearly the renewal, with keener

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ardour of this vital controversy, than their character gives evidence of a gradual, but almost total change of the grounds on which the battle was pitched by the great polemics of a former age. The work of Dr. Paley on Natural Theology, though from its clear and graphic anatomical descriptions, still used as a text-book in many of our Institutions, has been left almost out of sight, by the rapid onward march of physical science. However useful it may be, in imparting a general knowledge of the structure of man, and some of the more obvious details of comparative anatomy, it no longer meets the demands of the Christian argument against some of the most dangerous forms of scepticism the world has ever seen. The hypotheses against which the learned and ingenious author pointed his battery, have been long since abandoned: and even if they had not, the extraordinary and fascinating discoveries of human comparative physiology, under the quantitative analysis of modern chemistry, demand a complete reconstruction of the argument, to fit it either for the purpose of enlightened education on the subject, or to counteract the powerful tendency of science towards an atheistic materialism. The argument of Natural Theology has been transferred from the field of metaphysics to that of Natural Science itself. The once formidable hypothesis of an infinite series, now cuts a sorry figure, under the light of geological disclosures, revealing the actual commencement of organic forms. But though routed from this strong hold covered with the mosses and lichens of three thousand years, the metaphysical assailants of the truth are neither baffled, nor converted into friends. They have only changed the point of their attack; and under the guidance of a new psychology chiefly elaborated in the German schools of philosophy, have made a sortie upon the citadel of Revelation. The attack in England has been led by Mr. Morell—a man of high ability, and who has made himself thoroughly master of the principles and tactics of his school. Our age is thus precipitated on this battle of the Evidences, upon both its wings. The aim of the metaphysical argument is to overthrow the authority of Revelation, by a mental philosophy which makes the intuitional consciousness with its appropriate emotions, the exclusive seat of religion; and resolves divine inspiration into the mere exaltation, by extraordinary historical appliances of the religious consciousness of Christianity, and thus becomes, by a simple corollary of the new philosophy, an inward spiritual life, distinct from, and independent of any form of knowing, or any series of objective truths. The intuitive principles, thus found in the moral life of the soul, are evolved into intellectual statements, or outward forms of expres-

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sion; and so, by the help of the logical faculty, constructed into systems of theology. Inspiration is therefore, purely subjective; and revelation is the historical embodiment of the living teaching of the Church. The necessity, the value, and even the possibility of an objective divine revelation, are thus swept away by a stroke.*

To this new, sceptical philosophy of religion, no sufficient refutation has yet appeared, and thus far we have not been called upon to herald any full and elaborate examination of the psychology and the logic, out of which this dangerous form of unbelief has been constructed. The Church cannot any longer afford to ignore this philosophy, or regard it as sufficiently answered by the old arguments in vindication of revelation, or by affixing to it the epithet of infidelity.

The work of Mr. Taylor is a comprehensive review of the entire field of natural science, as applied to the evidences of natural and revealed religion. The five parts of which it consists, are devoted respectively to the Nebular Hypothesis, Astronomy, Geology, Comparative Physiology, and Physical Geography. As a general resumé of the literature of the subject, the book is remarkably faithful and complete. The author evinces not only a wide general acquaintance with the history of the sciences which bear on the Christian evidences, but an accurate knowledge of the details of discovery and argument, on most of the subjects treated. In point of science, the author could not reasonably be expected to be either very profound, or entitled to much weight as an authority. In some respects, and perhaps on the whole, this may be no disadvantage; seeing his object is, not the advancement of science, but rather a comprehensive survey of its relations, and an impartial judgment of its bearings on questions extrinsic to itself. Even in this latter respect, we cannot speak in terms of unqualified praise; as he seems to us to be too ready to regard hypotheses which, in their first announcement, were considered hostile to religion, as exploded and abandoned, when in truth they are only modified by later investigations and discoveries; and too prone to admit inevitable and irreconcilable contradictions between scientific theories and the evidences or doctrines of natural or

* We do not mean that the Deism of this new philosophy originated in Germany. From the days of Lessing—the first, according to Hase, who maintained that Christianity was independent of the Bible, and whose creed was not only similar in substance, but nearly identical in form, with that of Tyndale—the Germans have followed in the steps of the English Deists of the 16th century. The latter invented the creed, the former had it for their office to invent a psychology, that would include and vindicate that creed on philosophic grounds.

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revealed religion; when there are various and sufficient methods for harmonizing their teaching. He leaves it to be inferred, for example, that the Nebular Hypothesis is utterly irreconcilable in any of its forms with the teachings of revelation; and rests his vindication of the latter wholly on the conviction that the progress of astronomical discovery, and the amazing space-penetrating power of modern instruments, have dispersed the Hypothesis, merely because they have succeeded in resolving Nebulæ. This, of course, is but a part, we might now say, a very small part of the Evidence on which the Hypothesis rests. Notwithstanding the facts and arguments adduced by the author as conclusive against it, it is well known there are still Christian astronomers of the highest repute, in this country and in Europe, who regard that Hypothesis, not perhaps as involving the actual history of the stellar universe, but as a convenient and uncontradicted statement or grouping of the greatest number of known laws and deductions; and who see in it no necessary contradiction to any truth, either in natural or revealed religion. We do not mean to meddle in the dispute in the present stage of the business; but our opinion still remains unaltered, that inasmuch as any arguments drawn from revelation are not likely to influence materially the opinions of scientific men, it is as well to stand aloof from the controversy, till it approaches its termination: and at least, by all means, not attempt to set the two unnecessarily in irreconcilable contradiction. We have not the slightest fears of the judgment of modern science determining permanently to a wrong verdict; and even if it should, we have not, in this case, the slightest fear of any harm to the evidences of revealed religion.

The merits of the book are diverse in different departments, and in different aspects of the discussion. The part on Comparative Physiology strikes us as the least elaborate and satisfactory in the book. There are rather frequent passages in this which are either equivocal or else erroneous; and certain it is that either the original copy, or the proof reading of this part, is by no means faultless. We regret the want of completeness and thoroughness in this branch of the argument, because we cannot hesitate to repeat the conviction avowed on a former occasion, that the argument of Comparative Physiology, which traces the phenomena of life from the lowest forms of vegetable existence, through the intermediate grades of being, up to the highest functions of man, without any very obvious break in its continuity, or, physiologically speaking, anything that will strike an enthusiastic student as an essential diversity of function, taken in connection with the clear dependence of

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the whole on physical organization, as these truths and their vital laws have been developed by modern analysis, constitutes by far the most insidious, imposing, and dangerous form of unbelief, in the direction of materialism, ever yet produced. It has done its work unsuspected in thousands of cases, overbearing the resistance of religious education, and converting the well-taught and religiously disposed youth, into the bold, careless, and sceptical physiologist or physician. This argument needs the attention of the friends of religion all the more, from the fact that almost nothing has been done to baptize this new, brilliant, and fascinating science, into its legitimate discipleship to Christianity, to compel it, in common with the countless living forms, whose mysteries it seeks to penetrate and reveal, to bring its tribute of worship to the great Creator.

That this can be done effectually and unanswerably, on physiological grounds, we need scarcely affirm our unhesitating belief. But it can be done to the satisfaction of the admiring devotees of physical science, not by the process of Paley, which the author substantially adopts, (only carrying it into the domain of modern science,) but by mastering and exhausting the ultimate physical laws of organic life; and by demonstrating the necessary presence and agency of an intelligence and an efficiency, not represented at all by the physical forces, whose laws it is the business of science to disclose and to classify. It can easily be shown that the analysis and generalizations of science, minute and comprehensive as they are, do not exhaust the contents of organic life; that great questions—the greatest questions of all—still remain clamoring for a solution. Beyond the intelligence, wisdom, goodness, and power displayed in the structure of our organism, the human mind raises inquiries of vast and commanding moment, to which science gives no answer. In the very depths of our nature, there are laws of intuitive belief, of which no physiological solution can be given, which compel our assent to the existence of realities prior and causal to these; towards which the eye of reason, exalted into faith, stretches in vain over the gloomy voids of ontology, fascinated and satisfied only by the light that streams from revelation, as the driving mariner by the guiding star that gleams out of heaven upon the darkness of a stormy sea. In other words, there are within us, irrepressible promptings to raise farther questions as to "the *whence*, the *why*, and the *whither*," of all this organic and living mechanism, to which we get no answer from the keen scalpel of the anatomist, the delicate balance of the analyst, or the curious researches of the physiologist. That these are questions of high—nay, of the highest—moment, is a matter of simple consciousness. What

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is all other knowledge compared with this? And yet these are queries to which the most earnest and importunate interrogation and cross examining of science can extort no response from reluctant nature. Do they need no solution? Let the palpitating heart of humanity answer. Do they admit none? Everything within us assures us they do. Without it life is a perfect enigma, an insoluble riddle. Then in the name of humanity where shall we find the answer? The awful silence of nature is itself significant, as it waits in breathless stillness, while Jehovah speaks by a voice from heaven, in the language of men. And how do we know this solution is true? We answer, just because it is a solution; for the same reason that we know the Newtonian theory of gravitation is true. The utterance of revealed religion lies before us, like the testimony of our senses, or the intuitions of our reason, in its own self-evidencing power. Revelation is the complement to the volume of nature, rendered necessary by the fall of man into darkness and guilt. However splendid the discoveries of science, they are not of the nature of definitive responses to the anxious inquiries of the human heart. "The strain of music from the lyre of science flows on rich and sweet, full and harmonious, but it never reaches a close." The harp of inspiration catches up the melody, and carries it on to a cadence, in which the soul rests with complete satisfaction.

The Course of Creation: by John Anderson, D. D., with a Glossary of Scientific Terms. Cincinnati: Wm. H. Moore & Co. Publishers, 118 Main Street. 1851. 12mo. pp. 384.

Dr. Anderson is a practical geologist of no mean ability and repute. He does not hesitate to break a lance with Mr. Hugh Miller, over the disputed generic character of the famous ichthyolites of Dura Den; and we find his name applied in more than one case to designate new species in Agassiz's Classification of fossil fishes. The book may be characterized as a well directed attempt to reduce the facts and reasonings of geology to the level of the popular understanding, for the purpose of applying them to the evidences of religion. For the facility of reference and verification—the author being a Scotchman, and writing for his countrymen—he draws his facts chiefly from the Geology of Scotland and England, with a hasty excursion over that of France and Switzerland, in order to supply the geological series that were missing nearer home. It has the merit for popular purposes, of not taking for granted, like most purely professional works, a degree of elementary knowledge which common readers do not in fact possess. It is somewhat diffuse in style, and mingles with the professional descriptions and reasonings, a fair proportion of incident and reflexions, to season the drier scien-

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tific details, to suit the taste and digestion of unscientific readers. A popular interest is sought to be sustained in the discussion, while the author is raising a technical interest in his science.

The contribution to the evidences of religion, furnished by geology may be summed up in the following particulars. 1. The author is by no means inclined to give up the argument, which Dr. Chalmers in his Natural Theology takes so much pains to disavow, that the mere existence of the material universe, aside from its order, proves the existence of God; using as the minor premiss of the syllogism, the intuitive proposition, that matter could not be eternal—that its present existence infers, by the inevitable law of intuitive belief, its prior non-existence; and the two together as inevitably draw with them the necessity of a first cause, answering to our conception of God.

2. In the scientific analysis and study of the structure, order, arrangement and organization of the matter of the universe, we have the clearest proofs of intelligence, purpose, power, and wisdom, with whatever moral qualities may be found indicated by the actual forms of matter, both organic and inorganic. Indeed the difference between the two, (the organic and inorganic,) under the penetrating and accurate analysis of modern science, has become almost as much a matter of degree as of kind. The old empirical notion of shapelessness and casualty in the composition of inorganic masses, is daily yielding before the indications of omnipresent law. The idea is now familiar to science, that the elements of all normal forms of matter are combined not by chance, but in forms and proportions as fixed and characteristic as those which constitute the elements of the most perfect living organism. With the single exception of the principle of life, which falls within no physical analysis, it has become almost an arbitrary distinction to deny organization to a crystal, while conceding it to a grain of wheat. The author finds that the stone, which Paley concedes so readily, might have lain for ever on the heath, because it indicates no particular design or intelligence in its shapeless aggregations, does actually furnish the same evidences of wisdom, skill, benevolence, and forethought, as the watch, which he sets in contrast with it, as evincing those qualities which he seeks to find as the basis of his argument for a God, mainly in organic nature. The later inductions of science seem almost to point to the conclusion that the whole universe may be regarded, physically speaking, as one vast organism, of which each separate part, from the largest to the most minute, constitutes an organic member; and all whose elements are marshalled to their places with a regularity of order and a

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definiteness of constitution, not less precise, determinate, and beneficent, both as to their formal and final causes, than the vital laws which govern the functions of the vegetable and the animal economy.

3. Geology proves farther, in its successive formations and epochs, the great fact of divine interposition or interference with previously established laws. The phenomena of organic geology are clearly incapable of solution by physical, or even by vital laws. We have not only, beyond dispute, the commencement, by direct creative intervention, of organic forms; but those forms repeatedly changed. And however long or short the period assigned them on earth, they constitute a group of organic statuary too remarkable to be slid in and out by the simple operations of material law. The geological fact of formation after formation, and of life after life, whatever explanation may be given of that fact, lies at the foundation of the sublime truth, "that God is potentially in, arranging and disposing anew, the entire series of his works:" and when we see the scene thus shifted in all its parts, one system subverted and another introduced; and again the organic and inorganic condition of things readjusted, and in keeping as before, we have before us the palpable evidence of a God, such as Revelation alone makes known to us in consistent and satisfying terms. The whole revealed doctrine of miracles and of providence thus receives a striking illustration and confirmation, from the magnificent annals of the stony science.

4. The complete survey which the geologic record furnishes of the natural history of the earth and its inhabitants, manifestly reveals a pre-determined plan on the part of its Author; the principles and tendencies of which, so far as its development has yet proceeded, are in perfect accordance with the corresponding revelation of the Scriptures. No generalization is more indubitably established, or universally received among geologists of every class, than that the eras, whether long or short, indicated alike by the lithic and fossil deposites of geology, find their complete solution in the human history of the earth, into which they have flowed; in other words, that they all constitute parts of that great scheme of creative and providential wisdom and power, of which man is the ulterior object, and his fall and redemption the grand theme for the display of the divine glory in the universe. This moral development in human affairs, which is under the conduct, not of impersonal physical laws, but of divine Providence, instinct with paternal and redeeming grace, is symbolized and foreshown from the very earliest recorded phenomena of geological history. The hypothesis of a sceptical philosophy, which attributes this

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continuous and ever evolving plan, to a fixed law of development, inherent in nature, is but the atheistic counterpart of the magnificent and cheering scheme of Providence revealed in the Bible and equally in harmony with the facts of science rightly interpreted. The great objection to the development hypothesis, is, not that it invalidates the argument for a God, but that it removes the whole ground work of religion, by annihilating our personal relations to God, and thus tears from the human heart, all those unspeakable comforts and reciprocal obligations, in which religion consists. It commits the whole history of humanity, as well as the personal destiny of individuals, to the mechanical law of fixed physical sequences, instead of the sympathetic and paternal heart of a personal God who heareth prayer. Though hypothetically, it may contain a partial truth in philosophy, yet practically it is a system of atheism. It abolishes those relations between God and man which express themselves in acts of worship and obedience on the one hand, and in acts of beneficence and love on the other. It is a translation of the atomic theory of Democritus, and the fatalism of the east, into the language of Christian science.

But aside from the destructive moral tendencies of this lately popular hypothesis, our author for the hundredth time, demolishes with merciless severity the show of facts, on which a partial science sought to found it. There are three classes of facts, now familiar to every body, which settle this question. In the first place, in the very oldest organic *débris*, the animal remains, so far from being sparse and scanty, or indicating, as demanded by the hypothesis, a laboured struggle to achieve animate existence in its lowest vesicular and rudimentary forms, actually constitute the great mass of the rocks in which they are embedded. Thousands of feet below the line where these incomplete and struggling types of the creative energy were alleged to be found—so low as to constitute a sort of transition stage between organic and inorganic nature, there are such masses of remains of gigantic fishes, of the highest types* yet extant, that strata, like the Ludlow rocks in Wales, are familiarly known as "bone beds," from the multitude of teeth, fins, spines, &c.—showing that those seas were thus early stocked and crowded with the finny tribes. In the second place, although a large proportion of the deepest and oldest organic remains were comparatively low in the scale of animate beings,

* The oldest known fossil fish, (the *Onchus Murchisoni*, and inhumed in the lowest fossiliferous beds) belongs to the highest type of the cestracion division of the vertebrata.

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—graptolites, (pen-shaped creatures) trilobites, and molluscs—yet even these flatly contradict the notion, that they were mere tentative efforts towards the achievement of higher forms. The perfection of organic forms, it must be remembered, is, after all, not absolute, but relative, involving and depending on their adaptation to the circumstances for which they were designed. Judged by this standard, the very oldest types of animate existence yet revealed, are just as perfect, and argue intelligence and skill, wisdom and goodness in their forms, just as clearly as the anatomy of man himself. What we call the more perfect types of organic life, would have argued imperfection in their author, on the ground of want of adaptation to their *habitat* and mode of life. And besides, even absolutely, there was no less intelligence or skill displayed in the structure of the special organs of these lowest forms. The eye of the trilobite, *e. g.* the oldest crustacean, and found in the very lowest fossiliferous rocks, is formed of four hundred spherical lenses arranged in distinct compartments on the surface of the cornea. Does this argue a blind tentative experiment? There is no more perfect specimen of Nature's workmanship than the microscope reveals, in the visual organ of this palæozoic family. And this is but a specimen.

And in the third place, throughout the whole range of the geological record, there is not a solitary specimen, or even a clear approximation to the transmutation of species by this assumed law of development. There is not one iota of proof that such a law exists; but overwhelming evidence that it does not. But the theory is already consigned, by the voice of geologists, as well as of nature, to the toy-shops of science; and the arguments which support it remind one of the armory where are exhibited the corslets and broad swords of redoubted knights of a former age; which excite our wonder much more than our fear.

But to our mind far the most interesting part of the volume before us, is the chapter on Time and the Geological Epochs. By an elaborate induction of facts, combined with ingenious and able reasoning, the author rejects the claim of the geologists, for countless ages of immense duration—(a recent high authority, by an approximate reckoning, estimates their sum at fifteen millions of years)—to accumulate the vast detritus of the earth's crust; and concludes that in the ordinary reckoning of the geological register, the error may be one—of millions of years. Whatever may be said of this argument, it cannot be set aside as either unprofessional or weak. We know of nothing from the pen of a practical and accomplished geo-

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logist, which looks so much like re-opening this question of the pre-adamic history of the earth, and the literal application of the Mosaic record, to the entire history of the whole organic creations of the world. He rejects decisively the commonly received interpretation, which treats the first verse of Genesis as a general introduction, with an allowance for indefinite periods of intercalary time, before the commencement of the Adamic creation. Though looking with more favour upon the hypothesis which regards the *days* of the Mosaic record, as indefinite periods, corresponding with his reduced computation of the eras of the geological record, yet this does not entirely satisfy his exegetical principles. He, therefore, suggests a third method of harmonising the two, while applying the literal and commonly accepted interpretation to the language of the inspired historian. It is sufficient to know, as assuredly we do know, enough to demonstrate the general and substantial agreement of the two records, and the impossibility of a contradiction even in a single detail. But it would be hailed with universal gratulation, if a clear and literal coincidence should be made out, as our author thinks it may, between the very language of inspiration, and that traced by the hand of God upon the buried tablets of the book of nature. Far easier would it be to forge a signet that should agree in every line of its complex design, with an unknown impression, than to forge a record like that of Moses, which should harmonize in every letter, as it is clear already that it does in substance, with the divine impress, totally unknown to its penman, and remaining unknown, till the progress of science uncovered and deciphered it, at a period four thousand years later. The delight with which the Christian world has hailed the exhumed monumental witnesses to the truth of Scripture history in Assyria and Egypt, would be as nothing in comparison with the triumph awaiting such a contribution to the resistless force of the Christian Evidences. Whether a result so palpable shall ever be reached, as our author evidently expects, or not, we would cheer on, as we have often done in our humble way, with all our heart and with both hands, the Christian geologist, with the confidence burning in our very bones, that some of the most brilliant achievements in the contested field of the Christian Evidences, are yet to be accomplished.

Family Worship: A series of Prayers for every Morning and Evening throughout the year; adapted to Domestic Worship. By one hundred and eighty clergymen of Scotland. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 831.

This massive and imposing volume was designed to be a con-

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tribution, worthy of the Churches of Scotland, towards the general and edifying performance of the great and vital duty of domestic worship. Scotland has reason to pay this noble tribute to the value of this duty; for to it, in connection with her Sabbaths, she owes an unspeakable obligation. To the plea, founded on the want of edifying gifts, so often urged in extenuation of the neglect of this delightful means of grace and of domestic blessing, the volume was designed to be an effectual answer. The plan is perfectly simple. A portion of Scripture is designated to be read; and an appropriate prayer is composed for every morning and evening of the year. The selections of Scripture extend through the entire word of God, and comprise the parts most appropriate for a domestic service. The common objection to written forms of prayer, arising from their uniformity and want of adaptation, is sought to be obviated, partly by the number of the forms moulded upon diverse portions of the word of God, and partly by the great variety of authorship. The volume embraces contributions from no less than one hundred and eighty ministers of the churches of Scotland: and in the catalogue, we miss scarcely a single name, made familiar to us by piety and zeal, in the recent stirring incidents of her ecclesiastical history. Besides the daily prayers, reaching through the year, there are special prayers, appropriate to a great variety of occasions, public, social, and domestic, joyous and afflictive. The volume is altogether the most complete we have ever seen. We hope it will prove a great blessing to many a family in the Church of God.

Green Pastures, or Daily Food for the Lord's Flock. By the Rev. James Smith. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 32mo. pp. 188.

Still Waters, or Refreshment for the Saviour's Flock at Eventide. By the Rev. James Smith. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. pp. 188. 32mo.

These beautiful little hand-books of devotion, compiled by the author of "The Believer's Daily Remembrancer," are made up of a text of Scripture, a verse of poetry, and a single brief and pithy sentence, all bearing on some one practical thought. One volume is intended for the morning, and the other for the evening of every day in the year. They will doubtless prove edifying and comforting to thousands whose spiritual life is sustained, in a great degree, by small morsels of this description, snatched from the green pastures and still waters of salvation, as they pass along the crowded and busy highways of life.

The Life of Col. James Gardiner, who was slain at the Battle of Prestonpans, September 21, 1745. By P. Doddridge, D. D. 18mo. pp. 228.

This memoir has long since taken its place as a classic in the

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practical religious literature of the Christian World. The edition before us is in every way suitable for such a book. We are always glad to welcome such volumes to the catalogue of our Board.

Living or Dead? A Series of Home Truths: By the Rev. J. C. Ryle, B. A., Rector of Helmington, Suffolk. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1852. 12mo. pp. 360.

This is, as the title purports, a series of remarkably direct and pungent papers on the great truths of salvation, by an Evangelical Clergyman of the Church of England. There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit. The style of address is earnest, hortatory, and familiar, in striking contrast with the stately, polished, æsthetic forms, commonly regarded as characteristic of the Church of England. We cannot better convey to our readers an impression of the character and style of the volume, than by saying it resembles closely the characteristic peculiarities of the most pungent modern religious tracts.

Ears of the Spiritual Harvest: or Narratives of Christian Life. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 12mo. pp. 180.

A collection of brief narratives, exemplifying the most important passages in the life of the soul, in its transition from the death of sin to the life of mature holiness: and especially designed to illustrate and exalt the glory and sovereignty of divine grace, in the conversion and sanctification of men. The subjects of these narratives are taken from a great variety of circumstances in life, and many of them possess an uncommon degree of interest.

The Life of a Vagrant: or the Testimony of an Outcast to the Value and Truth of the Gospel. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 165.

We cannot better express our sense of the interest and value of this little volume, than by quoting the language of the Rev. Mr. Binney, a distinguished dissenting minister in London. "I consider," he says in a note on the fly leaf, "the work called The Life of a Vagrant, by Josiah Bassett, as very remarkable. I have seen the man, and examined the manuscript, and could say much about both. The whole thing strikes me with wonder. That a human being beginning life in such unfavorable circumstances, and with such little apparent personal capacity, and after passing through a course so brutish and degrading, should, through the awakening of the religious life, rise into a thinking man and an intelligent Christian, and write such a book as this, is a phenomenon, I humbly think, worthy of the attention of statesmen,

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educators, philosophers, philanthropists, and above all, of Christian ministers and Christian churches." The class to whom this unpretending autobiography introduces us, constitutes a great and solemn legacy to the Church; and one to the commanding importance, responsibility, and, we will add, the difficulty of which, we fear the church has not yet risen to any just or tolerable apprehension. We cannot hesitate to say that the proper treatment of this class, with a view to their christianization and social enfranchisement, is the great social question of this age. That it has passed so generally into the hands of mere philanthropists, and visionary and often destructive enthusiasts, is matter of just and deep lamentation; and we fear the Church, and Christian society in its larger sense, more especially in Europe, may yet feel the extent of this calamity, unless they will wake up, on Christian grounds, to the magnitude of the subject, and apply themselves to work out a Christian solution for the difficulties it involves. We should rejoice to hope that this humble book may tend to call attention to the truth and magnitude of the social evils of the so-called Christian world, which are at this hour causing it to rock with agitation; and which, if not relieved, are destined to shake it to the very centre, and in some cases, perhaps, precipitate the consolidated institutions of centuries into complete and final ruin. If the Church, or any part of it, should be disposed to stand aloof from these great questions, on the ground of their hopeless difficulties, in a Christian point of view, the extraordinary history of this little volume may serve further to rebuke the want of faith in the power of divine grace, to do a work, which, none can feel more deeply than we do, were otherwise as impossible for human society or human civilization to achieve, as to remove mountains. The life of such men as Bassett, the subject of this autobiography, at once points out the means, and by proving their efficacy in a clear and indubitable example, devolves upon the Christian Church, as it were by a fresh renewal from her Head, of that "new commandment," which constitutes the essential law of her social life, the great and momentous duty of redeeming, and then restoring to their human rights, the degraded, outcast, criminal and dangerous classes of society. It is the destiny of these classes which constitutes the great social problem of every nation in Christendom; and it will never do to give it over to the hands of unbelievers, however well meaning or humane, and still less to commit it to bold, radical, open-mouthed infidelity. No solution of this vast and urgent problem is possible that does not involve Christianity as its prime element: and if infidelity attempts the solution, as assuredly it will, unless prevented by

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the Church, the attempt can only end, as it always has ended in such cases, in blood, and finally in deeper misery and degradation than before. We cannot see how any thoughtful Christian can read this remarkable narrative without more intelligent as well as more exalted views of the power and glory of the gospel, as it enters into re-action with the vices and miseries of ignorant, outcast humanity; nor how any earnest man can fail to see, that it furnishes the true and only solution of the appalling difficulties to which Socialism, however sincerely and earnestly applied, is as perfectly futile, and as certainly destined to failure, as an attempt to build a house by beginning from the ridge-pole. No more convincing argument can be found, against the scepticism of the empirical revolutionist, than that by which Bassett confounded the Socialist lecturer, who endeavoured to convince him that the Bible was false:—"I told him that I was not scholar enough to argue with him on science, yet I knew by my own experience that religion was true; and that he might as well try to persuade me that what I eat was not food, as that what I read in the word of God was not the truth."

We should forewarn the reader that there is very little or no stirring incident to give interest to the unvarnished tale of the vagrant, but there is deep and genuine pathos in its naïve narratives of the struggles of the human heart, even in the darkest passages of its history; while it reveals to us impressively, in the few touching incidents of its occurrence, the amazing power of true Christian kindness, bestowed upon the most hopeless, helpless, and abandoned of the human race.

Midnight Harmonies; or, Thoughts for the Season of Solitude and Sorrow. By Octavius Winslow, M. A. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 249.

Our main object in penning these short, but candid notices, is to convey to our readers, as far as possible, a just conception of the real character of the books which happen to fall under our eye during the quarter. In the present case, we know not how better to secure this end than by simply quoting, in addition to the title page, the headings of the several chapters, as they are strikingly characteristic of the author and the book:—Songs in the Night: Jesus Veiling his Dealings: Solitude Sweetened: A Look from Christ: Honey in the Wilderness: The Godly Widow confiding in the Widow's God: Looking unto Jesus: Leaning upon the Beloved: The Weaned Child: God Comforting as a Mother: Jesus Only: The Incense of Prayer: The Day Breaking. Hardly any one can fail, from such data, to arrive at a true apprehension of the leading characteristics of the work,

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even if Mr. Winslow's style of thinking and writing were much less generally known than they are.

Blossoms of Childhood. By the author of "The Broken Bud." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 268.

The compiler of this volume is doubtless known most gratefully to many a heart mourning over its "*broken buds;*" and to such, this supplementary volume, whose exquisite poetic harmonies are on the *major key*, will be most welcome. The selection embraces a large proportion of the very finest poetry in our language, on the beautiful and joyous themes of childhood. Though somewhat familiar with this branch of literature, we confess to a feeling of surprise, as well as delight, at the varied richness of its delicious poetic flora. There must be more than one hundred and fifty distinct pieces, and, at a rough guess, we should say, not less than fifty different authors represented in the collection, including the first names in English poetry.

The Frontispiece is a poem itself, and one of the finest in the book.

The Child's Poetical Keepsake. Prepared for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia. 16mo. pp. 112.

This is, what the previous volume is not, a book of poetry for children, and it is very prettily illustrated. The cuts, though simple, are very full of life, and the poetry is as good as juvenile poetry can well be made. It is far, very far superior to the rhymed prose, into which childish, trivial, and sometimes questionable sentiments are forced to supply the demand for children's books. To make such books well, is a task of very great difficulty, and still greater importance. It is a real treasure to have such sentiments clothed in such garb, to put into the hands of our children.

The Cripple, The Mountain, in the Plain, and To a Boy anxious about his Soul.

The Labourer's Daughter, or Religious Training in Humble Life. An Autobiographical Sketch.

Der Edelstein der Tage, oder die Vortheile des Sonntags für Arbeitsleute. Von Eines Lohnarbeiter's Tochter.

The Works of Creation Illustrated. From the English Edition. Revised by the Committee of Publication. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

We take unmingled pleasure in announcing the foregoing list, additional to the juvenile publications of our Board.

The *Labourer's Daughter* is an autobiography of the gifted authoress of the well known prize essay on the Sabbath, entitled

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The Pearl of Days. As a plea for the Sabbath, it is so admirable and effective, and so appropriate to the condition and wants of the labouring classes, that we rejoice to see it, as above, issued by our Board in German, as it had already been in English.

The Works of Creation is manifestly the product of a scholar. It contains an elementary and graphic exposition of the creation, as set forth in the Bible. A few leading points in Astronomy, Physical Geography, and Meteorology, are opened up to the capacity of intelligent youth, and the natural history of the more familiar portion of the animal kingdom is expounded with great felicity, aided by illustrations on wood, which we reckon among the most spirited and beautiful productions of the art, we have lately seen.

Memoir of the Rev. W. H. Hewitson, late Minister of the Free Church of Scotland at Dirleton. By the Rev. John Baillie, Linlithgow. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851.

Mr. Hewitson was a personal friend of the late Mr. McCheyne, and a man of very similar views and character. His Memoir owes its value to the blending of such intellectual and moral gifts, improved by refined and liberal culture, and all redolent with the fragrance of an uncommonly devout and earnest Christian life. In the casual pursuit of health he was providentally thrown into scenes of Christian activity which give a permanent historical value to the book; particularly in the case of the remarkable revival of religion under the labours of Dr. Kalley in Madeira. Mr. Hewitson was an active participant in these scenes, so creditable to the gospel on the one hand, and so disgraceful to humanity, to say nothing of religion, on the other. He is an earnest Millenarian in his views of prophecy.

Daily Bible Illustrations: being Original Readings for a year, on subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. Especially designed for the Family Circle. By John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 428 and 438.

The protracted biblical studies and compilations of the author must have accumulated a vast amount of materials of more or less value, for the illustration of the Scriptures. We think the author has shown his practical wisdom in casting these materials into the form in which they appear in the volumes before us; which cover the periods of Samuel, Saul, and David, and of Solomon, and the kings. They are made up of detached and fragmentary papers on a great variety of topics, likely to arise in

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the daily biblical readings of ordinary Christian families, on those particular portions of the Scriptures. The author's plan embraces the entire Bible, and it is intended to accompany the daily devotional reading of the word of God, and to run through two successive years.

For common popular purposes, we do not doubt the plan will be found instructive and valuable. The biblical scholar will not go to the work for learned criticism, or for original research. The work evinces extended reading, rather than profound learning, or logical acumen and force. It displays the qualities of a laborious and faithful compiler, rather than a great original thinker. And yet it covers new and important ground of its own in its own way; and we anticipate for it an extensive demand, and a wide sphere of usefulness.

Geology of the Bass Rock. By Hugh Miller, author of the Footprints of the Creator, &c. With its Civil and Ecclesiastical History, and Notices of some of its Martyrs, by Dr. McCrie, and others. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1852. 16mo. pp. 288.

Some literary connoisseur, it seems, projected a work on the famous Bass Rock—the Patmos of God's persecuted servants, for long years of trial to Scotland—which was to be executed by a sort of joint stock company of Scottish *distingués*. Professor Fleming was detailed to the Zoology, Professor Balfour to the Botany, Professor Thomas McCrie to the History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and Mr. James Anderson, a learned Covenanter, to the Martyrology of the subject. Mr. Hugh Miller was applied to, to make the Geologist of the *corps*. Though last enlisted, and with the least promising part of the subject—being the geology of a huge mass of simple trap, "nearly as homogeneous as a piece of cast metal"—he throws off his contribution to the concern with such skill and felicity of description and incident, that the little book at once takes its character from his paper, and goes into market labelled with his authorship. Mr. Macaulay once said of Southey's exquisite prose style, that even when Southey wrote nonsense, he always read it with pleasure. We are conscious of a similar experience in the case of Mr. Miller's extraordinary descriptive powers, and, to us, astonishing facility and richness of literary allusion, even in the most trivial themes that engage his pen. For some reason which does not appear, the only other portions of the project which have been executed, are the Civil and Ecclesiastical History, and the Martyrology of this island-prison, made so famous by Lauderdale and the Stuarts, in the iron age of Scotland's religious heroism.

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The Typology of Scripture; or, the Doctrine of Types Investigated in its Principles, and applied to the Explanation of the Earlier Revelations of God, considered as Preparatory Exhibitions of the Leading Truths of the Gospel. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton. Philadelphia: Daniels & Smith, No. 36 North Sixth Street. 1852. 8vo. pp. 324.

Our readers are undoubtedly familiar with the character of this elaborate and thorough discussion of the doctrine of Types, as held by the prevailing school of Scotch Theology. We have already, in a previous No., (see Princeton Review for July of last year,) presented to our readers an extended article upon the subject, founded on the volume of Mr. Fairbairn. It only remains for us to announce the edition of Messrs. Daniels & Smith, which will be found in all respects worthy of a work of standard merit, on a subject vital to the right understanding and exposition of the Gospel in many of its leading features.

The Life and Times of John Calvin. Translated from the German of Paul Henry, D.D., Minister and Seminary-Inspector in Berlin. By Henry Stebbing, D.D., F.R.S. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1852. 8vo. pp. 454.

The English reader has now access to this great work of Dr. Henry in a form, and at a price, that leaves nothing farther to be desired. It ought to have, and we believe will have, a very wide circulation in the Presbyterian Church. In a body whose distinctive doctrine is the official parity of Presbyters, no intelligent officer, at least, should be willing to forego the best sources of information, in regard to the life and labours of a man whom God honoured so pre-eminently in effecting the legislative and judicial reformation of the Church; to say nothing of his amazing achievements as an exegetical and didactic theologian.

Elements of Logic: comprising the Substance of the Article in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, with Additions, &c. By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. New Edition, revised by the Author. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 443.

This edition of a well known text-book strikes us as a model in form, size and appearance.

The Ladies of the Covenant: Memoirs of Distinguished Scottish Female Characters; embracing the Period of the Covenant and the Persecution. By the Rev. James Anderson. Redfield, Clinton Hall, New York: 1851. 12mo. pp. 494.

This work was suggested to Mr. Anderson while collecting materials for his Sketch of the Martyrs of the Bass Rock. The stirring subject and the author both conspire to give abundant assurance of the high character and absorbing interest of the contents.

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LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The new volume of Thiers' Consulate and Empire contains the campaigns of 1809 in Germany and Italy. One more volume finishes the work.

Michelet has published a new part of his French Revolution, devoted to the Girondists.

A tenth volume of Ritter's History of Philosophy is soon to be out. This work, of all German books on Philosophy, is least German. It deals directly with facts, and not only does no theory hamper it, but it contains in the introduction, and in the body of the work, a complete refutation of construction in history.

Joan of Arc, Savonarola, and the Munster Anabaptists, are treated of in "The New Prophets," by Hase, the Church historian.

G. Bell, 186 Fleet street, London, publishes a curious magazine, entitled "Notes and Queries," a medium of intercommunication between literary men, artists, antiquarians, genealogists, &c. It is intended to be a receptacle for all odd and out of the way knowledge. Any subscriber may ask a question, and thus consult all the other subscribers, and if possible the question is answered in the next number. It is issued weekly.

The London Religious Tract Society allows itself great scope. Its list of recently published works embraces, among books upon the evidences of Christianity and the topography of the Holy Land, such as "Life of Lord Bacon," "British Nation, its Arts and Manufactures," Histories of Greece and Rome, an Universal Geography, 15 works (popular of course) on Natural History, 12 Anti-Papal works, 17 on History and Antiquities, 2 on the Crystal Palace, two prize essays, and two prize tracts on the Condition of the Operative Classes. In their monthly volume for December, among 73 articles, there is not one which we would call strictly religious. One of the earliest efforts of this Society was to instruct the common people in economy.

We notice the 4th edition of a reprint by Parker, Oxford, of a work by an American lady, entitled "The Child's Christian Year, Hymns for every Sunday and Holyday in the Year."

The veteran Longmans, London, have published volume third of Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire. It brings the History down to the establishment of the Empire by Augustus.

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Also a new edition of Blair's Historical and Chronological Tables, revised by Sir H. Ellis, Librarian to the British Museum.

McMillan & Co., Cambridge, are preparing for publication a series of manuals for the use of theological students, comprising Introduction to the Old Testament, Notes on the Greek Testament, Church History by four hands, works on the Common Prayer, Creeds and Articles, Gospels and Apostolic Harmony.

Wm. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, announce a History of Greece, from its Conquest by the Crusaders to its Conquest by the Turks. By Geo. Finlay.

Human ingenuity can go no further than this in framing a title for a book of Eastern travels:—Thoughts on the Land of the Morning, Records of two visits to Palestine. By H. B. W. Churton.

Mr. G. P. Thompson, author of a remarkable work, "Note Book of a Naturalist," has lately written a curious work called Passions of Animals, a handsome, large print, duodecimo. The titles of some of the chapters excite curiosity—such as "Gratitude," "Home-sickness," "Cruelty," "Envy," "Attention," &c. The book is written by a man of close observation, and who has seen almost all he records.

Longfellow's Golden Legend is interesting as an antiquarian study. The "Miracle Play" is a good imitation of the religious drama of the middle ages. Some specimens of that drama, however, were better than the average type selected by Mr. Longfellow.

"The Play of the Resurrection," just resuscitated at Quedlinburg, is said to have very little buffoonery in it.

General Bem's plan of teaching History and exact Chronology has been naturalized in this country by Miss E. P. Peabody.

Our school books change with marvellous rapidity. The school book trade is enormous, and the greatest exertions are made to force a sale. Hundreds upon hundreds are published every year in New York alone. The English are imitating us in this respect.

The Longmans have published a new series of elementary books, projected and edited by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, Inspector General of Military Schools. This tendency is carried further than school books. One of the most striking characteristics of late English publications, is their pedagogical aim. The infidels of the materialistic and idealistic schools are active in their cheap issues. Synopses and compendiums on every subject, for every grade of intelligence, are multiplied on

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all sides. There is an excellent series of cheap works on the whole range of arts and sciences, intended for practical men; in addition to a number of monographs for the use of mechanics, developing all the details of the several branches of industry. The most material and empirical are produced side by side with the most abstract. Logical works are again becoming quite numerous.

Mr. Baynes, the author of the Exposition of Hamilton's System of Notation, has lately translated the Port Royal Logic. But what shall we say to the 2d edition of "Logic for the Million," which discards all scholastic technicalities, and takes the illustrations from Pendennis and the Caudle papers, and yet is written by a Fellow of the Royal Society!

We notice a new edition of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana in neat 12mo. vols., sold separately. The Logic and Rhetoric of Whately are among these. There is also a Church History in three parts:—"Early Church History," by Samuel Hinds, Bishop of Norwich, whom Whately so admiringly refers to.

"Christianity in the Middle Ages," by several persons; The Reformation and its Consequences, in which Dr. Hampden assists, are among the current issues of the English Press.

There is also an Early Oriental History by Professor Eadie, the Scotch Editor of Alexander on Isaiah, and a History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, of which "Ancient Philosophy," by Frederick D. Maurice has been re-written.

"Man and his Migrations," by R. G. Latham, has been republished here as one of Norton's Rail Road Library. The learned author has in the press besides a critical and ethnological edition of the Germania of Tacitus.

Ballière (N. Y.) has a beautiful "Hand Atlas of Physical Geography," from the Physical Atlas of Berghaus. It embraces Geography, Hydrography, Meteorology, and Natural History. The maps are exquisitely done, price $3 75.

The French Critic, Philaréte Chasles, has published Studies on the Literature and Manners of the Anglo-Americans in the nineteenth century.

We notice also, a "Book of Almanacs," with an index of reference, by which the almanac may be found for every day in the year, old style or new, from any epoch, Ancient, or Modern. Compiled by Aug. De Morgan, Prof. in University College, London.

"Essays from the London Times," reprinted by permission.

"Hippolytus and his Age," or the Doctrine and Practice of

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the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus, by the Chevalier Bunsen.

"China during the War and since the Peace," including translations of Secret State Papers, by Sir J. F. Davis.

"Fresh Discoveries at Nineveh, and researches at Babylon," by Layard, and two more volumes of "Grote's History of Greece" are announced in England.

Coward, Homerton, and Cheshunt Colleges, belonging to the English Dissenters, have lately been united into one.

Mrs. Lee is one of the ablest and most prolific of our American Female writers. Her works are "Luther and his Times," "Life and Times of Cranmer," "Historical Sketches of the Old Painters," "Life of Jean Paul," and "The Buckminsters, Father and Son."

Robert Burns, grandson of the Poet, has written the best account of Borneo that has yet appeared.

GERMANY.

Among the recent issues of the German press we notice the following:—

Mayer, Commentary on the Epistles of John. 8vo. pp. 256. Vienna.

Hertzberg, Contributions to the homiletic treatment of the Epistle of James. 8vo. pp. 174. Brandenburg.

Book of Genesis: the Arabic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch, by Abu Said. Edited by A. Kuenen. 8vo. pp. 152.

Fuchs, System of Christian Ethics.

Justin Martyr's Epistle to Diognetus, in Greek and German, with an Introduction and Explanations, by Hoffmann. 4to. pp. 26.

Tatian's Oratio ad Græcos as the sixth volume of Otto's Body of Christian Apologists of the second century. 8vo. pp. 203. Jena.

Wuttke, Treatise on the Cosmogony of Heathen Nations before the time of Jesus and his Apostles. 8vo. pp. 100.

Richter, History of the Constitution of the Evangelical Church in Germany. 8vo. pp. 260. Leipzig.

Hefele, Cardinal Ximenes and the Ecclesiastical Condition of Spain at the end of the 15th and the commencement of the 16th century: especially a contribution to the History of the Inquisition. 8vo. pp. 567. Tübingen.

B. G. Neibuhr, Historical and Philological Lectures at the University of Bonn. Vol. III. The Macedonian Empire:

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Hellenizing of the East: Fall of Old Greece: The Roman Empire of the World. 8vo. pp. 762. Berlin.

Lee's Compend of Universal History. Third Edition.

Ritter's History of Modern Philosophy. Part II. 8vo. pp. 571, which appears also as History of Christian Philosophy, Part VI., and History of Philosophy, Part X.

Still another edition (the sixteenth) of Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar has been issued by Rödiger, and of his Reading Book, (eighth edition) by Heiligstedt.

Grammar of the Language of Greenland, partially including that of the Dialect of Labrador, by Kleinschmidt. 8vo. pp. 182. Berlin.

Monumenta linguæ palæoslovenicæ ed. F. Miklosich, 8vo. pp. 460.

Hamasae Carmina, by Freytag. Part II. Fasc. 4. 4to. pp. 295–746.

The Drinking-Horns of the Greeks, with 41 figures on three lithographic plates, by T. Panofka. pp. 38. 4to. Berlin.

Menke, Orbis Antiqui Descriptio. In usum scholarum: 17 Maps and 8 pages of Text, in 4to.

Kiepert, Atlas of Hellas and the Hellenistic Colonies, in 24 lithographed and illuminated pages, and 3 pages text. With the co-operation of Ritter. Second corrected Edition. Berlin.

Zimmermann's Atlas to Ritter's Geography of Asia. Heft 6. The Region drained by the Indus, in 6 lithographed and illuminated pages. Imper. folio. Berlin.

Among the translations of works from American authors we notice such familiar names as Williams's Middle Kingdom, and Longfellow's Kavanagh; the latter issued as one of the volumes of a collection of *England's* choicest Romances and Tales.

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THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

APRIL, 1852.

No. II.

ART. I.—*The works of John Owen, D. D.* Edited by the Rev. William H. Goold, Edinburgh. New York: Carter and Brothers, 1850, 1851, 1852. 8vo.

THAT this is the best edition of Owen's works, we do not doubt for a moment. It is identical as to every letter and point with the Edinburgh edition of Messrs. Johnstone and Hunter, everywhere known for the beautiful impressions which they have produced, under the auspices of the Free Church. The series of volumes is rapidly coming out, and five have already appeared. For such a book, the price is surprisingly low. What is of more importance, the edition is a critical one, under the eye and hand of a clergyman of Edinburgh, Mr. Goold, who unites for his task several admirable qualities; extensive reading, accurate scholarship, a turn for minute collation, indefatigable labour, and a thorough acquiescence in the theology of the seventeenth century.

It was fit that the great Puritan champion should be introduced to our generation by a Calvinist and a Presbyterian, rather than by any laxer descendant of the nonconformists, who, if they should revisit their old haunts, would scarcely recognize their ancient Independency among the Congregationalists of England.

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In regard to the editorial care which has been bestowed on this enterprise, we learn something from the work itself, and something from other sources. The towering reputation of Owen led to efforts towards an edition of his collected works as early as 1721, under the patronage of Asty, Nesbitt, Matthew Clarke, Ridgely, and Bradbury. One folio volume appeared, and thus the affair ended. It was dedicated to the venerable Sir John Hartopp, the friend of Owen, to whose stenography we owe some of our best samples of the great preacher's extempore discourses. The life was by Asty. It was inaccurate, and, as Cotton Mather said, did not "contain so many pages as Owen has written books." Though it was the age of weighty tomes, which a man could hardly lift, οἷος ουν βροτος εἰσι, it could not sustain so ponderous an undertaking. The exposition of the Hebrews, of itself, was four folios. Yet Manton's works had been gathered into five such volumes, Goodwin's into as many, Charnock's, Flavel's, and Howe's, into two each, and Bates's into one. The first successful effort was that of Mr. Baynes, under the editorial charge of Mr. Russell, a dissenting minister near London. It reached twenty-one octavo volumes, including Mr. Orme's Memoir. This edition, begun in 1826, is the one which is seen on the shelves of our scholars; but the cost was great, and it has long since been scarce in the market, so as abundantly to justify the Scottish publishers in essaying a new reprint on more moderate terms.

We rise from the examination of these volumes with high respect and unusual satisfaction. Everything that Mr. Goold has done commends our approval, and as much are we thankful for his wise reserve, as for his care and learning. Only those who have worked for the press, losing sleep and health at the slavish comparison of texts and lections, worrying out the meaning of hopeless periods, reforming incompatible orthographies, and threading the maze of preposterous punctuation, and perspiring over proofs and revises, can render due credit to the editorial moil. The work has found a workman fitted to his task. Former editions had been grossly inaccurate. In some of the works, printers had persisted in following some impression indescribably corrupt, in preference to later copies

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corrected by the living author. It is believed that few writers have suffered more from this sort of mangling, than John Owen, and few could endure it less; for he wrote rapidly, published in troublous times, and was characteristically careless of little things. This is an affair in which, as every literary observer knows, bad continually grows worse. Consequently which of us is there, who has not been both amused and vexed at the inextricable tangle of sentences in the smaller reprints? The author himself was betrayed into lamentation over the plight to which his "Theologoumena" came to him, "nobis a prelo a capite ad calcem operis absentibus." And he jocosely annexes the following note to his "Death of Death." "I must inform the reader, that I cannot own any of his censures until he shall have corrected these errata, and allowed besides many grains for literal faults, viz: *parius* for *parvus*, *let* for *set*, *him* for *them*, and the like; also mispointing and false accenting of Greek words, occasioned by my distance from the press; and something else, of which it would be too much tyranny in making the printer instrumental in the divulging." Even the saturnine face of criticism melts into a smile over the Oxford edition of our authorized version, in 1717, known as the "Vinegar Edition," because in Luke xiii. 7, we read, "Then said he unto the dresser of his *vinegar*, Behold these three years," &c. But perhaps the instance given by droll Cotton Mather will be regarded as climacteric; who thus prefaces the final table of errata in his Magnalia: "The Holy Bible itself, in some of its editions, hath been affronted with scandalous errors in the press-work; and in one of these they so printed these words, Psalm cxix. 161, '*Printers* have persecuted me without a cause.'"

The present editor deals reverently with the author's text, in the spirit of that honest exactness which happily marks the criticism of this century. The standard of collation has been some edition which may have engaged the author's eye. Necessary additions are enclosed in brackets. Slight grammatical inaccuracies are corrected, but no liberties are taken with antique phraseology. The words and style are Owen's; as should be the case in every edition for the learned. The shocking punctuation of the seventeenth century, made more annoying

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by careless compositors, has been amended. Even the italics have been put back into the text, in cases where they had a significancy of emphasis. The ones, twos, and threes, of the author's endless divisions, have been made conformable to an intelligible enumeration; no small endeavour, as any sedulous reader can attest. The scripture quotations have been revised, and the numerous passages from the Fathers have, so far as was possible, been verified and duly noted. These are the points which make a reader secure and satisfied in reading an edition, and which lead us to give this edition the preference to all others.

After ascertaining and perpetuating a true text, it remained for the editor to elucidate the contents. Here one must steer nicely between a show of help by scanty unimportant scholia, and a mass of pedantic and overloading annotation. Mr. Goold has borne sternly towards the side of modest frugality; but with equal learning and judgment. So far as we have observed in five volumes, he has touched the felicitous mean. His remarks prefatory to the several treatises are sufficient to indicate their drift and furnish their history. Some of the ecclesiastical and literary anecdotes which his long familiarity with famous libraries has here supplied, are novel and illustrative. His notes in the margin have, with scarcely an exception, taken us back to the text with increased understanding, and we need scarcely add, they are always favourable to old theology, in its strict interpretation. If the keen and vigilant Presbyterian sometimes looks forth from the foot of the page, we are not the men to complain. A complete Index is promised. A valuable Memoir, in flowing but condensed style, is furnished by the Rev. Andrew Thomson. The treatises are arranged in three grand divisions, as Doctrinal, Practical, and Controversial. If there should be a demand, these volumes will be followed by the Theologoumena and the Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The whole work is purchased in America at five dollars for four volumes.

Thus have we endeavoured to apprize our readers of what they may hope for, in this newest edition of John Owen's writings. But we seize the occasion to add a few remarks on the treatises themselves, and especially on those already issued;

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in the confident expectation that some who have despaired of gaining benefit from a rare and voluminous author, and others who have not adverted to his merits, will take occasion to provide themselves with the whole. The volumes before us are, by number, the first, second, fifth, eighth, and ninth; the first three respectively concerning Christ, the Trinity, and Justification, and the remainder containing Sermons.

The first volume is chiefly occupied by two immortal works; one on the Person of Christ, the other on the Glory of Christ. The *Christologia*, or Declaration of the glorious mystery of the Person of Christ, God and Man, was first published in 1679, when Owen was about sixty-three. It rather assumes than undertakes to prove, the dogmatic points as to Christ's proper divinity; it shows this fundamental doctrine in its relation to other truths, and its bearing on inward experience. The author with his usual sagacity foresaw the prevalence of Unitarian corruptions. "Events justified these apprehensions of Owen. A prolonged controversy on the subject of the Trinity arose, which drew forth the works of Bull (1685), Sherlock (1690), and South (1695). In 1710, Whiston was expelled from Oxford for his Arianism. Dr. S. Clarke, in 1712, published Arian views, for which he was summoned before the Convocation. Among the Presbyterian Dissenters, Pierce and Hallet (1717) became openly committed to Arianism." In addition to what we have quoted from the editor, we earnestly commend to every reader who concerns himself with the annals of degraded doctrine in England, the life of Waterland prefixed to his works, and written by Bishop Van Mildert; a treatise rather of doctrine-history and the literature of British Christology, than a biography of the great dialectic warrior and worthy successor of Bull. Particularly would we refer to this masterly dissertation, and to this treatise of Owen, those novices in theological polemics, who imagine that the knots of this perplexed line of reasoning were undiscovered until the days of the Connecticut controversy. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.* Dr. McCrie ranked this treatise and its pendant next after Calvin's Institutes. Owen ends his preface by words of Jerome which show its temper; "Sive legas, sive scribas, sive vigiles, sive dormias, amor tibi semper

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buccina in auribus sonet, hic lituus excitet animam tuam, hoc amore furibundus, quære in lectulo tuo, quem desiderat anima tua."

The other treatise is on the Glory of Christ. If we should speak our mind, we should declare it one of the most remarkable effusions of a great and transported mind, at the threshold of heaven, which the Church has ever seen. It is theology fired with spiritual love. It was Owen's dying testimony, penned "for the exercise of his own mind." On the day of his death, when a friend said to him, "Doctor, I have just been putting your book on the Glory of Christ to the press;" he replied, "I am glad to hear that that performance is put to the press; but O, brother Payne, the long looked-for day is come at last, in which I shall see that glory in another manner than I have ever done yet, or was capable of doing in this world." It would be a token for good, if our younger ministers should be found possessed of a relish for such a treatise as this, in which they would find a theological vigour and discipline that none ever surpassed, united with a spirituality, unction, and sublimity, equally rare in the modern pulpit.

The second volume, on the Trinity, contains the well known treatise on Communion with God, a Vindication of the same, and an essay of about seventy-five pages on the Doctrine of the Trinity. No performance of Dr. Owen is more full of his peculiarities than that on Communion; none is likely to be more unpalatable to readers of wavering theology, and superficial experience. Its conclusions startle those who have learnt from recent exegesis to treat the Song of Solomon as an expression of amatory warmth. But as some are found even now to prize the letters of Samuel Rutherford, the same class will not undervalue a writer who like Rutherford was equally at home in the niceties of scholastic distinction, the strategy of polemic defence, and the raptures of divine contemplation. The book appeared in 1657, after Owen's vice-chancellorship at Oxford, and was the summary of pulpit exercises, extending over some years of pastoral teaching. Our editor remarks with justice, that the term Communion, used in the title, denotes not merely the interchange of feeling between God in his gracious character and a soul in a gracious state,

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but the gracious relationship upon which this holy relationship is founded; which will account for the strong admixture of doctrine with the details of evangelical emotion. The leading topic, however, is the illustration of a distinct fellowship with each adorable person of the Trinity. The doctrine thus avowed was regarded by many at the time as "a new-fangled one and uncouth." The public for whom it was addressed was unlike our own religious world, and could relish both the erudition and the experience.

Citations of classic and patristic Latin and Greek, and copious adduction of Hebrew originals, rabbinical glosses and sentences of school-doctors, stand side by side with fervid description of evangelical raptures, and the longing of divine affection. Something of the same blending of scholarship and seraphic love is seen in the voluminous Saint's Rest of Baxter, in its unabridged form. But all readers were not Puritans, and the work was assailed; which gave occasion to the vindication against Sherlock, which stands second in this volume.

William Sherlock was father of the more celebrated Dr. Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London. His attack on Owen was delayed until the work had been seventeen years before the public. He charged on it enthusiastic teachings such as we attribute to the Quakers; as that divine knowledge is to be obtained from the person of Christ, apart from the truth revealed in the Scriptures. But his objections were made to cut widely and deeply into the limbs and vitals of evangelical truth, and revealed an enmity against the entire body of Calvinistic divinity. Sherlock impugns vindicatory justice, which was Owen's citadel for the defence of expiatory atonement. He ridicules the notion of being saved by acquiescing in a plan of grace which leaves nothing to be wrought by the believer. He denies the soul's personal union with Christ, as mystical and absurd. He derides the forensic imputation of Christ's righteousness. In short, he anticipates almost all the cavils of American new-divinity; and we wish those who employ his spent missiles would give heed to the vigorous argument by which they are retorted. In many respects the apology is more fitted to our time than the offensive treatise which preceded it. It deals more with the cardinal points of dogmatics; it bears

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more marks of ripe discipline, and it glows with the zeal of a man aroused by unjust attack. A spirit of bold conviction pervades the reasoning, which necessarily takes a wide sweep over the principal heads of theology. "Truth and good company," says Owen, "will give a modest man a little confidence sometimes." The war extended itself. "Robert Ferguson, in 1675, wrote against Sherlock a volume entitled 'The Interest of Reason in Religion,' etc. Edward Polhill followed, in an 'Answer to the Discourse of Mr. William Sherlock,' etc. Vincent Alsop first displayed in this controversy his powers of wit and acumen as an author, in his 'Antisozzo, or Sherlocismus Enervatus.' Henry Hickman, a man of considerable gifts, and pastor of an English congregation at Leyden, wrote the 'Speculum Sherlockianum,' etc. Samuel Rollè, a nonconformist, wrote the 'Prodromus, or the Character of Mr. Sherlock's Book;' and also, in the same controversy, 'Justification Justified.' Thomas Danson, who had been ejected from Sibton, and author of several works against the Quakers, wrote 'The Friendly Debate between Satan and Sherlock,' and afterwards he published again in defence of it. Sherlock, in 1675, replied to Owen and Ferguson in his 'Defence and Continuation of the Discourse concerning the Knowledge of Jesus Christ.' He was supported by Thomas Hotchkis, rector of Staunton, in a 'Discourse concerning the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness,' etc." A second part of the work by Hotchkis, in 1678, has been discovered by Mr. Goold, in addition to Orme's search, and also two more by Sherlock, "An Answer to Thomas Danson's Scandalous Pamphlet," 1677, and a "Vindication of Mr. Sherlock against the Cavils of Mr. Danson."

The short "Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity" has been widely circulated. It appeared in 1669. Among other signs of acceptance, it was translated into Dutch. It was written for the use of ordinary Christians, which will account for the absence of abstruse argument and heavy learning. The doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction, elsewhere so largely handled by Owen, is here discussed in a more familiar way, against the Socinianism which had already made havock in the continent, and was creeping in among the English, as it has since weakened and defiled the theology of some in our own country who

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build the sepulchres of their Puritan fathers. In this popular essay, Owen condenses the matter which may be viewed in mass in his Exercitations, Commentary, and answer to Biddle.

The fifth volume, which is the next in order, contains the great work on Justification. In regard to this we cannot do better than to borrow from Mr. Goold's prefatory note. Socinus and Bellarmine both wrote against this article "stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ." The work of the great Romish controvertist still remains to overshadow many later and feebler antagonists of the truth; and Owen scarcely ever fails to keep his eye upon this subtle and audacious polemic. But there were domestic errors also, which tended to shape the course of the argument. In 1649 Baxter published "Aphorisms on Justification," with a view to certain prevalent Antinomian abuses. Though a holy man, and though at a later date less erroneous, he erred in this book, as elsewhere, by needless and useless compromises. To these Aphorisms Bishop Barlow traces the first departure from the received doctrine of the Reformed churches on the subject of justification. In 1669, Bishop Bull, in his "Apostolical Harmony," declares that "faith denotes the whole condition of the gospel covenant; that is, comprehends in one word all the works of Christian piety." How strange the cyclical motion by which again and again this violent hypothesis comes into sight in the progress of theology! This is indeed to be justified by works under the denomination of faith. Baxter and Bull are great names; many rose to answer them. They were supported by many. Among these was Sir Charles Wolsley, in his "Justification Evangelical," (1667). Sir Charles says somewhere to a correspondent concerning Owen, "I suppose you know his book of Justification was written particularly against mine." Owen's work appeared in 1677. But it is no ephemeral contribution. In Socinus and Bellarmine he had a nobler quarry than the baronet and parliament-man; and in bringing down these he generally did the work for all, of that day and of this. "On his own side of the question," says the editor, "it is still the most complete discussion in our language of the important doctrine to which it relates." "A curious fact," says Mr. Orme, "respecting this book, is mentioned in the Life of Mr.

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Joseph Williams of Kidderminster:—'At last, the time of his (Mr. Grimshawe's, an active clergyman of the Church of England) deliverance came. At the house of one of his friends he lays his hand on a book, and opens it, with his face towards a pewter shelf. Instantly his face is saluted with an uncommon flash of heat. He turns to the title page, and finds it to be Dr. Owen on Justification. Immediately he is surprised with such another flash. He borrows the book, studies it, is led into God's method of justifying the ungodly, hath a new heart given unto him; and now, behold, he prayeth!' Whether these flashes were electrical or galvanic, as Southey in his Life of Wesley supposes, it deserves to be noticed that it was not the *flash* but the *book* which converted Grimshawe. The occurrence which turned his attention to it, is of importance merely as the second cause, which, under the mysterious direction of Providence, led to a blessed result."

Owen's purpose in writing this extraordinary work is fully expressed by himself. He says truly that it is vain to recommend the doctrine of justification to such as neither desire nor endeavour to be justified. It was not therefore a diatribe *ad scholas*. "I lay more weight on the steady direction of one soul in this inquiry, than on disappointing the objections of twenty wrangling or fiery disputers." "It is the practical direction of the consciences of men, in their application unto God by Jesus Christ for deliverance from the curse due unto the apostate, and peace with him, with the influence of the way thereof unto universal gospel obedience, that is alone designed in the handling of this doctrine." Yet it would be a sad error to infer from this that the book is experimental or practical in any such sense as not to be learned. There is nothing extant of theological erudition or dialectic skill and strength, which attains a higher degree than this treatise. A system of dogmatic history on this and allied points might be digested from its pages. He pursues the great professor, cardinal, and controvertist of Romanism through all his *ambages*. He shows himself familiar with the whole tenor of scholastic argument, and cites with freedom and understanding Lombard, Aquinas, and Anselm. He is equally at home among the Socini and the Polish Brethren. He lived among writers in English who had

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brought out all the strength of the Pelagian and Arminian objections, and it is little to say that he knew them *intus et in cute*. But his power is shown most of all in exegesis of Scripture, and this will surprise no one who has ever used his commentary on the Hebrews in the way of perpetual collation with later interpreters. We hold a dogmatic head to be as necessary a propædeutic to exposition as a multiform learning in philology; and Owen had both, according to his times. If he maintained an error against Walton and was defeated, it was a prejudice of reverence, and was common to the best men of his day. Raised on the shoulders of giants we see further than he; but we must feel humble when we measure his greatness even in regard to Hebrew and Greek lexicography, grammar, and hermeneutics. It is precisely in the analysis of hard places, and the enucleation of consistent senses, by the aid of united learning, acumen and judgment, that he overtops all later commentators.

The entire subject of Justification is treated in detail. Here is discussed all that relates to those nice questions touching the meaning of the term—its uses in Scripture, in the fathers, and in the schools—the forensic nature of the act—the two-fold justification of the later Romanists—the place of faith in justifying—imputation—the necessity of good works—and the discrepance between Paul and James. If the new divinity would learn more and subtler objections than it has framed, and see all its vaunted armoury arrayed in more formidable might than by themselves, with overwhelming refutation of greater arguments than they have mustered, by one who often anticipates the very cavils of the nineteenth century—let them come hither. We do not bind ourselves to Owen's interpretations, distinctions, or definitions; but if the topic has educed anything more athletic and commanding, we crave to see it. What is remarkable, two centuries have not made this argument obsolete. So far as it oppugns Baronius, Vasquez, and Hosius, it is the very feud which is between us and our Wisemans, Kenricks, and Hugheses. In these parts, and in all that concerns the Arminians, it is our debate with the corrupt portion of New England. If the anti-socinian passages have lost some of their freshness and pertinency, it is because the latest

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form of Unitarian unbelief has reached an aphelion far more wide of truth than the tenets of Socinus.

The remaining article in this fifth volume is the "Gospel Grounds and Evidences of the Faith of God's Elect," and, as a posthumous work, was given to the world in 1695, by Dr. Chauncey, pastor of the Bury Street congregation, in the service of which Dr. Owen died twelve years before, and of which Dr. Watts became pastor in 1687. It is altogether on the marks of true faith, and is a help to self-examination, but with that mixture of didactic statement with description of spiritual states, which appears in all Owen's experimental theology. We may observe that he repudiates a tenet which has been dear to great numbers in Scotland, and some in America, to wit, that faith is an especial assurance of a man's own justification. "*That*," he wisely observes, "it will produce, but not until another step or two in its progress be over."

Two volumes, the eighth and ninth of the complete series, but the fourth and fifth in the order of appearing, are filled with sermons; being the most full and accurate collection which has ever been published. One volume contains all that came from the press in the author's lifetime. Among these is one which Mr. Goold has reclaimed from the "Morning Exercises against Popery, at Southwark;" it appears now for the first time as a part of Owen's works. The sermon on "Human Power Defeated," is for reasons given assigned to the posthumous class. So many of these are what some denominate occasional discourses, that we owe much to the editor's research, for the historical statements which show their pertinency to the time and audience. Owen was more honoured as a preacher by contemporaries than by later generations; but a preacher can be judged only by those who hear him. Both friends and foes attested his power. His preaching was followed by saving effects. He was frequently called to officiate before the Parliament, and usually received their thanks, at a time when this tribute was sometimes bluntly denied. These discourses were often prepared in a very short time, amidst many public cares, so that, to use his own words, they were sometimes "like Jonah's gourd, the offspring of a night." After some judicious remarks on their excellencies, the editor concludes, "that their

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chief blemish—if it be a blemish—is the tendency of the author, in the fertility of his resources, to compress within the limits of one sermon what, to minds less affluent, would have furnished materials for several sermons."

To be more particular, two of these sermons, entitled "Ebenezer," commemorate the deliverance of Essex County and Committee, in 1648. When Colchester, after a severe siege, yielded to the parliamentary army under Lord Fairfax, Owen was a pastor at the neighbouring town of Coggeshall. The sermons relate to this event, and the similar successes at Rumford. They have been regarded as too warlike in their tone; but when we consider them as delivered to victorious soldiers, we are rather drawn to the evidence they afford of a deep and pervading religious interest in the minds of the commonwealth-men. We can scarcely figure to ourselves a popular preacher using such language as this to a military audience in our day. They are full of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, are textual, doctrinal, evangelical, and spiritual. "Consider," says the preacher, in peroration, "if there be so much sweetness in a temporal deliverance, Oh! what excellency is there in that eternal redemption which we have in the blood of Jesus! If we rejoice for being delivered from them who could have killed the body, what unspeakable rejoicing is there in that mercy whereby we are freed from the wrath to come! Let this possess your thoughts, let this fill your souls, let this be your haven from all future storms. And here strike I sail, in this to abide with you and all the saints of God for ever."

There is a discourse on "Righteous Zeal encouraged by Divine Protection," with an addendum on Toleration. It was preached before the Commons, January 31, 1648, a fast day, on account of the execution of Charles the day before. Owen's consenting to appear on such an occasion, is regarded by Dr. McCrie as "the greatest blot on his public life." History says of the sermon, that "it was so modest and inoffensive, that his friends could make no just exception, nor his enemies take an advantage of his words another day." Nor was it reckoned against him, after the Restoration, until 1683, when, a few weeks before his death, parts of the sermon were publicly burned at Oxford. In 1710, by an order of the

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House of Lords, the Oxford decree was in its turn burned by the common hangman. Mr. Orme vindicates the Independents, as a body, from any imputation founded on Owen's appearance at this time. We need scarcely add that the Presbyterians never required such a vindication; for it is well known that the Scottish Covenanters immediately on hearing of the decapitation hastened to proclaim his son king, under the title of Charles II.

The Treatise "of Toleration" comes strangely in, after this sermon. It is calm and noble. In our day and country where the word *toleration* is lost from the vocabulary, in any such sense as this, and in our Church which has amended the Confession of Faith on this head, we might spare some of Owen's ponderous arguments; but they have abiding value in the history of religious liberty.

In a sermon on Rom. iv. 20, preached in 1650, after Owen had been in Ireland, there are some expressions which have peculiar interest at this hour. He is exhorting the Parliament to engage in missionary work, and after allusion to the massacre of forty thousand Protestants in 1641, thus proceeds: "God's work, whereunto you are engaged, is the propagating of the kingdom of Christ, and the setting up the standard of the gospel. How is it that Jesus Christ is in Ireland only as a lion staining all his garments with the blood of his enemies; and none to hold him out as a Lamb sprinkled with his own blood to his friends? Is it the sovereignty and interest of England that is alone to be there transacted? For my part, I see no further into the mystery of these things but that I could heartily rejoice, that innocent blood being expiated, *the Irish might enjoy Ireland, so long as the moon endureth, so that Jesus Christ might possess the Irish.* But God having suffered those sworn vassals of the Man of Sin to break out into such ways of villany as render them obnoxious unto vengeance, upon such rules of government among men as he hath appointed; is there, therefore, nothing to be done but to give a cup of blood into their hands? Doubtless the way whereby God will bring the followers of the beast to condign destruction for all their enmity to the Lord Jesus, will be by suffering them to run into such practices against men as shall righteously expose them to ven-

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geance, according to acknowledged principles among the sons of men. But is this all? hath he no further aim? Is not all this to make way for the Lord Jesus to take possession of his long since promised inheritance? And shall we stop at the first part? Is this to deal fairly with the Lord Jesus?—call him out to the battle, and then keep away his crown? God hath been faithful in doing great things for you; be faithful in this one, *do your utmost for the preaching of the gospel in Ireland.*"

Two sermons are on the "Branch of the Lord the Beauty of Zion;" and one of them was preached at Edinburgh, after Cromwell's severe dealings with the Presbyterian forces at Dunbar. Cromwell, on taking possession of the Scotch capital, had some sharp correspondence with the Presbyterian clergy. In reply to one of his lectures which he read them, and in allusion to his famous preaching colonels and prophesying privates, they sent from the castle their utterance of "regret that men of mere civil place and employment should usurp the calling and employment of the ministry, particularly in Scotland, contrary to the government and discipline therein established—to the maintenance whereof (say they to the victorious Independent) you are bound by the Solemn League and Covenant." Cromwell, in his rejoinder, says, "The Lord pity you!" He is sarcastic upon the Presbyterians for their inconsistency in "crying down malignants,* and yet setting up the head of them, Charles Stuart." The sermons are dedicated to the man in power, but without commendatory phrases, and with a quasi apology for being found among men-at-arms. Another sermon commemorates what Cromwell styled "the crowning mercy" of "Worcester fight," which decided his control of all England; and still another is on the death of Ireton. But all these yield in regard to the greatness of the occasion, to one which follows the great Protector's death. This also was delivered before Parliament, and it betrays, as Mr. Goold remarks, a spirit of anxiety as to the future developments of Providence. It may be observed of all these discourses, that though pronounced before excited political bodies, in troublous times, they are

* We thought we had reached an end of marvelling at Webster's American Dictionary, when we came upon the following definition, (Springfield edition, 1848, p. 669, "MALIGNANT, 2. A name of reproach for a Puritan."—[*Obs.*]

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made up chiefly of the great and permanent truths of theology, and contain pungent spiritual counsels to men in power. An extract, otherwise suggestive, will serve as a specimen. "Labour personally (says he to the legislators) every one of you, to get Christ in your own hearts. I am very far from thinking that a man may not be lawfully called to magistracy, if he be not a believer; or that being called, he should be impeded in the execution of his trust and place because he is not so. I shall not suspend my obedience while I inquire into my governor's conversion; but yet, this I say, considering that I cannot much value any good, but that which comes by the way of promise, I confess I can have no great expectation from them whom God loves not, delights not in. If any be otherwise minded, I shall not contend with him; but for this I will contend with all the world, that it is your duty to labour to assure Christ in your own hearts, even that you may be the better fitted for the work of God in the world." These are sayings which might sound oddly in the ears of modern legislatures.

There are sermons of a different character in this volume, such as must have given more scope to the author's mind, in its habitual and favourite exercise of grappling with the great doctrines of reformed theology and transmuting them into experience. Of this class are the discourses on Reproof, on the Authority of the Scripture, and on the Romish Chamber of Imagery. They were delivered at Pinner's Hall, by Presbyterian and Independent ministers, who were glad to unite in this labour of love as soon as the penal laws began to be suspended. We have often wished that some wealthy men in our cities would set up something like the week-day lectureships of London, a number of which still exist, and from which so many volumes of sound theology have proceeded. The first lecturers were Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Dr. Owen, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Collins, and Mr. Jenkyn. Out of a controversy about Antinomianism grew the lectures at Salter's Hall. The editor's prefatory note informs us that these lectures at Pinner's Hall were only the resumption of a series which had been interrupted by the Restoration. During the wars of the Commonwealth, the pious Londoners used to meet in crowds at seven in the morning, every day, using different churches in rotation. It was a

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concert of prayer for friends in the army. When the war declined, this became a casuistical lecture. The discourses were printed in numerous volumes, some of which are still seen on book-stalls and in old collections, under the several titles of "The Morning Exercise Methodized," 1660, 1661, 1674, 1683, and 1690; and "The Morning Exercise against Popery," 1675. Of earlier date are "The Morning Exercise at Giles-in-the-Fields," 1655, and "The Word of Faith, at Martin's-in-the-Fields," 1655.

Among the sermons of this volume the reader will find Owen's "Country Essay for the Practice of Church Government there." In the preface he indulges in this sharp sally. "Those names which men are known by when they are oppressed, they commonly use against others whom they seek to oppress. I would, therefore, that all horrid appellations, as increasers of strife, kindlers of wrath, enemies of charity, food for animosity, were for ever banished from amongst us. Let a spade be called a spade, so we take heed Christ be not called Beelzebub. I know my profession to the greatest part of the world is sectarism, as Christianity; amongst those who profess the name of Christ, to the greatest number [Papists] I am a sectary, because a Protestant; amongst Protestants, at least the one-half [Lutherans] account all men of my persuasion Calvinistical, sacramentarian sectaries; amongst these, again, to some [Episcopalians] I have been a puritanical sectary, an Arian heretic, because anti-prelatical; yea, and amongst these last not a few [Independents] account me a sectary, because I plead for Presbyterial government in churches; and to all these am I thus esteemed, as I am fully convinced, causelessly and erroneously." His "Essay" or programme of a church-organization comprehends the following provisions. Ecclesiastical boundaries are to be marked, not by the civil power "with the precincts of high constables," but by ministers and other Christians. Ministers actually in office are to remain. Elders, chosen "annually or otherwise," are to join in rule and admonition. The ministers are to act "jointly, and as in a classical combination, and putting forth all authority that such classes are entrusted with." It is allowable, that other officers chosen by the brethren be added to these. The latter

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part of the discourse discusses the subject of Toleration. This is not the place for examining the question of Owen's theory of church government. Mr. Thomson, in his Memoir, is studiously moderate on this point. We may with the utmost safety go his length, if no further, and conclude that Owen modified his independent tenets as he grew older, admitted that a government including lay elders might not be useless, admitted a certain connection of particular churches in regard to powers, and admitted the propriety of synodal action in cases of flagrant error or defection. That Owen was a zealous maintainer of an eldership which did not preach, or what has been called a congregational Presbytery, must be known to all our instructed readers.

The Posthumous Sermons fill the remaining volume, and fall into two classes; those which were prepared for the press by the author, and those which were reported from notes taken in hearing. Or, dividing them by time, as our editor does, we have those published at different years, severally, to wit, 1690, 1721, 1756, and 1760. The discourses on the Strength of Faith are in the best strain of his peculiar blending of dogma with experience, and contain some keen thrusts in a style almost satiric at the Arminianizing church-divines of the day, who harped on the charge of solifidianism, which Owen shows lay as justly against their own articles. In preaching on the Nature and Beauty of Gospel Worship, he touched a favourite theme, more fully treated in his "Spiritual Mindedness." Here we have the philosophy of Puritanism, as opposed to the ritualism of the Laudians, which lives again in the Puseyism of our own age. This required masterly and delicate handling, in a time when Familism, early Quakerism, and other enthusiastic schemes, were drawing mightily towards that disuse of external, and as they pretended, "carnal ordinances," an error charged on dissent and perhaps exemplified by such isolated antiprelatists as Milton in old age.

Casuistical Theology was deeply considered in a time when thousands were under conviction of sin, in a travailing nation, pervaded by intense anxieties respecting personal salvation, and urging their way by various paths, true and false, towards inward peace. The church-meetings of exercised brethren

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were much taken up with cases of conscience, such as always arise under discriminating utterance of the truth, but which in that period of earnestness were more formally brought to the test of Scripture and argument. We dare not affirm that this morbid anatomy of the soul was not sometimes carried to an extreme, but we are sure the inward workings of the heart, and the actings of the new creature, under the Spirit of God, and against the temptations of the adversary, were never laid bare with a more skilful hand than that of Owen. Mr. Goold has judiciously indicated the differences between this legitimate method, and that "art of quibbling with God," which had the same name among the Jesuits, and received its *coup de grace* from the pen of Pascal. He refers us also to the casuistical literature of Protestantism, as found in Mayer, Bishops Sanderson and Taylor, Dickson, Pike and Hayward, and the Morning Exercises. Fourteen cases of conscience are here treated in as many short discourses at church-meetings. Every page reveals something of both preacher and hearers; a spiritual physician, learned, skilful, daring, and compassionate, and a community widely agitated with inquiries such as in our times would scarcely collect a congregation, especially on a working-day. Some of the questions answered are these: What conviction of a state of sin, and of the guilt of sin, is necessary to cause a soul to look after Christ? What are the evidences that we have received Christ? How are we to recover from decays? May we pray to Christ, as Mediator? Is prevalent sin consistent with a state of grace? These are topics for all time, and are here discussed with the author's known pungency and scriptural wisdom.

Owen often, if not generally, preached extempore; and the only approach we can make to a knowledge of his manner in this kind must be derived from the short-hand reporter. Though the world, we may fairly presume, never possessed a system of philosophical stenography until the phonographic invention of Pitman, it has had short-hand-writers from a very early age. The *notarii* of the Romans took down the substance of all great orations. They are mentioned by Pliny and Martial, and some manuscripts contain specimens of the symbols used in this tachygraphy, as it was called; these may

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be examined in any Tauchnitz edition of Cicero. Almost all the sermons of Augustine were taken from his lips in this manner; not to speak of similar reports of certain Greek fathers. We owe thirty-eight discourses of Owen to the ready pen of a loving hearer, Sir John Hartopp. Of this good man, Dr. Watts says, in his imaginative and original sermon on the 'Happiness of separate Spirits;' "When I name Sir John Hartopp, all that know him will agree, that I name a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian." He was often in parliament, and was a warm friend of Dr. Owen. As to the sermons, "he wrote them in short-hand from the Doctor's own mouth, and then took the pains to transcribe them into long-hand, as thinking them worthy of being transmitted down to posterity." The like affectionate care has preserved to us some of the most useful labours of Robert Hall. In regard to matter, these reported sermons of Owen remind us constantly of his other works; though, being parts of ordinary parochial teaching, they are often on plain subjects, the daily nutriment of God's people. But as to style and manner, they have some striking peculiarities, even after due allowance has been made for lacunæ in the report. The transitions are rapid; the illustrations are more brightly figured; the whole air is quick and familiar; and instead of the circumvolved and lumbering amplifications which rolled from the great Doctor's copious quill, we have sentences almost as brisk and curt as those of his more mercurial nonconformist brethren. A comparison of Owen's written and oral homiletic style is worthy of being recommended to young preachers. Of these sermons twenty-five constitute a series which has been printed again and again, under the title of 'Sacramental Discourses.' An edition of them appeared in 1844, with a preface by Dr. Alexander of Edinburgh, a learned and able divine, who speaks of the collection "as, upon the whole, one of the most useful and instructive companions to the Lord's table with which the literature of the country can supply them."

Thus we have gone over the contents of these five volumes with the confident expectation that even this meager outline will induce some to procure the entire work. But we must not deny ourselves the liberty of adding some remarks on the cha-

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racter and merits of this great theologian. Among his coëvals he was by common consent ranked as foremost in the array of Calvinistic Nonconformists. His services to the cause of religion and liberty were not confined to the products of his study; he was great in the pulpit, in the guidance of troubled consciences, in the polity of education, and in what his own age denominated "affairs." Hence he became the target for many a flight of arrows from errorists, high-churchmen and malignants, carrying the venom of South's wit and the barbed doggerel of Butler's iambics. He was so far an Independent, as to suffer in the estimation of such Presbyterians as distrusted Cromwell and could not forget the field of Dunbar. Yet his ponderous wisdom and shining piety overbore all temporary dislike, and secured him a name which none have more tenderly cherished than our ecclesiastical progenitors. His immense erudition joined to an exhaustive, crushing logic, and a fervour as high as that of the mystics, but purer and more scriptural, caused his writings to be the almost necessary arsenal of succeeding polemics. His philology, his school-divinity, his classic stores, his thorough reading in all heresies, and his unanswerable reasonings, were tenfold more honourable, because they resulted not in novel hypotheses, but in fortifying the catholic tenets of the Reformed faith. In this respect he was a strong contrast to Richard Baxter, who had equal knowledge of recondite literature, equal ardour, equal sincerity, and vastly greater command of eloquent diction, in "English pure and undefiled;" but who was for ever goaded by the œstrum of inventive genius, misled by the lights of his restless imagination, puzzled by distinctions akin to those of Aquinas and Scotus, whom he so often quotes, and wasted in speculations intended to better but really marring the symmetrical reformation edifice. Hence it is the hortatory works of one, and the theological treatises of the other, which are respectively their glory. As unlike was Owen to John Howe, but for other reasons. We do not remember any expatiating ascents of Owen, sustained through such a career of spiritual soaring, as some of Howe's. Owen displays more of the process, the heave and groanings of the engine, the powerful and often tedious exercitation on originals, textual sources, and dogmatic sequence, the repeated downfalls of the

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tilt-hammer on heretical sophisms, and the obstructed but triumphant passage from inward strength to palpable effects. Howe seldom spends long time on the Hebrew and Greek text, meddles little with the genesis and growth of schools and opinions, hardly ever looks aside at opponents, never disturbs his gradual rise to unearthly elevation by the technicalities of the books, but platonizes in a Christian sense, floats away on his own happy wing, consistently with common faith, but in a language all his own, free from the trick of contemporary quaintness and puritanic mannerism, yet swelling into peculiar eloquence for those who can accompany him through the occasional heaviness of his preliminary movements. It is remarkable how few sentences can be detached from Howe's folios, expressive of the critical definitions of strict Calvinism, which, on the whole, he nevertheless admitted; while in Owen such may be found *ad aperturam libri*. With Manton, Charnock, Bates and Flavel, it would be a violence to compare John Owen; great in a certain way they cannot aspire to be named as his compeers.

We do not rank Owen among metaphysical divines. By saying this, we are far from denying to him a perspicacity equal to any, exercised by long converse with the intricacies of scholastic ontology and psychology. In places innumerable, he evinces his power of sustaining divine truth by showing its correspondence with the nature of spiritual things and the record of consciousness. At the same time it is certain, that his method of inquiry and proof is exegetical and dogmatical, rather than philosophical. Our meaning may be most briefly indicated by stating that in the respect intended he is unlike Edwards and the New England theologians. In the same way he also differs from earlier writers, such as Twisse. A profound reverence for the inspired Scriptures, as the material of all theological science, compelled him into the lines of laborious interpreters; so that even where the titles under which he ranges his thoughts are those of the old *theologia dogmatica*, the process of argument conducts him perpetually to a closeness of exegesis, which was limited only by the apparatus of his day.

As a polemic he was formidable. Such any writer must needs be who has mastered all the libraries of error, and nerved

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himself by all the labours of the dialectic palæstra, besides possessing invention, clear understanding, manly judgment, and immovable love of truth. It was not however by smart fetches, nimble fence, or the suddenness of single dashes, that he achieved his victories. The mode of his day took time for campaigns; and this was favourable to Owen, who never left an unreduced fortress in his rear, and loved to pursue his adversary in every movement, and drive him from every cover. In so doing he is often tedious, but he is never weak and never sophistical; and there is a glow of interest, when after a lengthened preparation, he concentrates his columns, and overwhelms a Socinian or Popish enemy by the irresistible summation of his argument. Yet it is nowise surprising, that readers of a hasty or fastidious turn should regard many of his dissertations as unreasonably drawn out.

The wonder is, that a writer of such intellectual force and such store of learning, should have displayed the majesty of his faculties in treatises on the inward experience of the renewed soul. This must be admitted as the fact. Leaving out of view sermons, and passages of great unction, interspersed throughout his doctrinal works, we need only remind any reader of the books on Communion, on Temptation, on Indwelling Sin, on the Mortification of Sin, and above all on Spiritual Mindedness. In these he shows a heart exercised with long and sore trials, accustomed to self-inspection, with reference to the highest spiritual standard, and sensitive as to the slightest harm threatening the work of the Spirit. The Antinomian tendencies of the day led him to use the probe with an unflinching hand, and to apply the tests of regeneration with a severity which is sometimes appalling. His lofty idea of a true spiritual worship, under the New Testament, as distinguished from all fancies, frames, imaginary elevations, ceremonious offices, and pompous service, appears and re-appears in every stage of his protracted authorship. On the other hand, the joy of religion, as converse most assured and intimate, with the Mediator, God manifest in the flesh, beams with a holy radiance over all the numerous works which treat of Christ. He would have been out of his element in such a directory for details of Christian practice as fills several volumes of Baxter's works, and his

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talent lay as little in convictive application of the law, such as we find in the famous Call to the Unconverted, or Alleine's Alarm; but when he undertook to carry his clew through the mazes of an experienced heart, he did the work of guidance so as to be without a rival. This it is which has endeared his writings to the most spiritual of the evangelical churches, even among the unlettered; while the masculine theology which underlies this stratum of experience like a mass of granite, has commended the same treatises to minds otherwise prone to turn away from experimental religion.

The style of Owen has been sufficiently stigmatized, till there is scarcely a dainty polisher of smooth periods who has not learnt to gird at it. Notwithstanding some undeniable awkwardnesses, it has qualities of characteristic greatness. Its very unwieldiness often holds the attention and leaves impressions such as the author purposed. Owen's sentences abhor melodious rhythm, and twist themselves into cacophony, disappointing the ear of all cadence; as if one with a fine voice should try to sing out of tune. The natural directness, unstudied tenderness, and manly grace of Baxter's incomparable English is certainly wanting; yet Owen is English too, and often most so where he is most huge and exorbitant in his homely circumlocutions. No one can plead in his behalf that he was ruined by classical reading, for it is agreed that his Latin is worse than his vernacular; see the Theologoumena *passim*. All cunning balance of clauses was far from his thoughts. Labouring with anxieties of another sort, he broke forth in words which threw themselves into unusual but strong array, making the style a genuine effluence of the man. Similitudes and metaphors are not numerous, and when he goes into his garden, all is welcome that tells his meaning, be it weed or flower; but we could give a *hortus siccus* of such illustrations, equal to any we ever read for rugged force and power over the imagination. He revelled much more in those formulas, even down to illative particles, which denote the articulations of logic, and loved to play with these technical phrases, as a swordsman preludes his assault by motions proper to his art of defence. There are moods in which the student who is capable of an interest in such great wrestling of ratiocination will take

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a peculiar delight in these very formalities of the schools. They had not yet invented our way of crushing a heretical opponent with rose-leaves and violets, or turning the dialectic spear into a thyrsus of epigrams. We can never cease to regret that a man so truly admirable as Robert Hall should have allowed himself to disparage our great theologian in words so contemptuous as some which are ascribed to him. The well known remark about the "continent of mud," recorded by Dr. Gregory, is traditionally said to have been repeated by Hall to the late Dr. John M. Mason, who was an enthusiastic admirer of Owen, and well able to vindicate him. Something similar is found in the Reminiscences of a Mr. Greene, prefixed to the fourth American volume of Hall's works; a memoir which up to the moment of this present writing stands clearly first in our list of puerile biographies. Among a score of vapid or foolish sayings (often deriving their quality doubtless from the conduit) perpetuated in this helpless collection, Hall is made to say of Owen; "I can't think how you can like Dr. Owen. I can't read him with any patience. I never read a page of Dr. Owen, sir, without finding some confusion in his thoughts, either a truism or a contradiction in terms." It was adventurous in Mr. Hall, (supposing him to have ever said it,) so summarily to depose the acknowledged champion of English Calvinism from a place accredited to him by the suffrages of theologians, themselves great, and of various and opposing schools. It was a false judgment, perhaps adopted early, in his Socinian days, left uncorrected by any sufficient perusal of Owen's works, and favoured by the strong repugnance of a delicate tasteful scholar for the austere, antiquated and uncouth style of the mighty but slipshod Nonconformist. How unlike this the recorded opinions of Watts and Doddridge, and (not to confine ourselves to dissent,) of Cecil, who said: "Owen stands at the head of his class of divines. His scholars will be more profound and enlarged, and better furnished, than those of most other writers. His work on the Spirit has been my treasure-house, and one of my very first-rate books." Indeed it would be easy to fill pages with extracts, in the nature of testimonials to the esteem in in which Dr. Owen was held first by his contemporaries, and

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then by sound and capable theologians of each succeeding generation down to our own day. But he asks no witnesses; his works are before us, to speak for themselves.

ART. II.—*Early Christianity in the British Isles.*

BRITAIN was first invaded by the Romans, about half a century before the birth of Jesus Christ. The horrible rites of Druidism then prevailed over the Island. With the inhabitants of Britain, and with the appalling rites of this superstition, the Roman people were made acquainted through the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar. Under the Emperor Claudius, who invaded the Island in person, about A. D. 48, the country was for the most part subjugated to the invincible arms of the Romans; and it continued in their possession down to the middle of the fifth century. It is a fact sufficiently ascertained by history, that the Roman conquests led to the extermination of Druidism, and thus, in the providence of God, paved the way for the introduction of Christianity.

Of the first introduction of Christianity into Great Britain we have no authentic information. The legendary records of the monkish historians of the middle ages are unworthy of credit. But while we do not acknowledge the authority of tradition, we may at least listen to its voice, and collect the substance of what it has most unvaryingly handed down to us. Tradition often contains the outlines of historical truth, and while rejecting its amplifications and details, we may in some instances allow the main circumstances to be true.

In the traditionary annals of the British Isles, we find the name of the apostle Paul mentioned as the first who planted the gospel among the Britons. This is one of the most uncertain and vague of the many traditions on this subject. But Bishop Stillingfleet, Adam Clarke, and others, have supposed that this account is corroborated by the words of Clement of

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Rome, who wrote in the first century, and whose epistles are generally considered as authentic records of remote Christian antiquity. He tells us in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, that Paul published the gospel to "the utmost bounds of the west." By the utmost bounds of the west, some have argued that Britain must be meant. But this is merely conjectural. There can be little doubt that Clement here refers to Spain. Paul, when he wrote to the Romans, had preached the gospel from Jerusalem to Illyricum; and casting his mind still farther towards the western ocean, he embraces Spain in his generous designs, and says to the Romans, "Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you." And again he says, "I will come by you into Spain." The words of Clement prove that he performed this contemplated journey into Spain, and thus became the herald of the gospel from the east to the west, even as far as the shore of the western ocean. So that the tradition of the planting of the gospel in Britain by the apostle Paul, must be rejected as resting on the most dubious evidence. The same is true of another legend, which gives this honour to the apostle Peter.

There is another tradition of high antiquity, which ascribes the introduction of Christianity into Britain to Joseph of Arimathea. Joseph, with eleven other disciples, is said to have been sent into Britain to introduce the gospel of Jesus Christ. He sought permission from one of the kings of the Britons to settle on a rude and uncultivated piece of land called Glaestinybyrig (Glastonbury). This request having been granted, a chapel of wicker-work was built, in which the gospel was preached, and the true God worshipped for the first time in the British Isles. This tradition runs through all the early legendary histories of Britain, and is even to be traced in some of her ancient charters. While there is much that is clearly fabulous connected with this story, it may be that the main circumstances are true.

According to the learned Dr. Jamieson, the Culdees, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, affirmed that they received their evangelical doctrines, and their peculiar modes of worship from the disciples of the apostle John.

There is another tradition handed down to us by the venera-

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ble Bede, which states that Lucius, king of Britain, having embraced the Christian religion, sent (A. D. 156) to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, for instructers in the Christian faith, and that this request was granted. If there be any truth in this, we may safely conclude that the Christian religion had been introduced into Britain long before the time of king Lucius, and having made its way among his subjects, had at length been embraced by the king, to whom tradition gives the honour of being the first of the kings of the earth who embraced the religion of Jesus Christ.

From these traditions there is good reason to conclude, that Christianity was introduced into Britain towards the close of the first century, and by missionaries from the east. But we gladly leave this region of doubt and uncertainty, and turn to authentic history, which clearly indicates the existence of Christianity in Britain at a very early period.

Tertullian, who flourished in the second century, affirms that Christianity had found its way into those places of Britain, where even Roman valour could not penetrate. Discoursing on the words of David, Psal. xix. 4, "Their line is gone out through all the earth," he says, "Even all the boundaries of the Spaniards, and the different nations of the Gauls, and those parts of Britain which were inaccessible to the Romans are become subject to Christ: *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo subdita.*" We have no reason to doubt the testimony of this father, and this is a clear proof, not only that Christianity was established in Britain before the middle of the second century, but also that it had penetrated into the remote and unconquered regions of Caledonia, and that our rude, invincible, northern forefathers had at this early period been subdued into the obedience of the gospel. The traditions of the Culdees, already spoken of, confirm this testimony.

We have the further testimony of Origen, who flourished in the first of the third century, to the existence of Christianity in the British Isles before his time. Speaking of the prophecies of Ezekiel, he says: "When, before the advent of Christ, did *the land of Britain* agree in the worship of one God? But now on account of the churches which are spread to the uttermost bounds of the world, the whole earth invokes the God of

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Israel." This testimony is decisive to the existence, and even to the prevalence of Christianity in Britain at the beginning of the third century. In the fourth century bishops from the British territories were present at the Council of Sardis. In the fifth century we have accounts of three different councils held in Britain, for the regulation of doctrine and worship; thus proving beyond all question that the Christian religion had taken firm root, and was widely spread over the various independent states or kingdoms into which Britain was then divided.

Meanwhile, the Christian religion had become deplorably corrupt in doctrine and discipline; and there is the clearest evidence of the participation of the British churches in the degeneracy. After the fall of Paganism, Rome began to be regarded as the seat of ecclesiastical government; and efforts were made to bring the whole Christian Church to submit to the supremacy of the Roman bishop. It would seem that the British churches generally yielded. But there is every reason to believe that the simple Christians of Scotland and Ireland retained the primitive simplicity of Christian doctrine and ordinances. Celestine, Bishop of Rome, is indeed said to have ordained Palladius, and sent him to the Scots as their bishop. But there is no evidence that this mission succeeded. Indeed, nothing further is known of Palladius, but that he died and was buried at Fordoun in the Mearns. St. Patrick, too, is said to have been ordained by Celestine and sent as archbishop to Ireland, where in forty years he converted the whole island to the faith. But of all this there is no proof. It is pretty certain that St. Patrick was a Scotchman, and that he instructed the Irish in the pure faith and simple worship of the Scottish churches. That he established the Presbyterian form of government is very evident. He established 365 churches, and ordained 365 bishops besides 3000 elders. There were thus one bishop and about eight elders for each church;—just the Presbyterian institution of our day, a minister for each church with his session. So that we claim St. Patrick, not only as a Scotchman, *but as a good Presbyterian.*

It would seem then, that amid the general corruption of the Christian Church, Christianity continued to exist in something

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of its primitive purity, in the remote regions of Scotland and of Ireland:

"The pure Culdees
Were Albyn's earliest priest of God
Ere yet an island of her seas
By foot of Saxon monk was trod—
Long ere her Churchmen by bigotry
Were barred from wedlock's holy tie."

At the end of the fourth century, the Britons were continually harassed by irruptions of Saxon barbarians. After a severe and prolonged struggle the invaders prevailed, and about the middle of the fifth century, they possessed themselves of the finest and most fertile regions of the Island. The Anglo-Saxons were distinguished for their strength and warlike bravery. They were idolaters, adoring the sun and moon; giving worship to Woden their great ancestor, as well as to two goddesses, named Rhæda and Eostre. They also had another goddess whom they named Hertha, or Mother Earth. They had many idols, and venerated stones, groves, and fountains. It would even seem that they occasionally, if not statedly, offered up human sacrifices. Thus it happened that Britain was again covered with heathen temples filled with priests and idols. Christianity however still prevailed among the Britons, Picts, and Scots.

We come now to that period when it is necessary to speak of the mission of the monk Augustin. He was sent by Pope Gregory to convert the inhabitants of Britain from heathenism, and the following is a brief history of the origin, nature, and results of that mission.

About the year 584, Gregory, who afterwards was raised to the Papal chair, was one day passing through the market of Rome, when he saw some beautiful youths who were there exposed for sale as slaves. He asked where they came from, and the answer was that they were from Britain. He then inquired whether they were Christians or Pagans? On hearing that they were idolaters, he exclaimed with a sigh, "Alas! alas! that men of so fair a complexion should possess minds so void of internal grace." On being told that the name of their nation was Anglè, he remarked, "It suits them well, for they have the beauty of angels, and they should be co-heirs of the

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angels in heaven." When further told that the province from which they came was called Deiri, struck with another verbal coincidence, he exclaimed that they should be "delivered from the wrath of God" (*de ira Dei*). And when told that the name of their king was Ælla, this completed the impression already made, and he enthusiastically cried out, "Halleluiah! the praise of the Almighty Creator must be sung in these regions."

Gregory now applied to the Pope, and begged to be sent to convert the British. The Pope consented, and Gregory left Rome; but before he had proceeded three days on his journey, the Pope was forced to recall him. When Gregory himself became Pope, he selected Augustin for this mission, who, with forty other monks, landed on the isle of Thanet in 596. They had an interview with king Ethelbert, who received them hospitably, and gave them a mansion at Canterbury for a residence. Their labours were soon crowned with success. In a short time the king was converted, and ten thousand of his subjects were baptized in one day. Augustin was consecrated archbishop.

Among the advices which Gregory gave to Augustin, there was one which was but too well observed, and which led to the introduction of the grossest abuses. It was, that he should not destroy the heathen temples, but only cast out the idols, wash them with holy water, and consecrate them as Christian churches; that he should accommodate the ceremonies of worship to those of the heathen, and that as the Saxons had been accustomed to kill oxen in honour of the devil, so now they might do the same for the glory of God! The state of things in this professedly Christian Church must have been truly deplorable, and instead of reforming, they went on from bad to worse.

In the year 604, Augustin died, at which time the conversion of the Saxons was confined to the kingdom of Kent. But it soon after extended through the whole nation, and during this century all the English churches were united upon the model, not of the apostolic church, but of the church of Rome.

Augustin was successful, as we have seen, in converting the Saxon inhabitants of Kent to Christianity, or at least to Romanism; and his labours led ultimately, though not during

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his lifetime, to the whole of that people, inhabiting the kingdoms of Essex, Northumberland, (Deiri,) Wessex, Mercia, and Sussex, making the same profession. He also prevailed on the British Christians to adopt many of the forms and dogmas of the Romish Church; and from this time the Roman pontiffs claimed to have the spiritual domination of the British churches. But Christianity never was extinct in Britain. During the period that elapsed between the arrival of the Saxons, and their conversion to Romanism, Christianity certainly did exist among the Britons and the Scots. So that to call Augustin the apostle of Britain is absurd, and to claim for the church of Rome the honour of having first introduced Christianity into the Island, is insupportable.

We shall not attempt to trace the history of the church in Britain through the long dark night of papal error, ignorance, superstition and immorality. From the sixth century until the Reformation, the history of the church in Britain as well as in the rest of Europe, is a sad detail of papal usurpations, the laws of Jesus Christ trampled under foot, the simple ordinance of Christian worship thrown aside, and pompous rites and gorgeous ceremonies substituted in their place; in a word, religion was accommodated to the ambitious views of princes and bishops on the one hand, and to the vicious, depraved inclinations of the people on the other. But we turn from this melancholy picture to notice the preservation of Christianity in much of its primitive purity among the mountains and glens of Caledonia.

We have already alluded to the people called Culdees, and we now propose briefly to sketch their interesting history.

The Culdees derive their name from the Gælic expression *Gille De*, or servants of God. We have already seen that Christianity prevailed among the Scots from a very early period, and there is no evidence of their religion having become corrupted. There are ample reasons for believing that down to the sixth century a pure and primitive form of Christianity still existed in Scotland, as well as among the mountain fastnesses of Wales. The first definite mention of the Culdees as a peculiar people, is in the year 563, when Columba entered upon his mission. He was a native of Ireland, and of royal

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descent. He founded the Abbey of Iona, consisting of twelve ministers, of whom he was the presbyter-abbot, or permanent president. But while this is the first mention of them by their name, we find that they claim for themselves a very early origin, and there are many things which prove that they had received their tenets before the early corruptions of the churches had been allowed to creep in, and that they had preserved them in much of their original purity and simplicity. From the sixth century onwards their history is deeply interesting, as serving to show that among the Scottish Highlands and Islands, as well as among the Alps of Italy and France, the religion of Christ Jesus, a free and scriptural faith, and a simple, apostolical form of worship and of discipline, found a secure refuge.

From Iona missionaries were sent out and monasteries were founded at Dunkeld, Abernethy, Monimusk and other places. These settlements invariably consisted of twelve presbyters, with a presbyter-abbot chosen by themselves from their own number, who claimed no prelatical authority, but was simply a permanent moderator of the presbytery.

The Culdees began by and by to find their way into the southern regions of the island. A settlement was formed at Lindisfarne in the kingdom of Northumberland, and under the preaching of the Culdee missionaries many of the Pagan Saxons were converted to Christ. But in the beginning of the seventh century, Romanism had made such progress in this portion of the island, that the non-conforming Culdees were forced to abandon their settlements and return to Scotland.

Meanwhile the Culdees continued to prosper, and to found religious and literary institutions in various places throughout Scotland. They cherished education and literature, and many of the works of the old Culdee authors, written in Latin, are said to give evidence of a good acquaintance with the sacred languages.

The Culdees seem to have suffered much from the furious wars which raged between the Scots and the Picts. And when these were ended by the overthrow of the latter, and the complete blending of the two nations into one, there was scarcely time to recover from the effects of this warfare, before the

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Danish pirates invaded the western isles. In 801, Iona was overrun by these fierce invaders, and again in 877; on both of these occasions many of the poor Culdees were slain with the sword, while others fled into Ireland. In 905 they suffered still more severely, and in 1059, their invaluable collection of books was plundered, and the monastery destroyed by fire. Still the poor Culdees lingered about the venerated Isle until the beginning of the thirteenth century, when they were effectually driven from Iona by the usurping powers of Rome.

Next to the parent settlement at Iona, the monastery at Dunkeld was the most important; but as early as 1176, the abbot of Dunkeld yielded to the Roman pontiff, and was made a diocesan bishop. In 1230 the Culdees of Monimusk were deprived of their privileges, and all their monasteries were finally suppressed by prelatical fraud or tyranny, about the year 1300. But long after the monasteries were suppressed, the scattered remnants of this people may be traced in the western counties of Scotland, especially in Kyle. So that from the second century down to the time of the Lollards, we can trace the preservation of true religion, as well as Presbyterian government, in Scotland. With the time of Wycliffe and the Lollards, begins the dawn of the Reformation. The story of the triumph of truth over error, there is no need for us to tell.

The Culdees have been branded as barbarians by their papal enemies. Their barbarity consisted in their nonconformity to Romanism, and their opposition to papal tyranny. From various incidental notices of their disputes with the English churches, who had long since yielded to the corruptions of Rome, we learn something of their religious tenets. They refused the authority of tradition, and acknowledged the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice. Bede says that they received "only such things as were contained in prophets, evangelists, and apostles." They also bore testimony against clerical celibacy, auricular confession, prayers for the dead, transubstantiation, and the worship of saints and relics.

We have already hinted at the Presbyterianism of the Culdees. We find curious incidental proofs of their opposition to popery and prelacy in the accounts which we have of the

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Synods and Councils of that time. In 601 there was a Synod held, at which Dinooth, abbot of Bangor, declared that "they owned no other subjection to the Pope of Rome, but what they were bound to by the Christian duties of love and charity." In the canons of the Council of Ceale-Hythe, called by Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, there is one especially enacted against the Scottish ministers. The fifth canon of this Council solemnly decrees that no Scotsman should be allowed to baptize, to say mass, or to perform any clerical duties. The reason assigned for this was, that it was not known by whom these Scotsmen were ordained, or whether they were ordained by a bishop at all; for there was no metropolitan in that country, and they paid but little regard to orders in the clergy.

We have also the most decisive testimony to the purity of their lives. Bede speaks of them as eminent for their love of God, for their regular lives, for their observance of works of piety, and for their chastity. To this we may add, that they were not strangers to classic lore. Their libraries were extensive and valuable. Gibbon tells us that the library at Iona at one time afforded some hopes of an entire Livy. Of these collections of books there are now no traces. Many of them were plundered and destroyed by the Danes, others were scattered over Europe, and not a few of them are to be found in the Vatican. Indeed, Dr. Jamieson supposes that there are more remains of Culdee literature there than any where else. So that education as well as religion, or rather, in connection with religion, flourished in Scotland, even through the darkest of the dark eyes.

To this outline of the history of the introduction and preservation of pure Christianity in the British Isles, we add a few reflections:

1. We are indebted to early missionaries of the cross for the introduction of the gospel among our pagan forefathers; how deeply we should therefore feel the obligations we are under to the cause of missions. As the early Christians received Christ's command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," and obeying it, carried the gospel even to the utmost bounds of the known world; so should we feel our obligations to send the knowledge of the true God, to the most

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inhospitable climes, and to proclaim the gospel of love and peace among the most cruel and degraded of the tribes of men. It will be difficult to find races of men more cruel and hardened than were our Druidical and Saxon ancestors. Wherever the gospel of Jesus Christ has not yet shone, thither let the ministers of Christ hasten with good news about salvation to lost and perishing sinners.

2. We can trace the history of our church—the simple Presbyterian, apostolic church of Scotland and Ireland—back to a period when Druidism had not wholly disappeared, and long before either prelacy or popery had ventured to put forth their lordly claims; and we can trace it down to the days of John Knox, and from thence onwards to our own time. We make no account of succession on the authority of tradition; but it is pleasing to read the annals of our church in her purity and gospel sincerity, when thick darkness brooded over all Europe. It is matter of gratitude, that even then there existed in Britain a body of disciples of Christ, who took the Bible as their guide, who preserved a scriptural creed and a simple apostolic form of church government, and who maintained a life and conversation becoming the gospel. They were men who appealed from popes and prelates to the authority of Christ and his Apostles. They gladly suffered persecution for conscience' sake, and though overpowered and driven by cruel tyranny from their homes, and the homes of their fathers, they did not cease to exist up to the time of the Reformation. We rejoice in their fidelity and in the fruits of holiness in which their lives abounded. "Here is the patience of the saints; here are they that kept the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus Christ."

3. From the disputes and controversies between the primitive Culdees and the churches of Britain which had conformed to the church of Rome, we learn, that from the earliest ages of the papacy down to our day, a regular system of error, deceit and tyranny has been practised by that church. To this system the word of God is at variance on every point; and the noble companies of believers, whether in the valleys of the Alps, or among the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, who have made a stand against these corruptions, have ever taken the

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Bible as the sole infallible rule of faith and practice, in opposition to the assumed authority of tradition, or of councils and popes. True Protestantism, whether in early or in latter days, has ever been and is now characterized by Scripture doctrine in opposition to the inventions of men; God's way of salvation, in opposition to the ways of man's devising; freedom of thought, in opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny; primitive simplicity in the order and government of God's house, in opposition to prelatical orders of clergy and gorgeous rites and ceremonies; Christ, in opposition to Antichrist. Nothing can exceed the wickedness of papal Christianity. Nothing can be more disgraceful than its history. As the witnessing remnant of the Church of Christ among our forefathers did, so let us also make no compromise, enter into no alliance with this son of perdition; let us give no encouragement to this monstrous anti-christian establishment; and let us faithfully seek to resist its progress and thwart its designs by proclaiming far and wide "the truth as it is in Jesus." For ourselves, let our motto be, in the words of John Lambert, the English martyr, who when fixed to the stake, his legs being burned up to the stumps, lifted up his hands flaming with fire, and cried, "NONE BUT CHRIST!—NONE BUT CHRIST!" A living faith in the Lord Jesus Christ will break down the most complete system of scholastic subtlety and popish superstition. Let us oppose to the pomp, the lordliness and the tyranny of Romanism, the simplicity, purity and freedom of the religion of Christ our Saviour.

ART. III.—*National Literature, the Exponent of National Character.*

WE may know what manner of spirit a man is of, with far more certainty from his writings, than from his biography—from what is inevitably disclosed, than from what is designedly confided to us. We may have as perfect a daguerreotype of a man's mind as of his face; as faithful an impression of his moral nature as of his personal appearance.

Milman's edition of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" of the Ro-

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man empire is garnished with a frontispiece representing the author's face. But the features of that sleek, obese and self-satisfied countenance are not more distinctly visible to the bodily sight, than the intellectual and moral attributes of the man, as depicted in his great work, to the mind's eye; his admirable constructive ability, reducing to perspicuous and philosophic forms, vast masses of intractable materials—bringing into orderly array, and distributing into picturesque and graceful groups, innumerable hordes, barbaric and semi-civilized—conducting his majestic narrative with clearness, simplicity and ease, over periods divided by centuries, and over regions separated by continents. And the moral qualities of the man—with what painful distinctness—with what undeviating consistency—do they appear! His perpetual proneness to doubt when the agency of God is in question, together with an unbounded and unfailing confidence in his own self-sufficiency—the stubborn sceptic in regard to every thing divine—the prostrate idolater of human reason and earthly glory—his subtle spirit of malignant hate of God and of his Christ—his unslumbering venom and insidious unbelief,

"Sapping a solemn creed, with solemn sneer;"—

his profuse professions of philosophic candour, together with his disingenuous shifts and Iago-like innuendoes—his essential coarseness of mind and his icy coldness of heart—his utter insusceptibility of pure sentiment and lofty emotion—are qualities stamped as visibly on his pages, as the features on his face. Admirably as he has depicted other characters, Gibbon has delineated none more faithfully than his own.

The word is the mind uttered; the writing is the mind recorded. Every writer, therefore, does and must express his character in his works. He may try to conceal or to change it; but the thing is impossible. He may imitate another man's characteristic style; he may adopt another man's known sentiments; but let him speak, and he will instantly betray himself in spite of his disguise. The hands may be the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob.

It is felt to be morally impossible that a kind-hearted man

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could have written the letters of Junius. The fountain of their inspiration is Marah. The strong, essential spirit which preserves them from decay and oblivion, is a spirit, not of pure patriotism nor of profound wisdom, but of satanic spite, exulting in the consciousness of the pain it inflicts. His genius is animated; his eloquence inspired by malignity.

The stronger and the more simple the nature of the writer, the more adequately is it expressed in his writings. In the very greatest mind, there is a union of manly strength and child-like candour, and these are the qualities which impress themselves most obviously, most readily, and most indelibly on one's writings. Milton needs no biographer; his writings show us the man—in all the strength of his vehement convictions—in the too dogmatic confidence, in the conclusions of his own reason, with a too proud consciousness of the purity of his purposes, the strength and splendour of his genius, and the deathless duration of his fame. Lord Byron too, although he has often spoken, written, and acted falsely, on system, and with set purpose to mislead, yet has deceived no one, or none but men extremely credulous. He has twice drawn his own portrait, yet no practised eye will mistake one for the other, the false for the true. In the one, he has represented himself as he desired men to think of him, as isolated in feeling from his race, because so immeasurably elevated by genius above it, as having little in common with mankind, and therefore indifferent alike to their censure and their praise, while dreading the one and panting for the other. Again, he has drawn the picture of one, whose moral culture in early youth was entirely neglected, or most unwisely conducted;—of one, conscious of great talents and great ambition, but withal wayward, impulsive, self-indulgent, and impatient alike of opposition or constraint;—of one, not peculiarly insensible by nature to moral obligations, nor dead to the sublime sentiments and sympathies of natural piety, nor incapable of generous impulses and noble deeds; especially when they were likely to attract admiration, and elicit applause;—of a man really unhappy, because too sagacious not to see his errors; with a moral sense too enlightened, not to know his guilt; unable always, and altogether to stifle the voice of an unwelcome monitor within,

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threatening the just judgment of God;—of a man, to whom repose was indeed impossible, because of the ceaseless conflict between his conscience and his passions; because of the abuse of great powers, of high aims, and the everlasting forfeiture of fair renown. The most high God himself has revealed his nature in his word. As in the prophet's vision the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels, so in the very words of Scripture does there reside the Spirit of the incorruptible God. "The words that I speak unto you, (says our Lord) they are spirit and they are life:" John vi. 63. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," is in the highest signification of the term θεοπνευστος. 2 Tim. iii. 16. God expresses the eternal majesty, the untainted and infinite truth, the glorious fulness, the transcendent and holy beauty of his nature in his word, as apostate man exhibits the feebleness, the ignorance and the perverseness of human nature in every thing that he writes, as in every thing that he does, in every imagination of his heart, and in every work of his hands.

The ground on which all men, wise and unwise, learned and ignorant, are required to receive the Bible as divine is, that it is instinct with the Spirit; it is invested with the incommunicable glory of the Most High God. As the Roman penny bare the image and superscription of Cæsar, so does the Bible the image and superscription of Jehovah. These the devout believer rejoices to recognize, in representations of the divine nature everywhere consistent with itself and accordant with his own most intimate, exalted and hallowed convictions; in the authority with which it addresses his conscience; in the consolation which it administers to his bruised spirit; in the holy peace which it diffuses through his troubled bosom; in the superhuman majesty of its doctrines; in the simple grandeur of the style in which men inspired of God speak of the things of God. The Author of this book, in full, must be more than man, for he knows man far better than man knows himself. The feeling expressed by the woman at the well of Samaria is perfectly coincident with the common experience. "Come, see a man which told me all things that ever I did; is not this the Christ?" John iv. 29. The language of the mind enlightened and renewed by the Spirit of truth is, "To whom shall we go?

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Thou hast the words of eternal life." "If I had not come and spoken unto them, (said our Saviour of the unbelieving Jews) they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak for their sin." John xv. 22.

While the external evidences of Christianity are to be reckoned of great value as the proper accompaniments, appendages and vouchers of the truth, the most convincing and essential of its evidences are to be found in the substance of the faith itself; in the correspondence of divine revelation with all that we know of God, while it conveys an immeasurable and inestimable addition to the stock of our knowledge, and corrects that which we may have derived from the contemplation of his works, the course of his providence, and the constitution of our own nature. The internal evidences of the Bible are the contents of the Bible; and they are to the external what the altar is to the gift that it sanctifies, and the temple to the gold. The word, therefore, whether it be of God or of man, is the infallible revealer of character.

To pass from the proposition that the writings of an individual indicate his individual character, to the position that the literature of a nation is the exponent of the nation's character, is only to pass from a lower and more limited generalization to one higher and larger. It is not to assert any thing intrinsically more improbable, or in the nature of things more inconceivable. The analogy between the manifestations of individual and of national character in the intellectual productions of each respectively, if not perfect and uniform, are yet sufficiently marked and sufficiently sustained to afford valuable instruction. The literature of a nation is the purest expression of the nation's life. The prevailing literature of France, of England, of Germany, or of Italy, conveys an impression of these several nations scarcely less definite, and not at all less just, than that which is left on the mind by the traits of particular writers, as of Gibbon, Milton, Junius, or Byron. Nay, the prevailing literature of a nation as represented by several, sometimes by a single writer, thoroughly national and in perfect sympathy with his generation, may reflect the political, social and spiritual condition of the nation at the time.

Chaucer, the bright morning-star of English poesy, was

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born in 1328, and died in 1400. He may be taken as the poetic representative of England during the latter half of the fourteenth century. Possessing a mind of extraordinary cultivation and calibre, enlarged by travel, and enlightened by familiar acquaintance with the men and manners of many nations—of a free, joyous, and princely spirit—pronounced "wise" by Milton, and quoted as authority in one of the most elaborate of his immortal and invaluable treatises—writing a rude language with unrivalled and inimitable sweetness—and infusing a portion of the harmony of his own spirit into his mother-tongue—softening its rigours, and imparting to it a graceful cadence and refined music, while he retained its native vigour and untamed energy, he may be taken as the representative of an age marked by turbulence—by frequent disorders—often by terrible calamities and crimes—as we learn from the pictorial page of Froissart—but often adorned by examples of knightly courtesy and heroic valour, and occasionally by the influence of lettered taste and true piety. Himself not only a scholar, but a soldier, Chaucer may be regarded as especially the representative of the reign of Edward III., a prince eminently sagacious, enterprising, and successful, in the arts both of peace and war.

Every great writer reflects while he receives the spirit of his age; thus the literature of a nation becomes its interpreter and witness. He acts powerfully upon that spirit, but it in turn reacts upon him. Accordingly we discern a family likeness—a cyclical character—in writers who appear at or about the same period. Among the great writers of the Augustan age of old Rome, not only do we find a community of language and of general culture, but of moral sentiment and feeling. The same general harmony may be observed in the splendid constellation of taste and genius which gave such an impulse to the fine arts, and imparted so æsthetic a character to the earlier years of the pontificate of Leo X. Modern Italy can boast no nobler names in painting—in poetry, with the solitary exception of Dante—or in architecture—than those which grace this epoch. The majestic forms of Michael Angelo and Raphael rise at once before us, as the representatives and ornaments of this brilliant era.

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So far is superiority of endowment from conferring peculiar exemption from this prevailing influence, that the most gifted men have invariably been found most fully imbued with the reigning spirit of the time and country in which they lived, to be at once the most faithful interpreters and the noblest ornaments of the age. The greatest writers have always been most intensely national, while they have been most truly catholic. The fruit which they bore belonged not only to the soil, but to the season. The name of the original must be appended to a bad portrait, that the observer may know whom it was intended to represent. But no one who had ever seen the originals of the pictures executed by Lely, Van Dyke, or Sir Joshua Reynolds, could be at a loss for a moment to identify them. These great painters were not more faithful to nature and art, than are great writers to themselves and to their times.

No man, assuredly, ever possessed a more original and comprehensive spirit than Shakspeare. There was no enigma of character which he could not interpret, no phase of character which he could not depict. While nobly negligent of petty and pedantic proprieties, he is instinctively observant of permanent and universal truth. His soul, clear and ample as the sky, spreads over every land, and gives its proper colouring to every object. He is beyond all comparison the best delineator not only of individual peculiarities, but of national manners. His Romans are true Romans, genuine descendants of the son of Mars and Ilia. His Frenchmen are real Frenchmen. They belong to the gay land of hills and vines; and are as native there as the hills and vines themselves. Although men—having a human heart and countenance—they would be out of place in any other country—aliens and strangers speaking in an unknown tongue. But of all the men that ever lived, Shakspeare was the most truly and thoroughly national. Homer was not so intensely Greek, Burns was not so profoundly Scotch, as Shakspeare was intensely and profoundly English. We see this not only in the affectionate and exalted tribute which he bestows upon his country—in the dower of beauty, far more precious than of gold and silver, with which he has lavishly enriched her;

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> This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise;
> This fortress, built by Nature for herself,
> Against infection, and the hand of war;
> This happy breed of men, this little world;
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> * * * * * * *
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.
>
> *Richard II. Act 2d.*

But we see it in the whole tenor of his writings and in the whole structure of his character. Not only has he dramatised a large portion of her history, but whenever he may be supposed to be uttering his own sentiments, he speaks of his country with the fond enthusiasm and unconscious exaggeration of a lover. Even Shakspeare himself rises to unwonted warmth of fancy and ardour of emotion, when England is his theme. He is then refreshed in spirit and renewed in strength—like Antæus when he touched the earth. But not only is Shakspeare an Englishman, he is an Englishman of the age of Elizabeth and James I.—the grandest period in the intellectual history of his country, if not the grandest in the intellectual history of mankind.

The same common resemblance which we perceive among the great minds of the time of Augustus in ancient Rome, of Leo X. in modern Rome—of Queen Anne, in the later history of England—and of George III. at a period still more recent—we find in the age of Elizabeth and James I. Although Shakspeare occupies an unapproachable eminence above all his variously and greatly gifted contemporaries—although in that "charmed circle none durst walk but he"—yet did he stand in relations of most intimate sympathy and brotherhood, to the men of his own time. So strong indeed is the family-likeness between the dramatic works of Shakspeare, Ben Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ford and Massinger, that it is morally impossible for the most sagacious critic to decide with rational confidence on the authorship of the particular parts of plays, in the composition of which several were jointly concerned; not to insist upon the well-known fact, that in every tolerably complete edition of Shakspeare's dramatic works, whole plays are to be found whose title to such an exalted position

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has been questioned by the best informed and most discerning critical judges. That Shakspeare was in most perfect sympathy with the age in which he lived, no one can doubt, who to the knowledge of his works, unites even a moderate acquaintance with the contemporary dramatic literature. Even the common rural superstitions of the age are preserved in the imperishable productions of his genius, as in most precious amber.

The literature of a particular period is the reflex of the agencies at work. It is the general *resultant* of the forces, operating on the nation's mind at the time. The character of the national literature, therefore, must of necessity vary, at the different periods of the nation's progress or decline. As there are certain geological phenomena connected with the earth's strata, which are supposed not only to indicate the formation of the soil, but the precise period of its history; so there are certain forms and phases of mental manifestations, which not only point out the particular cast of the national mind, but the particular stage of intellectual and moral advancement which the nation has reached. Thus the actual progress of a people may be inferred from the species of literature which it has produced, as well as from the success with which it has been cultivated. In the mind, as in the garden, certain plants and flowers appear to attain maturity more rapidly than others. Epic poetry had well nigh arrived at perfection in Greece long before the best productions of the historian appeared. The chronological relations between Homer and Herodotus—still more between Homer and Thucydides—are neither fortuitous nor uninstructive. It may indeed be generally observed that the earliest historical records partake of the epical character. The partitions which divide truth and fable, history and poetry, are then too thin to be exactly regarded. Men first admire, then analyze, and finally understand the objects and phenomena presented to their observation. Accordingly we have first the poetical-historical narrative, as illustrated in the early chronicles of almost all nations, especially in Herodotus and Froissart—and afterward the historical-philosophical disquisition—the nearest approaches to which among the ancients, we find in Thucydides and Tacitus; and which among the moderns has well nigh reached perfection in Niebuhr's His-

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tory of Rome, and in several of the leading historical writers of Germany, France, and England, who, animated by his example, have been emulous of a like fame. It might seem almost a profanation to rank poetry among the fine arts. There is, however, a degenerate species of poetry, which like architecture, sculpture and painting, may exist in an effeminate age, and among a fettered race, as the minister of a refined voluptuousness. But the noblest poetry, like the loftiest oratory and history, can live only when it respires the breath of heaven, the pure and sweet air of freedom. As none but a free people can possess a noble, national character, so none but a free people can produce a noble, national literature.

The nations of the earth do undoubtedly perform an appointed and appropriate part, in accordance with the purpose of God. They describe a circle which he has designed. They fill the place which he has assigned them. They accomplish the end which his all-wise providence contemplated. Every thing connected with the nation's life—every element which enters into the constitution—every influence which even indirectly and remotely modifies the nation's character, especially its literature—determines the permanent influence which it is to exert, and the particular place in the annals of mankind which it is to occupy. These influences are often extremely subtile, delicate, fugitive, in their nature; irregular, partial and interrupted in their action; and therefore peculiarly difficult to define and trace. Like the great agencies of nature, they are more intelligible in their results than in their processes; more perceptible in their ultimate issue, than in their immediate action. Thus much, however, seems certain, that as in the case of an individual, early influences and events, those which work while the nation is receiving its bias and its bent, are most durable and decisive. In the testimony borne to this point, the history of all the great nations, ancient and modern, appears to be coincident and conclusive. The character and institutions of Moses are perpetually visible in the history of his people, even to the present hour. Never perhaps, before or since, was the influence of one man on a whole nation, so pervading and so permanent. An impression far less profound indeed, but still lasting and important, was left

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on Sparta and Athens, by Lycurgus and Solon. And although we may not be able to discern so clearly the influence of any one commanding mind upon the character and destiny of the Roman people, yet who can fail to see the collective spirit of their early rulers, and the cherished traditions of their early youth, reproduced and constantly active in their aggressive policy—in their stern military discipline—their unquenchable thirst of martial glory—their inhuman indifference to the rights, the feelings and the interests of individuals, save as connected with the collective majesty of the State, and conducive to its security and renown? All these influences we discern in their proper representative, the Roman literature. Their very language, harsh, abrupt, energetic, and decisive, is evidently the language of empire and of law. It is the language of a people, destined to be the military rulers of the world. It is wholly destitute of the harmony, the flexibility, the variety, the copiousness, and the sweetness of the Greek tongue—as the literature which it embodied was wanting in the originality—the untutored and inimitable grace—the imaginative richness—the philosophic subtlety—the unmeasured and inexhaustible fulness, of that natural fountain of knowledge, refinement, sensibility and power—the Hellenic mind.

Influences akin to these, if not identical with them, have hitherto operated among ourselves, and imparted their peculiar character to American literature. It has been reproached, and not without the semblance, at least, of justice, with being too decidedly practical in its character—too gross and utilitarian in its tendencies—as having too little of the pure polish—the high culture—which marks comparatively the literature of England, and injuriously, perhaps, because in excess tending to barrenness and effeminacy, the literature of several of the older nations of Europe, as France, Italy and Spain. In a word, our contributions to literature have been thought to resemble our contributions to the World's Fair—to be more remarkable for solid and sterling utility, than for curious workmanship and nice art.

While homely vigour, strong sense, and earnest purpose, are qualities which have generally been accorded to our literature, it has been thought to sustain a relation to the literature of

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England like that which the literature of Rome bore to the literature of Greece; to be comparatively deficient both in originality and in elegance.

So far as the charge of a lack of refinement is true, the character and circumstances of the early fathers of our republic will serve to account for it, while the acknowledged elegance of many of our living writers proves that it has already lost much of its force.

The order of our literary development was just the reverse of that of classical antiquity and of England. In them, there was first the development of the imaginative faculties; in us, of practical thought. The noblest poem of antiquity was produced in the infancy of the nation, and is coloured with the rosy light of the early morning. Our first literature, on the contrary, was almost exclusively confined to the domain of practical theology and political oratory. Springing out of urgent circumstances, it is eminently direct, bold and business-like; and to this fact mainly may we impute the reputation of our country for utilitarian tendencies in literature. It was not until times comparatively recent, that the nation has enjoyed the repose necessary to the production of the finer forms of literature. We are, besides, too near the period and persons of grand historic interest for the purposes of the imagination. Literature has its perspective not less than painting. The spectator may stand too near in time to an event, as he may stand too near in space to a picture, to gain the best impression of either. In gazing on a historical epoch, as on a natural landscape,

"'Tis distance lends enchantment."

Not to speak of the original settlers of our country, who had to contend with want and the wilderness, the men who laid the foundations of our government were eminently practical men. They had a higher and a harder work to do than merely to study, to enjoy, or even to create the elegances of literature. It was theirs not indeed to devise, but to develope and perfect the theory, to define the powers and to regulate the action of the wisest, happiest and freest government which the world has ever known. The works of Franklin, the patriot-sage, and of

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Washington, the father of his country, may be taken as the representatives of this period of our national history. If these men and their illustrious compeers did not write poetry, they performed deeds which it will be the brightest ambition and glory of the poet fitly to celebrate, in epic or in lyric strains.

> "In chorus or iambic, teachers best
> Of moral prudence, with delight received . .
> High actions and high passions best describing."
> *Paradise Regained.* Book IV.

When we look over our broad land and happy people—when we survey the goodly heritage of our free government and equal laws—our liberties, civil and religious, gratitude to our revolutionary fathers may properly mingle with our thanksgivings to the Father of lights, from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift. And if the heart of the Greek dilated with pride, when he recalled the fabled exploits of Theseus and Hercules, surely the American may exult, when he revives within him the recollection of this, the Heroic Age of his country. Patriotism is partly an instinctive sentiment, partly a rational conviction. As a conviction, it rests a preference of our own above every other land—not on the single circumstance that it is our own—that we were born in it—but on an intelligent apprehension of the incomparable advantages which it possesses and confers. Hence the peculiar importance of a knowledge of the historical and present condition of other nations, on the part of our own people.

We are now, it may be hoped, prepared to answer the scornful interrogatory of Sidney Smith, "Who reads an American book?" The inquiry was made in the year 1820, in the Edinburgh Review. "In the four quarters of the globe," says the reviewer, "who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered? or what old ones have they analyzed? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of Americans?" &c., &c.

Even thirty years ago this wholesale charge of absolute intellectual barrenness was exaggerated and unjust. For even

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then we had produced orators as eloquent as Bolingbroke, Chatham, or Burke, and three divines at least who might bear comparison, each in his own proper province, with any on the long and honoured roll of England's ecclesiastical authorship. We allude of course to President Edwards, President Davies, and Doctor John M. Mason.

Jonathan Edwards would have been an eminent man in any age of the Church. Had he lived within the first five centuries, he would have taken rank for metaphysical acuteness and immovable adherence to what he believed to be the truth, with Athanasius and Augustine. In the thirteenth century his scholastic subtlety and inexhaustible fertility of ingenious thought would have made him the rival of Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. In the sixteenth century he would have been regarded by all good men as the fit associate of Calvin and Melancthon, to whom indeed he was related, not only by his personal excellence and general theological agreement, but as an able minister of the New Testament, and a good steward of the manifold grace of God. Since his time our country has produced many very able and many very excellent divines; many far more learned than Edwards, especially in the important department of scientific exegesis. But we suppose it will not be thought injustice to any living or to any departed divine, to assert that in originality and depth of mind, and in the value of his contributions to theological literature, President Edwards remains unrivalled. For popular use and for popular edification, no sermons in the English language surpass those of President Davies. As a vigorous and polished writer, as a popular and effective preacher, Dr. Mason was acknowledged in his own day to be fully equal to any English clergyman.

With the splenetic violence not rare with him, Dr. Samuel Johnson is reported to have said to a person with whom he was disputing, "Sir, I am bound to furnish you with arguments; I am not bound to furnish you with brains." In like manner may we say to the witty reviewer—Sir, we are bound to furnish you with good books; we are not bound to furnish you with knowledge and candour.

We are glad to see that the tone of the British press in

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regard to our literature, as well as every thing else connected with our country, has very much improved of late. The time has passed by when the ridiculous fictions of Mrs. Trollope, Captain Hall, Mr. Dickens, *et id omne genus*, could be confided in, even by the more ignorant and credulous of their own countrymen. The last English travellers whose writings have reached us, Lord Carlisle and Lady Mary Wortley, are with few exceptions as favourable in their judgments as any candid American could desire. For our own part, we believe the former contemptuous tone of the English press toward American literature to have proceeded not more from political jealousy than from pure ignorance. We therefore attribute the altered tone of their public journals quite as much to improvements in steam navigation, as to the obvious advance in our national literature.

It will be as much for the literary as for the political interest of England and America, that a good understanding should subsist between them. Our own originality will hardly be improved by laborious deviations from established models, or the purity of our style by any affected eccentricities of orthography and syntax. Until the Revolution their literature was ours, for until then we were one people. We may therefore lawfully feel pride mingle with the pleasure with which we study the great productions of British genius. We need not eschew every thing received in order to establish our own originality. Our language will not be refined by contempt for Milton, Bacon, Shakspeare, and Addison; nor our theology exalted by a voluntary ignorance of the judicious Hooker, the eloquent Bishop Taylor, the gentle-hearted Leighton, the exhaustive Barrow, the invincible Chillingworth, the learned and vigorous South, the ingenious and unanswerable Butler—men who were the strength of the English Establishment—the ornaments and defenders of our common Christianity. And are we likely to profit by a neglect of the great nonconformist divines, John Owen, the glory of Oxford and prince of the Puritan theologians—the profound and philosophic Howe—the fervent and saintly Baxter—the silver-tongued Bates—the heart-searching and heavenly minded Flavel? Are these the men to be despised and neglected?

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Toward English literature, we should seek to steer clear of the two extremes of servile imitation on the one hand, and ignorant contempt on the other. Real originality, whether in an individual or in a nation, is never repressed by a wise and generous culture. It is only the feeble who sink beneath the weight of other men's thoughts. The strong are made stronger by knowledge, as the arch is strengthened by the weight it sustains. A common soldier might have fainted under the weight of armour which an Ajax or Achilles could wear with graceful agility and wield with deadly effect.

It must be conceded, however, that American literature has borne its fairest fruit since the illiberal criticism of the Edinburgh Reviewer was made. In historical composition, Sparks, Marshall, Irving, Bancroft, and Prescott, have nobly asserted our country's claim to an honourable place in this high department of letters.

In poetry, also, we can "note no deficience"—to adopt a favourite phrase of Lord Bacon. Our poets have been both abundant and prolific. It would be grossly unjust and invidious to compare the poets of youthful America with the "sceptred kings" of old England's poetical realm—with the patriarch Chaucer—"the sage and serious" Spenser—"the myriad-minded" Shakspeare—and the colossal Milton. Still we have several, as Bryant and Longfellow, who in purity of sentiment, in exact and various learning, and in sweetness and elegance of versification, are even by the admission of British critics fully equal to the most gifted of their living bards. In a very acute and intelligent reviewal of "The Golden Legend," which appeared in the February number of Blackwood, the following estimate of the accomplished author is given. "In perfect candour (says the critic) we must own, that in our opinion, Longfellow at this moment stands beyond comparison at the head of the poets of America, *and may be considered as an equal competitor for the palm with any of the younger poets of England.*"

Of the literary criticism in our country, it may be remarked that it is too uniformly laudatory, and therefore comparatively powerless and worthless. But, akin to this amiable error is one of its most conspicuous and characteristic excellences. It is

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eminently catholic. Owing in part, perhaps, to the conflux of many men of various races and nations to our hospitable shores; in part, perhaps, to the very immaturity of our literature, there has not yet arisen among us any one decidedly predominant school or system. Our critics and our people appear to possess a hearty relish for very different kinds and styles of excellence. In this particular we think it should be granted that we contrast favourably with the older nations of Europe. The spirit of British criticism, for example, is extremely contracted. We should be disposed to attribute the fact alleged mainly to the operation of two causes—political bias, together with family influence and personal considerations. It is hard for us to believe that the purest and most native school of modern English poetry—that which is proud to acknowledge Wordsworth as its hierarch and head—could have been assailed with such rancorous virulence by so discerning a critic as Lord Jeffrey, had he not considered their politics worse than their poetry. The favour extended to Joan of Arc—a juvenile and very imperfect poem—compared with the coldness with which Thalaba and Kehama were received—works produced in the full vigour of a remarkably gifted and richly cultivated mind—may show to some extent the operation of these malign influences.

Our most eminent essayists—Channing, Everett, Bancroft, Prescott, Whipple, Legare and Webster—illustrate the more liberal spirit of American criticism. As a philosophical essay on the objects and writers of history, Mr. Webster's recent lecture before the Historical Society of New York will not suffer by comparison with Macaulay's masterly and elevated essay on the same subject. Indeed, as a diplomatist, orator, statesman and scholar, in the native majesty of his thoughts, in the admirable perspicuity, the idiomatic grace, the elegant simplicity and manly strength of his style, we should be inclined to pronounce Mr. Webster the equal, at least, of any living Englishman.

The most important element of national, as of individual character, is Christianity. An intelligent and heart-felt faith in God is incomparably the most powerful and salutary influence which can operate on any subject. That which has impressed its comparatively high and pure character upon the literature of the leading nations of the modern world, is the truth and

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Spirit of the Lord from heaven. Purifying the hearts of men—those hidden fountains of thought and feeling—the faith of Christ has purified their words and actions. Like the tree pointed out by Jehovah to Moses, which possessed the singular property of rendering the bitter waters sweet, Christianity infused into the corrupt spring of human sentiment and emotion has made it comparatively pure.

When faithful to the essential condition—the invariable law—of its existence, the literature of Rome had declined with the declining character of the nation, Christianity appeared to revive and restore it. And although the purposes of Providence, in raising up that ambitious and aggressive power, were almost accomplished at this period, and the Roman people were about to be trodden down and dispersed, or to lose their hereditary and distinctive character by amalgamation with the barbarous tribes which overran the empire; yet it was light from the Star of Bethlehem, which shone on their darkness; it was Christianity, which seasonably intervening operated alike on captive and conqueror. The strong man armed, represented by Pagan literature, was dispossessed by one stronger than himself. The votaries of the old idolatry made a desperate but ineffectual resistance to the aggressions of the new religion. But their most powerful champions were silenced or converted. The efforts of the emperor Julian to restore the mythology of Homer to its ancient place, in the faith and reverence of mankind, were as futile as his endeavour to rebuild Jerusalem. From the schools of Pagan idolatry, issued the doctors and champions of the Christian church. Among the Greeks, Origen, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Chrysostom; among the Latins, Cyprian, Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Lactantius, showed that the sceptre of intellectual empire had passed into the hands of a conqueror; and that, thenceforward, men of another faith and a different spirit were to rule human opinion. The confusion of ancient idols, the downfall of heathen altars, and the long silence of Pagan oracles, so vividly described by the most sublime and learned of our Christian poets, were only types and tokens of the lost empire of Paganism over the emancipated spirit.

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The oracles are dumb,
No voice or hideous hum
Runs through the arched roof, in words deceiving;
Apollo from his shrine,
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek, the steep of Delphos leaving.
No nightly trance, or breathed spell
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

Peor and Baalim
Forsake their temples dim,
With that twice battered god of Palestine;
And mooned Ashtaroth,
Heaven's queen and mother both,
Now sits not girt with tapers' holy shrine,
The Lybic Hammon shrinks his horn,
In vain the Tyrian maids their wounded Thammuz mourn.

Milton's Ode on the Nativity.

Of the bearing and energetic influence of Christianity on national character, Britain affords the most striking illustration. Her literature is a perfect barometer, by which we may note the rise and depression of England in every element and in every quality of national greatness. In the age of Elizabeth—before which time the faith of the nation was scarcely steady and mature enough to bring forth its proper fruit—in the age of Elizabeth, we find a cast of grandeur in the nation's thinking unknown before, and a constellation of poets, statesmen, lawyers, navigators, warriors, and heroes, who have given undying lustre to the reign of the Virgin Queen—Raleigh, Drake, Coke, Bacon, Sydney, Hooker, Spenser, rare Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Shakspeare. In the reign of the profane and trembling pedant who succeeded her, we find most of these lights, together with others of scarcely less magnitude and lustre.

In the time of Cromwell, when the English nation was more profoundly penetrated by the religious spirit, than at any period before or since, the religious literature of England—leaving out the works of his Latin secretary, in which are celebrated "the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ"—the religious literature of England was more prolific in great and imperishable works, than in any previous or succeeding age.

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We can have little sympathy, we confess, with a disposition which we have observed of late among nominal Protestants, not of our denomination only, to disparage the great divines of the Puritan school. They are had in derision by men "whose fathers" these despised Puritans "would have disdained to have set with the dogs of their flock." These are the men who can sneer at the theology of Howe and Owen, as meager and contracted, one-sided and uncatholic,—as a partial exhibition of the gospel of the grace of God! The egregious incongruity of the thing, the extravagant absurdity of the assumption, would be simply amusing, if all sense of mirth were not extinguished by the stronger sentiment of moral condemnation. We would judge nothing rashly and before the time; but to us it is by no means clear that the exemption of England and America from the fate of unhappy France—from perpetual change—from obstinate and unscrupulous factions contending together, not for the good, but for the destruction of their common country—from despotism succeeded by anarchy, and anarchy exchanged for despotism—and last of all, and worst of all, a country which, having forsaken God, he in righteous judgment seems to have forsaken—may not be ascribed to the prayers and pious labours of these, his faithful servants. When we hear the champions of divine truth, and of liberty civil and religious, vilified by the avowed subjects of a foreign despot—the acknowledged members of an apostate church—all is natural, consistent, intelligible. But when we see them jeered at and pointed at with the finger of scorn, by men who profess to receive the recorded and inspired Scriptures as the supreme directory of faith and practice, and to venerate the free institutions of our country as the wisest and best, we own it passes our comprehension. It is our deliberate convic tion, that to no class of uninspired men are the world and the church more indebted, than to those despised but devoted Christians; and that toward none has the debt been so reluctantly and inadequately acknowledged. It is our deliberate conviction, that they did more for knowledge, freedom, and piety—more to convert sinners from the error of their ways, and save souls from death—more to multiply jewels which shall shine for ever, in the glorious crown of our exalted Redeemer,

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than any other body of uninspired men. May we through abounding grace be permitted in heaven to unite with Bunyan, with Owen, and with Baxter, in the beatific vision of the person and glory of Christ, and in the secure and blessed enjoyment of the saints' everlasting rest!

The degeneracy of the national manners and of the national spirit in the time of Charles II. is faithfully reflected in the mirror of the national literature. Milton, indeed, and others like-minded, survived to rebuke and lament the worthlessness of the age. But in genius and spirit, they were alien to the "evil days" on which they had fallen. In temper and of right they belonged to the brave old days of the Commonwealth, when the name of England was revered abroad, and at home "joy and gladness were found, thanksgiving and the voice of melody." They had nothing in common with the infamous parasites and panders of that polluted court and its heartless king—with the ribaldry of Butler—with the obscenity of Dryden, "who profaned the God-given strength, and marred the lofty line"—with the Settles and Shadwells, the Congreves, Wycherlys, Vanbrughs and Farquhars of the time.

From the period of John Knox to that of Thomas Chalmers, the literature of Scotland has been pre-eminently religious. In very many instances her purely literary offices have been filled by clergymen and by the sons of clergymen. Some of the most distinguished in several of the most exalted departments of letters, as history and intellectual philosophy, have been themselves ministers of the gospel. So prevalent indeed has been the religious spirit, and so strong the religious sensibilities of the Scottish people, that the most popular poems addressed to the taste of the nation—as the Cotter's Saturday Night—were suffused with the holy light of religious sentiment, and redolent of the sweet savour of piety. Seeing that such is the character of her literature, it is needless to add that for more than two hundred years the Scottish people have been the most intelligent and religious in Europe.

As works recede from the domain of objective science, and becoming most purely literary, exhibit most fully the interior and profound operation of Christianity on the heart of man,

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do we discover the pervading and controlling influence of the Christian element on letters. The fountain of the heart wells up in poesy; and as the limpid water shines with more than the diamond's brightness when its drops are irradiated by the sunbeam—so do the finer feelings of the soul when beautified by the light of the poet's imagination.

All poetry may be generally divided into two kinds, which are well enough characterized by the philosophical terms objective and subjective. In portraying the pomp of war—the glittering array of embattled hosts—the impetuous onset of opposing squadrons—the inspiring influence of martial music—the ancients generally, and Homer in particular, must be pronounced unrivalled. Nor are they destitute of scenes which moved the most powerful and tender sympathies of our nature. Still it must be admitted that in their delineations of the more gentle and delicate—the more deep and sacred feelings of the soul—feelings which we hardly acknowledge to ourselves—which when we find faithfully portrayed in poetry we look upon almost as a revelation—of this poetry Shakspeare and Wordsworth afford specimens, the equals of which we might search for in vain among the most successful and splendid of Apollo's elder sons. The massive glories, the frigid magnificence of the old Pagan poets may be fitly shadowed forth in Catharine the Second's palace cut out of ice. The deep yet tender traits of our Christian bards, their serene wisdom, their genial warmth, and their heavenly radiance, may be feebly imaged in the Jewish Temple—scarcely inferior to the former, perhaps, in outward visible splendour—but within adorned on every side with holy emblems, perfumed with pure incense, and sacred fire perpetually blazing on its altars! If to the distinction which we have now endeavoured to trace, there be some seeming exceptions—if in lyric poetry, Alcæus and Pindar occasionally ascend "a higher heaven of invention," and rise to a pitch of poetic enthusiasm, which in the same species of poetry Milton and Wordsworth never attained—it must be granted at least, that these Christian poets have a more sustained dignity of thought, are informed with a better spirit, and animated with a more sublime philosophy. If their inspiration be not so spontaneous and

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dazzling, it is more genial and agreeable; if their melody be not so wild and varied, it is more artful and impressive. Human language, it should seem, is scarcely capable of expressing harmonies more subtile and delicious than are to be found in the writings of Milton and Shakspeare, Wordsworth and Coleridge.

The ancient poets are unsurpassed in the description of natural scenes, whether of tragic magnificence or graceful repose. But enlightened by the knowledge of Divine revelation, it is not surprising that the moderns should excel them in that poetry which reveals the hidden secrets of the soul, the unprofaned mysteries within, the joys and the sorrows "with which a stranger intermeddleth not." In an early period of society, men rarely indulge in metaphysical or moral speculations on the profound problems connected with their own origin, nature, and destiny. But the splendid phenomena with which the visible universe abounds, excite within them an infant and not unpoetic wonder. This imparts an animation and truth to their descriptive poetry, in which the productions of a more philosophic age are often found wanting. Their successors are too content to paint from a picture, to reconstruct with minute and elaborate elegance, those gigantic edifices which the more energetic genius of their fathers had originally designed and erected.

Their gorgeous mythology was formed upon the perversion of a genuine religious sentiment. The πρωτον ψευδος, the initial and essential error of the whole system, as the apostle teaches, consisted in the substitution of Nature for God, in the transfer to the creature of those feelings of religious veneration and trust, which should have centered and terminated in the Creator. It can hardly be necessary to point out the correspondence in principle between the ancient Pagan religion, and the modern Pantheistic philosophy. The one is only an awkward and unlucky exaggeration of the other, "the melancholy madness of poetry without its inspiration." The one in its most improved and accepted form, was a Greek fable, instinct with the poetic beauty which attached to all the imaginative creations of that wonderful people. The other, in its most

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approved and accepted form, a German monster, grotesque, and huge, and horrible, and blind;

Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.

The Greek mythology was little more than an apotheosis of the objects and the powers of nature in their friendly and hostile aspects toward man. If their Dryads, their Naiads, and their Nereids were the creatures of fancy, there was a living reality in the refreshing coolness of the grotto, in the shade, and greenness of the forest—in the sleeping beauty of the quiet lake, and in the awful convulsions of the agitated ocean.

If the ancient poets were fortunate in living at a period when their sensations must be varied and acute—when the mountain awed them by its vastness, the unpierced solitude filled them with a congenial horror, and the sunny landscape inspired a sunnier joy—it must be confessed that the multitude and acuteness of their sensations rendered it more difficult to discriminate and portray them.

It has been sometimes imagined that the manifest advantages of our later and Christian poets are more than balanced by a certain alleged simplicity of ancient manners, which gave their poets an opportunity of seeing the heart without disguise. We may well doubt, however, whether any such simplicity ever could have existed. But granting that it might, the poet does not derive his knowledge of human nature from other men, nor from books. He probes his own heart. He proves its strength and its weakness, and is satisfied that when he knows himself, he knows mankind—"for as in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man." It was not from books, nor was it mainly from observation, that Shakspeare drew his marvellous knowledge of man. Such knowledge could be gathered only from self-study. Cicero's noble words with reference to the *lex nata, non scripta*, may be applied to the whole science of the soul: *Quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verùm ex naturâ ipsâ arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus; ad quam non docti, sed facti; non instituti, sed imbuti sumus.*

The soul of man, as Wordsworth has told us, is the "haunt and main region" of the poet's study and the poet's song.

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But the soul of man has depths which had never been sounded, sensibilities which had never been awakened, mysteries which had never been brought to light, and paths which the eye of man had not pondered, until those depths were explored, those sensibilities stirred, those mysteries revealed, and those paths pointed out, by a supernatural revelation from God.

The highest Christian poetry, embodying the highest Christian philosophy and sensibility, is not an empty indulgence, but an essential good; not a fleeting pastime, but a perpetual delight—yea "a perpetual feast of nectared sweets, where no crude surfeit reigns." It was given not to amuse the idle, but to instruct the wise, to fortify the weak, and to assure the strong. It can impress upon vice the seal of lasting infamy. It can confer upon virtue the grace of exalted sentiment, and the meed of high renown. God, who formed the heart of man, and in whose hand it is, has chosen this—the noblest form of human composition—as the medium of many of his highest communications to mankind. Revelations which we rejoice or tremble to think of—"thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men"—come to us clothed in the consecrated garb of poetry. We look, and lo! a solemn procession of the prophets of Jehovah, and martyred saints who bore record "of the word of God and of the testimony of Jesus Christ," passes slowly before us. We listen, and from that sacred band proceed notes of superhuman sublimity and sweetness, "a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies." These are the strains that did once in Zion glide, sung by holy men of God on earth, and destined to be repeated in heaven with loftier voice, and on harps of purer gold. "And I looked, and lo! a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred and forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads. And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps."—Rev. xiv. 1, 2.

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ART. IV.—*The Prophet Obadiah, Expounded by Charles Paul Caspari.* Leipzig, 1842, pp. 145.

THE name of Caspari, at present Licentiat and Lector of Theology in the University of Christiania, has been more than once mentioned, and his labours referred to in our pages: but we are desirous of introducing him more fully to the acquaintance of our readers. The treatise, whose title we have placed at the head of this article, is not the most recent of his publications—in fact, it is one of the earliest; but it is the one which best answers our purpose, being at once brief and complete in itself. Though Obadiah is the shortest book in the Old Testament, it yet presents questions enough in the way of criticism and exposition, to furnish a fair field for the abilities of him that undertakes to solve them, while it cannot fail to bring out, as clearly as a book of larger compass, the method which he pursues, and the system which he adopts. The volume before us was announced as the first of a series of commentaries on the prophets, to be prepared by himself, in concert with his fellow student and intimate friend, Delitzsch, whose exposition of Habakkuk appeared the next year. But as we know of no commentary since from the pen of Caspari, and as that most recently issued by Delitzsch is not upon one of the prophets, and as meanwhile they have both left Leipsic, Caspari to go to Christiania, and Delitzsch to become Professor of Theology in the University of Rostock, it is probable that their original project may have been abandoned, at least for a time.

Another series of publications, which they commenced to issue together, appeared under the name of "Biblico-theological, and Apologetico-critical Studies." The first of these was the "Biblico-prophetical Theology" of Delitzsch, containing an account of Christian Crusius and his labours in that field, together with a discussion of the principles advanced in the recent works of Hofmann and Baumgarten. The second contained Contributions to the Introduction to Isaiah by Caspari, in which he examines various questions relating to the first six chapters of that prophecy, as preliminary to the commentary which he is preparing. He has published besides,

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another treatise of kindred character on the Syro-Ephraimitic War under Jotham and Ahaz, and an Arabic Grammar, designed for students of the language, who want something less copious than the grammars of De Sacy and Ewald, yet not so meager as the generality of the manuals previously in use.

Of Obadiah, as of some others of the minor prophets, nothing is recorded but the name, and that only in the title to his prophecy. The traditionary notices which variously identify him with the governor of Ahab's house, 1 Kings xviii. 3; with the captain of fifty spared by Elijah, 2 Kings i. 13; or with the husband of the woman mentioned, 2 Kings iv. 1; or which declare him to have been a proselyte from Edom, are entirely unreliable, and owe their origin to an endeavour to elicit by conjectural combination a knowledge of the prophet which authentic accounts did not furnish. The very period in which he lived, is matter of dispute. As might have been anticipated, this furnished a fine opportunity for German criticism to display itself, which is never more confident in its conclusions, than when it has least evidence on which to base them. Unfortunately, however, its varying results are calculated to inspire any thing but confidence in lookers on. Obadiah has been pronounced with equal positiveness to be the very earliest and the very latest of the prophets, whose writings form part of the canon, while almost every assignable intermediate position has been allotted to him, by one or other of those who have undertaken to speak oracularly upon the subject. Caspari has been content to take the less ambitious, but not less safe method of acquiescing in a date already furnished, rather than inventing a new one. The only external evidence which bears upon the point, is the position which this prophecy occupies in the collection of the minor prophets, according to which Obadiah succeeds Amos and precedes Jonah and Micah. The correctness of this, our author strenuously defends; and if he has not rigidly proved it, he has certainly shown that no sufficient reason exists in the present case for departing from it. It is on all hands admitted, as is indeed evident on a bare inspection, that in the arrangement of the minor prophets some respect was had, at least in the general, to the chronological order; the only question that

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can possibly arise, is whether this was carried out strictly in detail. Those of the earliest period come first; those shortly before the exile, next; those succeeding the exile, last. All of them that have their dates indicated in the title appear in their proper order. The analogy of the arrangement of the greater prophets, and the former prophets of the Hebrew canon, also favours the conclusion that the succession is a chronological one. So does the traditional testimony preserved by Jerome.* And as for the internal proofs which have been alleged as at variance with it, Caspari maintains (and this is also the view taken of the same subject by Hengstenberg, Hövernick and other eminent scholars) that in no case is there a necessity of supposing the chronological order to have been departed from; that the presumption in favour of its having been adhered to throughout, is heightened by the impossibility of assigning any reasons of a topical kind, which could have led to its abandonment in the cases adduced; and that the assumption of the collector himself being in error, and especially of our competency to correct it if he were, is wholly inadmissible.

Among the internal grounds relied upon for the determination of the period to which Obadiah is to be assigned, the first concerns the relation which this prophecy bears to a parallel one in Jeremiah, chap. xlix. The coincidence in thought, and even language, (comp. Obad. *vs.* 1—4, with Jer. xlix. 14—16; Obad. *vs.* 5, 6, with Jer. xlix. 9, 10; Obad. *v.* 8, with Jer. xlix. 7;) is too great to have been a casual resemblance in the utterance of thoughts, independently conceived by different minds. There are in this, as in all similar cases of Scripture criticism, but three supposable ways of accounting for the fact; and here, as in every other instance, all three have had their advocates. Either Jeremiah borrowed from Obadiah, or Obadiah from Jeremiah, or both alike from some preceding prophet. It would no doubt be thought by most persons out of Germany that the settlement of such a question as this, in the absence of all external proof, even though the passage disputed were far longer than it is, must be involved in great difficulty and

* In quibus (prophetarum scriptis) tempus non profertur in titulo, sub illis eos regibus prophetasse, sub quibus et hi, qui ante eos habent titulos, prophetarunt. *Prol. in XII. Prophet. Min.*

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uncertainty. Our brethren across the waters, however, have great skill in such matters. If two writers have a single sentence or even part of a sentence in common, we have scarcely seen the German commentator who would not undertake to say with positiveness, with which of them it was original, or whether it was so with either. The art has been practised so long and so generally, that it has come to be reduced to absolute rule. It seems to pass as an unquestioned principle with the dealers in this species of criticism, that the more brief, unusual, and difficult, and that which is better connected with what precedes and follows, must be the original from which the other is derived. While we might perhaps admit that there was truth or plausibility in this, considered in the general, we can hardly follow the surprising application which we find made of it to the minutest details. When the ground of argument is that Obadiah uses the first person plural in a certain case where Jeremiah has the first person singular, or that the latter inserts the word 'for' where the former does not, or says 'despised among men' where the former says 'greatly despised,' we must confess that our lack of discernment is such that we have to wait until the conclusion is drawn before we can suspect what it is going to be; and we cannot even then tell why it might not just as well have been the reverse. We doubt whether such arguments would be considered as going a great way toward settling the priority in the case of compositions that date from modern times. Decidedly the most preposterous thing, however, which has occurred in the endless argument on this subject, is Hitzig's attempt to show that Obadiah, in copying and endeavouring to simplify Jeremiah, (whom he decides by a single stroke of his pen to have been the earlier of the two,) *mistook his meaning*, being less skilled in the Hebrew, as we are left to infer, than his modern critic!!

Our author has gone very elaborately into this investigation, and has shown that there is no ground here for departing from the presumption as to Obadiah's age furnished by the criterion already mentioned; but that on the other hand if there were any stringency in these arguments as commonly adduced, they would establish Obadiah's priority, not the reverse. At the same time, he adduces a number of collateral arguments, which

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certainly have the effect, taken together, of making the probabilities incline largely to the side of Obadiah being the original, and Jeremiah the copy.

The idea of both being derived from a common original may be at once dismissed as having nothing to support it. No one has ever heard of this supposed original; and the arguments adduced for it are of that completely subjective kind, which can be asserted or denied by different persons with equal ease. Thus Ewald asserts that the first ten verses of Obadiah are so different from the remainder of the prophecy in language and style, that they must have belonged to a different author and another age. Caspari replies, and most readers of the prophet could probably say the same, that he can see no difference whatever in the language of the two sections.

Regarding the question, then, as one lying simply between Obadiah and Jeremiah, Caspari urges the following considerations in favour of the orignality of the former. 1. The prophecies of Jeremiah directed against foreign powers are almost without exception based on those of previous prophets; which renders it easy to suppose the like to have been the case in the present instance. 2. In those parts of Jeremiah's prediction against Edom, which are not common to him with Obadiah, are many expressions, which occur more or less frequently in the course of his book, and are characteristic of his style; but none such occur in Obadiah. 3. The verses in question form in Obadiah one connected passage, verses 1—8; in Jeremiah they are more dispersed. 4. They are more closely related to the context in Obadiah. 5. In his prophecy too, they are "in part more brief and rapid, in part more difficult and abrupt, in part bolder and more lively, in part more regular and rounded." If this argumentation is successful, it not only leaves the date previously arrived at undisturbed, but adds a confirmation in so far as it determines it not to have been later than the fourth year of Jehoiakim, at which time this prediction of Jeremiah seems to have been uttered.

Another point affecting the date of the prophecy, is found in verses 11–16. In those verses are described sore calamities brought upon Jerusalem by foreign powers, in which Edom insultingly exulted, and which they even aggravated by acts of

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positive hostility. The question at once arises, what historical fact is here intended? and was it past or future at the time of the prophet? Three different opinions are here possible, and have been actually maintained:—1. That the event referred to was the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and that it is described as past. 2. That it was the capture by Nebuchadnezzar, but the description is prophetic; the event lay yet in the future. 3. That it describes one of the previous captures of Jerusalem, or calamities that befel its inhabitants before the final overthrow from incursions of hostile invaders, *e. g.* that recorded 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17, or that 2 Chron. xxv. 23, 24, or that 2 Chron. xxviii. 17, 18. Of these suppositions only the first is inconsistent with the conclusion, to which we have already come, as to the period when Obadiah lived. Caspari adopts the second view stated above, and argues from the strength of the expressions employed, that nothing less than the utter overthrow of the city, as it took place under the Chaldeans, can be intended. That this was still future to the prophet, and not past, he considers as established, 1. by the exhortations, verses 12–14, which seem to be most naturally explained on the supposition of the actions being not yet performed;* and 2. by the general terms in which the prophecy is couched and the absence of all that is specific and definite; "strangers" and "foreigners" destroy Jerusalem, the "nations" are summoned for the punishment of Edom. The Chaldeans are not once named, as it seems probable that they would have been, had this been written after their commission of the atrocities referred to. The use of the prophetic preterite in the case of events really future, but conceived of and represented by the prophet as past, is frequent and well known. There is no more difficulty in assuming this to be the case in verses 11 and 16, than in verses 3, 6, 7, where all admit it. Those, whose principles will not suffer them to believe in the reality of any supernatural prediction, cannot of course embrace this view. But it is hard to see why even thus they need find any more difficulty here than they do with those pas-

* In order to appreciate this argument the Hebrew must be consulted, which reads, Look not—rejoice not—speak not proudly, &c.; not as in our version, Thou shouldst not have looked, &c.

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sages in Hosea, where Judah's overthrow and exile are not only predicted, but presupposed, or with Micah iii. 12, where Jerusalem's utter desolation is announced as fully as it is here, or in fine with hundreds of passages found in every part of the prophets.

To these arguments touching the age of Obadiah may be added one drawn from verse 20, whence it appears that the captives of Judah in the time of the prophet were not at Babylon, but among the Canaanites and in the distant west, which agrees with the state of things before the exile, but not with that after it. Also the fact is observable that Obadiah contains references to the prophecies of Joel and Amos,* but to those of no later prophet.

This prediction is readily divisible into three parts. After a title stating in the most concise manner the character of the composition and its author, it first announces Edom's destruction by the nations summoned of Jehovah for this purpose, verses 1–9; then sets forth the cause of this destruction, Edom's unbrotherly conduct in the day of Jerusalem's distress, verses 10–16; and finally places the future restoration and enlargement of Judah in contrast with the utter extinction to which Edom was doomed, verses 17–21.

The opening words "Thus saith the Lord GOD concerning Edom," are not intended to introduce what shall immediately follow, as the language of direct address from God to Edom, although the formula, "Thus saith the LORD," as often as it occurs elsewhere, is always so employed; but they characterize the whole of what follows as a divine communication, whoever may formally be the speaker, whether God, the prophet, or any one else. There is no necessity, therefore, of assuming that this clause is to be immediately connected with *v.* 2, where God is the speaker, and that the words intervening are to be regarded as parenthetic; nor even of supposing that there is a negligence in the construction; still less of adopting the violent procedure of those who, preferring to cut a knot rather than patiently untie it, are ready to imagine the words to be

* Compare Obad. v. 11, with Joel iii. 3; Obad. v. 15 with Joel iii. 4, 7, 14; Obad. v. 17 with Joel ii. 32, iii. 17; Obad. v. 19 with Amos ix. 12.

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spurious or a gloss, which in addition to the gratuitousness of the assumption, is here peculiarly unfortunate, for if this clause did not belong to the prophecy in its original form, there would be nothing to show against whom war was to be prepared, *v.* 1, nor who is addressed, *vs.* 2—5. There would be nothing to indicate the object of the prophecy until it was learned from *v.* 6.

This message, which the prophet received, came to him not as an isolated individual, but as a member and organ of Israel, for the sake of the whole. Accordingly, he does not say, I have heard, but "We," *i. e.* Israel, in the prophet as their representative, or through him as their oracle, "have heard a rumour," not an uncertain one, resting on the authority of man, but "from the Lord." Or the prophet may have intended to associate with himself those who had previously received communications of similar import, "We," *i. e.* not I alone, but other prophets also, "have heard," &c. Either of these is preferable to regarding the plural as unmeaning, a mere enallage for the singular. It is evidently not correct to refer it, as some do, to the heathen, so that this would be coincident in meaning with the following clause, nor can it be designed to put Israel in opposition to the heathen mentioned immediately after as equally summoned with them to the war against Edom.

The rumour or news heard from the Lord, is of the sending of an ambassador among the nations, not that one is to be, but he has been already sent. The ambassador is sent not from Israel, nor from one nation to another, but from Jehovah. This figure drawn from the custom of nations soliciting the aid of others on engaging in a war, is designed simply to express the idea, that the Lord would, whether by some direct impulse, or by the orderings of his providence, certainly bring it about, that the nations should rise to execute his will. It is the same thought which is elsewhere conveyed under the image of calling distant nations by a hiss or whistle, or setting up a signal for them to congregate.

Then follow the words of the ambassador summoning the nations in the name of God to make common cause with him against Edom. The apparent strangeness of the expression by which the Lord stirs up the nations to act in concert with

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himself, "let us rise up against her in battle," may be in a measure relieved by a comparison of others in which the Lord appears advancing at the head of the assembled instruments of his vengeance; so that it does not appear necessary to depart from this the most natural and obvious construction of the clause, by putting these words into the mouth of the nations as descriptive of the ready obedience they yield to the message received; or, which would be still farther from the design of the prophet, ascribing them to individual Israelites, exhorting each other to engage in a war to which the nations had already been divinely invited.

The ground of sending the ambassador and collecting the nations, is God's determination to break the power of Edom, which from the certainty of its accomplishment is spoken of as though it were already effected. "I have made thee small among the heathen." I have already done so in purpose, and shall certainly and speedily do so in the actual event. "Thou art" in consequence "greatly despised." It was only a deceit practised upon him by his proud heart, when he was led to conclude himself to be so secure in his high habitations and his clefts of the rocks, (admirably descriptive of Petra, of whose strength and almost inaccessible situation travellers give such surprising accounts,) that he could not be brought down to the ground. They had left out of the account one who was able and who was resolved to dislodge them, even though their habitations were loftier than they were, or loftier than any man could place them. Were they even on those lofty pinnacles where only the eagle can build her nest, or were they among the very stars, "thence will I bring thee down, saith the LORD."

It is an error with some interpreters to regard *v.* 2, as a historical statement designed by its contrast with what follows to exhibit the offensiveness of Edom's pride in a more glaring light; as though the meaning were, God has made them a small, despised people, but the pride of their heart has led them to suppose themselves invincible. A people against whom the nations are thus summoned, and who possess such almost impregnable seats in their mountain fastnesses, cannot be regarded as very contemptible.

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The declaration just made, *v.* 4, in conformity with a purpose before announced, *v.* 2, to be executed by the gathered heathen, *v.* 1, appears now to the prophet as already accomplished. And he gives utterance to his feelings of amazement at a desolation so complete, and to which the ordinary causes and images of desolation were by no means adequate. Thieves and nocturnal marauders are satisfied without stripping their victims of every thing. Even grape-gatherers leave some gleanings. But the pillage of Esau was complete; not even his most secret treasures were spared.

From this view of the wholesale plunder of Edom, which is made thus emphatically prominent, because they were a rich people, and this was therefore a considerable item in their destruction—Petra being an important point on the route of the Syro-Arabian trade, and a depot of Arabian products—the prophet reverts to what had preceded it, and how it came about. "All the men of thy confederacy"—*i. e.* the nations without exception which were in league with thee, and which therefore might reasonably have been expected to furnish thee aid—"have brought thee to the border." This is not to be taken exactly in the sense that some have understood it, as drawn from the custom of honouring the ambassadors of friendly nations with an escort to conduct them to the frontier, so that the meaning would be, they lavish great honour upon thee, and make fine promises but do nothing; for in that case the most essential thought of all, that these promises were not fulfilled, is not stated. Nor does it mean, they brought to their border the fugitives escaped from Edom's overthrow, refusing them shelter; nor, they accompany thee to the borders of thy territory uniting their forces with thine as though they would assist thee in the battle against the foe, but intending then to desert thee and return; nor, they drive thee to the border of thy territory, *i. e.* expel thee from it. The best understanding of it is, they conduct thee in the person of thy representatives, the ambassadors sent to solicit their aid, to the border, *i. e.* refuse them the aid which they ask, and send them out of the country.

"The men of thy peace," *i. e.* the nations at peace with thee, have also acted in a manner the opposite of what might have

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been expected, they have deceived thee; and that not merely by withholding assistance; they have committed positive unlooked-for acts of hostility, and have prevailed against thee.

The next clause is best translated by the assumption of an ellipsis which is, it is true, an unusual one. But this is preferable to the violation of the accents with some interpreters, and to the forced constructions adopted by others. "The men of thy bread lay a snare under thee," *i. e.* those whom thou hast befriended, or who have derived their subsistence from thee, have requited thy kindness with perfidy and betrayal.

Thus forsaken and betrayed by all their allies and former friends, they should fall into utter perplexity and distraction of counsels. That "there is none understanding in him" is here stated, not as the cause of misfortunes just detailed, nor as a judgment based upon them (equivalent to saying, if they were as wise as they profess to be, they would not suffer themselves to be so imposed upon), but as in part at least their result. And to render their condition perfectly hopeless, their last dependence should be stricken from them by a direct divine infliction. The sagacity for which their wise men were famed, and the bravery of the warriors of Teman (a part of Idumea, so named from the grandson of Esau, or as being the southern district of the land, here used interchangeably with Esau and Edom as their poetic equivalent) God would himself destroy, in order that the entire people left thus defenceless might be "cut off by slaughter." The common rendering of these last words is preferable to the translation "without slaughter," *i. e.* they shall from mere faint-heartedness be vanquished without a battle; or "because of slaughter," viz. thy slaughter of Israel, whether the words be connected in this sense with the close of *v.* 9, or in imitation of the Vulgate, Septuagint and Peshito, but in opposition to the accents and the Masoretic division of the verses, with the beginning of *v.* 10, (For the slaughter and for the violence, &c.)

The second portion of the prophecy explains the reason of this terrible visitation. "For thy violence," in itself an atrocity, but aggravated by being committed against a brother, and that too Esau's twin-brother Jacob, "shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever," as already predicted.

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Edom's enmity against Israel was not of recent origin, nor displayed merely in occasional acts of hostility. It began in the very earliest period of their history, and had its root in the jealousy felt on account of Israel's superior advantages. The most marked display of it was naturally in the time of Jerusalem's deepest humiliation. When it had fallen a prey to foreign invaders, and was suffering their barbarities, Edom insolently triumphed over its downfall, and lent their aid to complete its ruin. Hence, passing by less marked instances, the prophet portrays this in its aggravations, and denounces upon them in consequence the judgment of God.

The event described, *v.* 11, and Edom's conduct on that occasion, identifying himself with the foreign invaders, was yet future according to the view adopted by Caspari, but from the certainty with which it is foreseen, is spoken of as past. The exhortations that follow, *vs.* 12—14, he considers to have reference to the same event, now conceived of as future or as in progress, the identity being established by the similarity of the terms employed. Those who regard *v.* 11 as historically past, either refer these exhortations to a course of subsequent hostility, or suppose the prophet to conceive of the event which he had just mentioned as having taken place, with the vividness of an event passing before his eyes.

This dissuasion from the injurious treatment of Israel is enforced by an appeal to the approaching day of the Lord upon all the heathen. This day of the Lord is variously represented by the prophets as one of judgment, of punishment, and of battle. It is designed for the illustration of the attributes of the Most High, especially his righteousness in the destruction of his people's enemies and of his own. Although in prophetic representation "a day," it proves in actual fact to be not a single point of time, in which judgment shall be simultaneously executed upon all nations, but a continuous period, in the course of which all shall in succession receive the punishment that they merit. This day is "near," not from the historical position of Obadiah, but from the ideal prophetic one which he has taken in the future. When each nation has completed its deeds of iniquity, the time of retribution is not far distant. That which here appears as the matter to be avenged on that

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day, is the hostilities which have been committed against the people of God. Viewed under one aspect, the destruction of Jerusalem and all that Israel suffered from other nations was the consequence of their own sins. Viewed under another aspect, it was a consequence of the hostile disposition cherished by the world toward them as the people of God, and in them toward God himself. This disposition, it is true, he uses as an instrument for the correction of his people's sins, but it finds in that fact no justification. It is under this latter aspect that Obadiah in this prophecy regards the sufferings of Jerusalem. Their own sins are not once referred to as concerned in the treatment they experience, but only the hostility of other nations, and particularly of Edom, the most unrelenting and inexcusable of all, and who appears here not in his individual character merely, but as the representative generally of all the enemies of God's people.

This coming day of retribution upon all nations affords a sure guaranty of Edom's doom; for if no deed of criminality against Israel from any quarter shall pass unavenged, theirs shall not. As they had done, it should be done to them. For as ye (Edom) have drunk upon my holy mountain, indulging in your profane revels over the scene of my people's overthrow, so shall all the heathen, and you of course among them, drink continually, but in another sense, drink the cup of divine wrath, and that in large, copious draughts, because forced so to do, and to their complete undoing: they shall be as though they had not been. That they shall drink "continually," does not imply that the same nations are to be for ever drinking, for the draughts are productive of speedy extinction. But one or another of the nations shall be always experiencing divine judgments.

The principal constructions in addition to that given above, which have been proposed for this passage, are the following. 1. As ye (Edomites) have drunk exulting over the ruin of Jerusalem, so shall all nations drink exulting over yours. 2. As ye (Edomites) have caroused upon my holy mountain, so shall all other nations inflict similar injuries upon Jerusalem, carouse there and perish. 3. As ye (Edomites) have drunk the cup of divine wrath for your treatment of God's people,

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(their future punishment from its certainty spoken of as already experienced,) so shall all nations. 4. As ye (Jews) have in the destruction of Jerusalem drunk of the divine wrath, so shall all nations drink of the same, but more largely and for a longer term.

The last division of the prophecy opens with a contrast to the doom denounced upon Edom, and upon all nations. Mount Zion shall have a fate directly opposite to the fate of those who have desecrated and wasted it. The contrast here stated is not simply that in the time of the utter extinction of the nations, Israel, instead of being totally destroyed as they are, shall have still some survivors. The day of retribution which had been announced, was for the nations, not for Israel. The latter is already judged in the (ideal) present; and only the judgment on the nations for what they have done to Israel, lies yet in the future. The time in which the nations are visited for their sins, will be the time of Israel's security and triumph. The escaped from all past and present tribulations will then be found on Mount Zion, which is thenceforth to be a sanctuary and inviolable. The house of Jacob shall retake their former seats. Israel, no longer divided into two opposing kingdoms, but acting in concert, shall find Esau powerless to resist them. Their former coasts will prove too strait for them, such shall be the increase of their numbers. They shall spread southward over the territory of Esau, westward over that of the Philistines, northward into the possessions of Ephraim, to whom a district still farther north must consequently be assigned, and eastward beyond Jordan.

From the body of the nation, who after the calamities that awaited them, verse 11, should return to repeople and enlarge their ancient seats, the eye of the prophet turns to those in captivity in his own times, and he predicts for them also a return and a similar enlargement. This captive host of the children of Israel who are scattered up and down among the Canaanites as far as to Zarephath, and those in Sepharad shall occupy the cities of the south, where room will be made for them by the previous occupation of Edom by the inhabitants of these cities. Sepharad is not to be taken in its appellative sense as meaning dispersion, but the name of some definite

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locality situated most probably in the distant west, (compare Joel iii. 6.) The Chaldee and Peshito render it Spain; and in modern Hebrew this is the name of that country.

Another construction of this passage is that this captive host of the children of Israel, *i. e.* those of the kingdom of the ten tribes carried captive to Assyria, shall on their return possess the land which belonged to the Canaanites as far as Zarephath.

And there shall go up, return out of exile, saviours (comp. Judges iii. 9,) for the defence of Israel, and the subjugation of their foes, and particularly of Edom. "And the kingdom shall be the LORD'S." By the protection and deliverance which he shall afford to his people, and by his destruction of their foes, he shall demonstrate to the world that he does indeed reign.

ART. V.—*The Jews at K'ae-fung-foo; being a Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jewish Synagogue at K'ae-fung-foo, on behalf of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews;* with an introduction by the Right Rev. George Smith, D. D., Lord Bishop of Victoria. Shanghae: Printed at the London Missionary Society's Press, 1851, pp. 82.

Fac-similes of the Hebrew Manuscripts, obtained at the Jewish Synagogue in K'ae-fung-foo. Shanghae: Printed at the London Missionary Society's Press, 1851.

THE interest naturally felt by the Christian public in the subject of these publications, leads us to suppose that we shall do our readers an acceptable service, if we extract from the pamphlet before us the substance of the information which it contains.

For the little previous knowledge which we possess respecting the Jews in China, we are almost exclusively indebted to the researches of the Roman Catholic missionaries in a former age. It was at the commencement of the seventeenth century, that the Jesuit missionary Ricci and his learned associates at

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Peking, were suddenly made acquainted with the existence of a Jewish colony at K'hae-fung-foo, the capital of Honan province. A Jewish scholar and expectant of civil promotion, a native of that city temporarily resident at Peking, introduced himself to the missionaries, and announced himself of the same religion as the foreigners. Being led by Ricci to view the interior of the chapel, and the paintings above the altar and around the sides of the building, he proceeded to bow before the various pictures, professing, however, to perform this unusual act only in imitation of his guide and conductor, and as a homage to the great ancestors of his race. It was only by means of a subsequent explanation that the misunderstanding was removed, and the fact of the mutual distinctness of the two religions became clear to the mind of each.

The interesting information obtained from this Jewish visitor, led Ricci three years afterwards to despatch a Chinese Christian to K'hae-fung-foo, to test the accuracy of his statements. Copies of portions of the Pentateuch in Hebrew were brought back by the messenger. Other Israelites arrived in Peking, and interesting communications took place.

The poor Israelites, even then few in number, reduced in circumstances, and exposed to many trials, appeared ready to renounce their ancestral religion, and to transfer the control of their synagogue to the Jesuits. Others of the Roman Catholic missionaries subsequently visited the locality, and sketched the general plan and appearance of the synagogue.

Although at the commencement of the 18th century a fuller account of the Jews at K'hae-fung-foo was received from father Gozani, then resident on the spot, yet down to the present time, but little additional light has been thrown on the subject of "the sect who pluck the sinew." The late Dr. Morrison makes indeed a brief allusion to the rumour respecting them in his journal more than thirty years ago; and a Hebrew letter was actually written and despatched in the year 1815 by some Jews in London, to the Jewish community at K'hae-fung-foo. Whether it was ever received by them, there is no means of certainly knowing. Since the British treaty of Nanking in 1842, many Christians in Europe have directed their attention toward the Jews in China; and anticipations in some instances

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may have been cherished respecting their present condition and future destinies, such as the incidents of this narrative will fail to gratify or confirm.

On the establishment of the bishopric of Victoria, Hong Kong was thought to furnish a favourable opportunity for the prosecution of inquiries relative to this subject; and bishop Smith was requested by the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, to take the general direction of the measures to be employed. Accordingly upon his arrival in China, he entered into correspondence with various foreign residents, both missionaries and civilians, settled in the five consular cities. A number of questions had been prepared and printed in England, and these were sent round to the different consular ports, in order to direct attention to certain specific points of inquiry. No intelligence whatever could be procured respecting even the existence of any native Jews in China at the present time. So far as is known, not a single native Jew had ever been met with by any Protestant missionaries, or other foreigners now resident in China. The Rev. Dr. Medhurst was the first to give a practical turn to these inquiries. He revolved in his mind a plan for despatching some trustworthy native messengers into those parts of the interior, where Jews were formerly known to be. This plan he laid before Bishop Smith in October 1850. The services of two Chinese Christians in the employment of the London Missionary Society, who appeared suitable and trustworthy agents, were made available for the mission. One of them, K'hew Thëen-sang, whose journal, written by himself in English, is placed first in the pamphlet, was educated by Dr. Medhurst in his mission school at Batavia, and is now engaged as a printer in the mission at Shanghae. The other, Tsëang Yung-che, a somewhat older man, and a literary graduate of the fourth or lowest degree, had been for some time a teacher of Chinese to one of the missionaries at Shanghae. His journal was composed in Chinese, and afterwards translated into English. A Jewish merchant from Bagdad also contributed his aid by writing a letter in Hebrew, for the purpose of introducing the two Chinese messengers and inviting the Jews to visit Shanghae.

They set out upon their journey from Shanghae, November

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15, 1850, and pursuing a route, the particulars and incidents of which are detailed in their journals, they arrived at K'ae-fung-foo, December 9, having travelled a distance of about seven hundred miles in a northwest direction. They entered the east gate of the city; and pursuing their course along the Great East-gate Street, in accordance with the information which they had acquired on the journey, they soon turned to the northward, and at no great distance arrived at the site of the Jewish synagogue, facing to the eastward. Here, in the midst of a surrounding population, two-thirds of whom were Mohammedans, and close adjoining to a heathen temple dedicated to the god of fire, a few Jewish families sunk in the lowest poverty and destitution, their religion scarcely more than a name, and yet sufficient to separate them from the multitude around, exposed to trial, reproach, and the pain of long-deferred hope, remained the unconscious depositaries of the oracles of God, and survived as the solitary witnesses of departed glory. Not a single individual could read the Hebrew books; they had been without a Rabbi for fifty years. The expectation of a Messiah seems to have been entirely lost. The rite of circumcision, which appears to have been observed at the period of their discovery by the Jesuits two centuries ago, had been totally discontinued. The worshippers within the synagogue faced towards the west; but whether in the direction of Jerusalem or towards the suspended tablets of the emperors, no clear information was obtained. The synagogue itself was tottering in ruins; some of the ground had been alienated to pagan rites, and a portion of the fallen materials sold to the neighbouring heathen. Sometime previously they had petitioned the Chinese emperor to have pity on their poverty, and to rebuild their temple. No reply had been received from Peking, but to this feeble hope they still clung. Out of seventy family names or clans, only seven now remained, numbering about two hundred individuals in all, dispersed over the neighbourhood. A few of them were shop-keepers in the city; others were agriculturists at some little distance from the suburbs; while a few families also lived in the temple precincts, almost destitute of raiment and shelter. According to present appearances, in the judgment of the native messengers, after a

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few years all traces of Judaism will probably have disappeared, and this Jewish remnant have been amalgamated with, and absorbed into surrounding Mohammedanism.

From the Journal of K'hew Thëen-sang, we extract the following passage:

"Dec. 10, Tuesday.—To-day about eight o'clock in the morning we went to the temple of the Jews to do our appointed duty. At the first entrance before the door there were two stone lions with pedestals, and some characters to point out the name of the temple. The space within the gate was inhabited by the professors of Judaism, who lived in a sort of pavilion with a mat and straw roof. On each side of this there was a small gate, at one of which the people went in and out at leisure or during the time of service, the other one being choked up with mud. Over the second entrance were written the words "Venerate Heaven." This enclosure was also inhabited by the Jewish people. On the right side of it there was a stone tablet engraved with ancient and modern Chinese letters; after which was placed the pae-fang, or ornamental gateway, with a round white marble table in front of it. In front of the pae-fang was written "Happiness;" and below it, "The Mind holding Communion with Heaven." On each side of the pae-fang were various apartments, some of which were broken down; on the back of the pae-fang were written the characters, "Reverently accord with the expansive Heavens." Below these on the ground, stone flower pots and tripods were placed; after passing which, we came to the third court, where we saw a marble railing with steps on each side, having entered which the temple itself appeared, with two stone lions in front. Finding that the front door of the temple was shut, we tried to open it, but could not, when several of the professors came up and entered into conversation with us, questioning us about our object. So we told them that we had come from a distance to bring a letter. They then let us see two letters, one from a rabbi, (perhaps the one forwarded to them in 1815 by Dr. Morrison,) and the other from Mr. Layton, Consul at Amoy, requesting them to send some Hebrew tracts; it was written half in Chinese and half in Hebrew. They told us also that they had been nearly starved since their temple had been

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neglected; and that their congregation consisted now of only seven clans. Most of the men were acquainted with letters. After conversing some time with them, one of the men opened the door for us; so we took advantage of the opportunity to go in and examine the sacred place. The men told us that several strangers had before tried to enter, but they would not allow them to do so, because many of them were merely pretended professors of their religion; but finding that we had been sent by some of their own people, and had a letter in their own character, they allowed us to see the place. The following notes will give some idea of the interior. Directly behind the front door stands a bench, about six feet from which there is a long stand for candles, similar to those usually placed before the idols in Chinese temples. Immediately in connection with this there is a table, in the centre of which is placed an earthen ware incense vessel, having a wooden candlestick at each end. In the centre of the edifice stands something resembling a pulpit; behind which there is another table having two candlesticks and an earthenware incense vessel; and after that is the Wan-suy-pae, or Emperor's tablet, placed on a large table in a shrine, inscribed with the customary formula, "May the Man-chow (or reigning dynasty) retain the imperial sway through myriads and myriads, and ten thousand myriads of years." Above the Wan-suy-pae is a Hebrew inscription, "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God is one Jehovah; blessed be the name of his glorious kingdom for ever and ever." Next to this is the imperial tablet for the Ming dynasty. Then comes a cell in which are deposited the twelve tubes containing the divine law. To the right and left of the principal cell are two others, all bearing Hebrew inscriptions.

"While engaged in copying these, before I had quite finished, a man of the name of K'heaou, who had attained a literary degree, came and drove me unceremoniously out of the temple, telling me to be careful of what I was doing. I civilly inquired his surname, in order to pacify him; but he would not listen to me, and ordered me immediately out of the temple, telling the men to shut the door, and let no man come in any more. After the men had shut the door he told them, that the two men which had come thither were not of the same religion as

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they were, and added, raising his voice, they are sent from the English missionaries to examine our establishment, and you must not let them come here any more. After the man had gone, one of the professors came to our inn and told us all about what K'heaou had said. Finding ourselves thus shut out from the temple, we requested him to procure for us a copy of all the inscriptions, and also such of the Hebrew books as might be attainable, desiring at the same time to enter into some negotiation for the purchase of the rolls of the law. He said, I cannot get the rolls, but can give you some of the small books, at the same time giving us one which he had with him. In the evening when he came to visit us, we asked him, What do you call your religion? He said, Formerly we had the name of T'hĕen-chuh-keaou, Indian religion; but now the priests have changed it into the "religion of those who pluck the sinew," because every thing that we eat, whether mutton, beef, or fowl, must have the sinews taken out. Some persons are likely to mistake the sound T'hĕen-chuh-keaou for T'ĕen-choo-keaou; so when we heard the sounds, we asked him to write down the three characters; then we understood that he meant the religion of India, and not the religion of the Lord of heaven (or the Roman Catholic religion). We asked him, Are there any who can read Hebrew? He said, Not one now among the residents is able to read it, although formerly there were some. He said also that our letter very much resembled those which they had received before, and had the same kind of envelope; but their letters had seals, and ours none. The temple, with the Wan-suy-pae, and all the sacred furniture face the east, so that the worshippers during service have to turn their faces towards the west, which is also in the direction of Jerusalem. The priest, when going to perform service, wears a blue head dress and blue shoes; but the congregation are not allowed to go in with their shoes, nor the women with their head napkins. Before entering the holy place they all have to wash their bodies, both men and women; on the two sides of the temple, there are baths and wells in which they wash; and after making themselves clean they enter the holy place.

"The Jews are not allowed to intermarry with heathens and Mohammedans, neither are they allowed to marry two wives;

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they are forbidden to eat pork, as also to mix with the Mohammedans, but they are required to be strict in the observance of their religion, and to keep the Sabbath holy. Some of the materials of the houses round the synagogue, such as bricks, tiles, wood, &c., have been sold by the professors to supply the wants of their families. We heard that the Emperor had refused to rebuild the temple, until all was rotten and come to nought; so that the temple must remain in its present state until the Emperor issues a command to repair or rebuild it. For this the professors were waiting with earnest expectation that the time of rebuilding might not be delayed, else they would be starved. They told us that some of them daily lifted up their hearts and prayed to heaven, because since the temple was neglected many had gone astray. We heard also, that whenever any one was known to belong to the Jewish religion, they were soon despised and became poor. None of the Chinese would make friends with them, and they were treated as outcasts by the common people. Many of those who professed the same religion, did so in secret, and not openly, lest they should be despised also.

"Dec. 13, Friday.—Yesternight we had great fear and trouble on account of the Jews who came to our inn to visit us. In the inn we had many of the Canton men who sold opium, and some Sze-chuen men belonging to one of the magistrates' offices, who overheard that we were talking with the Jews about our and their religion. As soon as the Jews had gone we went to bed, and about eleven at night we heard them talking loudly about our business. There were in one room three people, one of whom said, I will accuse them to the district magistrate, saying that these two men are come from Shanghae, and are friends of the foreigners, and that they talked last night with the Jewish people. Their religion is not the same as ours, but they come hither as spies and breakers of the law. We will certainly bring them to the magistrate, and get them beaten and put in jail; by doing which they will be obliged to give out some money."

In consequence of the apprehensions thus awakened, K'hew T'hëen-sang, and Tseang Yung-che left the city the next day.

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The latter gives the following account, which he gathered from the Jews, of their religion.

"This religion was formerly called the Indian religion. Afterwards, on account of some disturbances that took place among its professors, the designation was changed into that of the religion which enjoins the plucking out of the sinew. The Sabbath days observed by this sect occur on the days previous to the Christian Sabbath. The time of the introduction of the Jewish religion into China is stated by themselves to be about eighteen hundred and fifty years ago. This religion was first established in K'hae-fung-foo, and the synagogue built A. D. 1164. At first the professors of Judaism amounted to seventy families, but when K'hae-fung-foo was invested in the beginning of the present dynasty, the professors fled in various directions; afterwards seven clans again entered the city. In their religion the Jews have three kinds of office-bearers; the Rabbi, the Sinew-extractor, and the Propagator of Doctrines. Whenever the day arrives for honouring the sacred writings, the disciples must all bathe in the place appointed for that purpose, after which they may enter the synagogue. The Rabbi then takes his seat on an elevated position, with a large red satin umbrella held over him. This umbrella is still preserved in the synagogue. When they bow down to worship they face the west, and in calling upon God in the Chinese language, they use the word Heaven. On the 8th Chinese moon, and the 24th day, they hold a great festival (corresponding to September or October,) which is perhaps the feast of tabernacles, called by them the festival for perambulating round the sacred writings, because they then walk in solemn procession round the hall of the temple. The reason of the present neglect of the Jewish religion is because for these fifty years there has been no one to instruct the professors in the knowledge of the fifty-three sections of the divine classic, and in the twenty-seven letters of the Jewish alphabet."*

* They make out twenty-seven letters by counting the five finals as separate letters. The customary division of the Pentateuch in our Hebrew Bibles is into fifty-four sections. But the Jews in Persia likewise number fifty-three, the Masoretic fifty-second and fifty-third sections being combined in one.

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In addition to several inscriptions in Hebrew and several in Chinese, copies were obtained of two large tablets in the Chinese language, bearing dates respectively, which correspond to A. D. 1511 and 1488. We make a brief extract from the former of these.

"From the beginning of the world our first father Adam handed the doctrine down to Abraham; Abraham handed it down to Isaac; Isaac handed it down to Jacob; Jacob to the twelve patriarchs; and the twelve patriarchs to Moses; Moses to Aaron; Aaron to Joshua; and Joshua to Ezra, by whom the doctrines of the holy religion were first sent abroad, and the letters of the Jewish nation first made plain. All those who profess this religion, aim at the practice of goodness and avoid the commission of vice, morning and evening performing their devotions, and with a sincere mind cultivating personal virtues. They practice fasting and abstinence on the prescribed days, and bring eating and drinking under proper regulations. They make the sacred writings their study and their rule, obeying and believing them in every particular. Then may they expect that the blessing of Heaven will abundantly descend, and the favour of Providence be unfailingly conferred; every individual obtaining the credit of virtuous conduct, and every family experiencing the happiness of divine protection. In this way perhaps our professors will not fail of carrying out the religion handed down by their ancestors, nor will they neglect the ceremonies they are bound to observe."

The Hebrew inscriptions contain many words which appear to be Persian; this is the case likewise with the books that were obtained. Of these latter Bishop Smith says:

"They brought back eight MSS. of apparently considerable antiquity, containing portions of the Old Testament Scriptures. These eight MSS. are written on thick paper, bound in silk, and bear internal marks of foreign, probably Persian origin. The writing appears to have been executed by means of a style, and to be in an antique Hebrew form, with vowel points. The cursory examination which we have been already enabled to bestow on them, leads to the belief that they will be found by western biblical scholars to be remarkable for their generally exact agreement with the received text of the Hebrew Old Tes-

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tament. Though in themselves interesting and valuable, they are probably much inferior in interest and value to the twelve rolls of vellum containing the law, each thirty feet in length by two or three in breadth, which our messengers examined in the holiest of holies. Measures are already in progress for procuring these latter MSS., and for bringing down to Shanghae any Israelites who might be induced to visit that city. The portions of the Old Testament Scriptures already received are the following:—Exod. i.—vi., Exód. xxxviii.—xl., Lev. xix. and xx., Numb. xiii.—xv., Deut. xi.—xvi., and Deut. xxxii.; various portions of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Hagiographa, which appear to be parts of an ancient Hebrew liturgy, are contained in two of the MSS. already received."

A friendly feeling was generally evinced towards our visitors, which is in no small measure attributable to the Hebrew letter of introduction from Shanghae, of which although the Jews understood not the purport, they readily perceived its identity with their own sacred writings. Without such an introduction, they would probably have been received with suspicion, and mistrusted as spies. Our visitors learnt that during the year 1849 the whole of the little Jewish community at K'ae-fung-foo were thrown into great alarm, and exposed to danger of persecution on account of suspected connection with foreigners, by a letter written in Chinese and despatched some time before by the late Temple Layton, Esq., H. B. M. Consul at Amoy, for the purpose of procuring some Hebrew MSS.

ART. VI.—*Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity.* Delivered at the University of Virginia during the Session of 1850—1. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1852.

SUCH a book, proceeding from such a source, and under such auspices, is not only a profoundly interesting phenomenon in itself, but eminently suggestive of the ultimate issue of the great and protracted controversy, to which it is so formal and massive a contribution. It is well known that the University

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of Virginia owes its origin, as well as its original plan, chiefly to Mr. Jefferson.

The introductory Preface by the Rev. W. H. Ruffner, Chaplain of the University, under whose sagacious administration this course of Lectures was executed, and which recites the history and conditions of the introduction of Christianity into the institution, under the management of Mr. Jefferson himself, is not the least curious or instructive portion of the volume. It is an amiable attempt to shelter Mr. Jefferson, as far as possible, from any avowal of open hostility in the case, and to mask under the guise of prudence against the conflicts and jealousies which make up so large an element of the Christian spirit, under his conception of it, the apparent indisposition to install any definite form of Christianity. The correspondence and the documents drawn up by Mr. Jefferson are exceedingly curious; the problem which he undertook to solve being substantially this:—to find the least amount, and most diluted form, of Christianity, compatible with the religious prejudices and unsuspecting confidence and support of the public. The *animus* which pervades the whole *projet* of the University, as it came from the pen of its author, was manifestly the same which led him to move a resolution in the Continental Congress, recommending a day of national fasting, humiliation and prayer.

It is therefore with peculiar pleasure that we take the opportunity furnished by the volume before us, to apprize any of our readers, who may not have followed up the history of the University, that notwithstanding the baleful influences of its infancy, it now occupies a commanding place among the literary institutions of our country, not only for the comprehensiveness of its educational provisions, and the ability and learning of its Professors, but also for the liberal and untrammelled provisions furnished by its Faculty for the religious instruction and welfare of its members.

We cannot allow the opportunity to pass without saying that the conception of a course of Lectures on the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, by distinguished gentlemen selected for the purpose, reflects great credit upon its projector, as well as upon those who have contributed to its execution. Our experience, first as a student, and then as a teacher,

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has entirely convinced us, that there is vastly more suppressed infidelity (chiefly in the form of the scepticism of ignorance, or perhaps we ought to say of the scepticism of nascent science) among young men, than is apparent. An impression lurks in thousands of young bosoms, that there is a conflict between science and religion, a want of harmony between nature and the Bible: and that the former rests upon a vastly more tangible and secure basis than the latter: and we regard it as eminently desirable to lay before the minds of so large a class of young men rising into influence, a fresh and independent vindication of Christian evidences, with all the adjuvants of oral delivery, by men whose reputation for scholarship and eloquence would insure a respectful hearing. It may perhaps be questioned, whether the schedule of the Lectures is in all respects as effective as it might have been. If we should venture to criticise it at all, it would be because it is behind, rather than in advance of, the wants of the age. It contemplates the controversy too much, perhaps, as standing where it stood, when Hume and Priestley left the field of debate. In regard to the general merits of the volume before us, as a contribution to Christian Apologetics, it is wholly unnecessary for us to enlarge. The Christian public have already pronounced their judgment both upon its timeliness and ability, by a demand quite unusual for a work of its size. As public journalists we may therefore be permitted to express our thanks on behalf of the Church, to the projector, and each of the several authors of the volume, for the important service they have rendered to the cause of Christian truth. We commend it heartily to the confidence and kindness of the Church, and shall rejoice to hear of its wide and general circulation.

Among so many lecturers, there will, of course, naturally be a very great diversity of ability and qualification. Where there is so much to commend in all, we hope it will not be regarded as invidious, if we say, that the Lecture on the Internal Evidences of Christianity, by Dr. Breckinridge, would be regarded as a thorough and masterly argument, in any comparison. That of Mr. Robinson of Kentucky, on the Difficulties of Infidelity, displays great massiveness and power of intellect, as well as highly creditable skill and discrimination in its con-

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duct. Dr. Rice, as usual, is keen, quick, and ever on the alert. We never read a controversial article from his pen, without having suggested to our mind the idea of a well trained and most expert dialectic fencing-master: and woe be to the adversary who makes a false pass, or leaves a single spot unguarded.

The Lectures which grapple with the objections to Christianity grounded on the hypotheses of modern science, are not in all respects what we could desire. The authors display great readiness and considerable book-knowledge of their subjects, combined with a high order of rhetorical ability. They hardly strike us, however, as indicating that complete appreciation of the real facts and difficulties of the case, as they lie before the mind of even candid scientific scholars, which we regard as essential to any complete or sufficient refutation. We greatly fear, therefore, that the full force of the Christian argument will not be felt by men of science, inclined to scepticism.

The argument against Morell does not fully satisfy our expectations. The author does not seem to us to apprehend, either in its ground-work or its essential nature, the real force of the hypothesis which he refutes. The introductory portion of the Lecture gives promise of a thorough sifting of the subject; but suddenly the speaker breaks away from the analysis of its ingenious and most imposing psychology, and then proceeds, with his well known rhetorical ability, to refute again the old objections to the commonly received theory of inspiration. In this view of it, the author has done his work well; but we are sincerely sorry he did not proceed to grapple with the real hypothesis which Mr. Morell has succeeded in transplanting to the cold ungenial clime of English philosophical theology. We have evidence in abundance, as conclusive as it is sad, that this philosophy of religion, is at this very moment making havoc with the faith and the peace of not a few young men, more, we think, among our Episcopal, Congregational, and New-School brethren, than among ourselves, of that original and thoughtful class, whom it is most important to protect.

In venturing to speak thus freely as to the high order of qualification which we think desirable in the discussion of such subjects, we are far from intending to disparage the authors. They are among the most prominent and influential ministers

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of their age in our Church. But no man, whatever his abilities or polemic skill, is prepared to discuss such subjects as they should be discussed, without a training which our ministers do not often receive. If these dangerous systems of scientific infidelity are not refuted, it is our fault, as much as theirs who attempt it and fail. It is preposterous, of course, to think of furnishing a complete and final refutation of a system of infidelity, which has been three quarters of a century in rearing its ground-work and its defences, without a thorough training for the task; and scarcely less preposterous to think of preparing to discuss it adequately, by reading on the subject for a few weeks.

The most remarkable Lecture, on some accounts, in the volume, is that on "The nature of Christianity, as shown to be a perfect and final system of Faith and Practice, and not a form in transitu to a higher and more complete development of the religious idea." We do not doubt that the writer saw a really grand thought looming through the haze with which the deistical idealism of modern metaphysics has invested the philosophy of religion; but we have always doubted whether the "*dummheit*" charged by the admirers of this philosophy upon the English intellect, was not a real disqualification for following the game they have started, into the cloud-land of its native home. We mean no disrespect to the able lecturer, for we are free to concede, that none but a man of genius and learning could have written the Lecture; but we must confess, that its perusal constantly minded us of the famous *bon mot* of Napoleon to Las Casas, while making their way back from the rigours and barrenness of a Russian winter, "There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous." We do not affirm that the respected Lecturer ever actually takes that critical step; but to our optics, which are doubtless none of the best, the topography of the Lecture seems to lie somewhere near the debatable ground, about which the reader is sometimes compelled to doubt whether it belongs to the actual or the ideal; whether it is *terra firma*, or fog. As Dr. Chalmers once said of the brilliant conversations of Coleridge, on a similar class of topics, "we caught occasional glimpses of what he would be at: but mainly he was very far out of all sight and all sympathy."

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It might seem, at first sight, that the incessant and violent hostility which Christianity has encountered, in every period of its history, is presumptive evidence against its truth. But a moment's reflection will enable us to see, in the light of any tolerable conception of its true nature and office, that this antagonism is a simple and necessary result of its truth. Whether Christianity be regarded, in the convenient phraseology of the day, as the source and essence of a new subjective life, a dynamic spiritual power in the soul; or, in its objective character, as a normal rule of faith and practice, it is plain, that it must be absolute and exclusive in its nature, and all-pervading and controlling in its effects. If it makes men new creatures within, and subjects them to new authority and new principles of action without, there can, of course, be nothing in human life, and nothing in society, which it will not reach and remodel. Though primarily designed to affect the personal relations of the individual soul to God, yet the new nature which it introduces for this purpose, and the new principles which it enjoins, cannot fail to imbue and modify the whole character of the individual in his social, and indirectly, at least, in his political, as well as his personal relations. Our Lord himself did not hesitate to avow this result, and again and again startled his hearers with the declaration, that he had come, not to send peace on the earth, but a sword. The Christian Church is, therefore, by the very conditions of its existence, *militant* in its history: and the religion to which it owes its peculiar life, and consequently its external forms and relations, must count upon meeting perpetual hostility, until the whole forms of the intellectual culture, the social civilization, and the very political institutions of the world, are assimilated to its spirit, and organized anew in accordance with its inward and peculiar life.

It is clear, moreover, that the character and grounds of the controversies in which Christianity finds itself engaged, and the nature of the opposition it encounters, will be determined by the characteristics of the philosophy, the civilization and the political institutions with which it comes in collision, as it advances to achieve the ultimate and complete regeneration of the race. It is not a single conflict that can be settled once

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for all, but a series of conflicts, pitched upon new and ever shifting grounds, determined by the accidental position and defences of error or wrong, in which it found its adversaries entrenched. The great controversies of the world can no more be stationary than its intellect.

It is, therefore, a highly curious and instructive task, to trace the history of this great controversy, throughout its long line of changes—to mark the varying spirit of the combatants, to draw out an intellectual topography of its endless battles, as the culture of the world has perpetually shifted its ground, and to see how its adversaries, beaten from post after post, and entrenchment after entrenchment, with uncompromising and unwearied hostility, have hung upon the rear of its triumphant march, and dogged every step of its onward progress, towards the redemption and enfranchisement of the race.

In the cursory review which we propose to give, we shall aim to comprise in the very statement itself, the reasons of this incessant change of ground; and to affiliate, as far as possible, the several forms of error and hostility, encountered by the truth.

Though our Lord proclaimed from the beginning that his kingdom was not of this world, yet he did not deny the truth of the blind but unerring instinct, which led the public authorities of every sort, to treat him and his doctrines as formidable enemies to the abuses of the existing governments of the world; as well as the abuses of doctrine and practice sanctioned by the rulers of his own people. In the emphatic declaration to the Jews, "if the truth shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed," he announces the unavoidable antagonism between Christianity as a dynamic power, or living principle in the soul, and the endless forms of despotism, consolidated into the governments of the earth. Christianity was thus, at the very outset, precipitated upon a conflict with despotism, which cannot terminate, except in the ultimate and complete overthrow of the latter; for it is a contradiction in terms to suppose, that those who are made the conscious freemen of the Lord, should remain for ever the slaves of a human tyrant. However patient of wrong, and obedient to the powers that be, there is yet an upward tendency in regenerated human nature, which, like the lower strata of air, rarified by the warmth of the sun,

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no amount or concentration of pressure can prevent from ascending.

The first form of outward hostility which the gospel encountered was determined, therefore, by the antagonism of its spirit and its tendency, with reference to the evils and abuses of the existing governments of the world. The persecutions which it endured, in consequence, drew out the apologies of its professors, addressed for the most part to the Roman Emperor, in the early ages of its history. These were chiefly explanatory and defensive, and were designed to rescue from calumny and misrepresentation the true nature of its rites, and doctrines, and spirit. But while the apologies of the early Christians were denying and refuting these absurd and malignant slanders, the spirit of the gospel had already entered into conflict with the Judaism on the one hand, and the paganism on the other, which supported the despotic governments, under which it went forth to battle. It was the living might with which it shook these pillars of absolute authority, that awoke the bitter and fanatical hatred of their respective adherents. The question of its evidence was, therefore, raised on two sides at once. It was compelled to exhibit and vindicate its title to credibility against the prescriptive and acknowledged institutes of Judaism and the countless forms of pagan worship and belief. And as the dominant paganism of Rome was instinct with the life and power of the old philosophies and the arts of Greece, it is evident that the Christian controversy would necessarily involve a reaction upon the whole ground work of that philosophy. Christianity, as a rule of life, contains new and divine provisions for determining the leading questions of social and public life. The power of the gospel, therefore, cannot be introduced into the bosom of a man or a community, without furnishing new solutions of the practical ethics of society, and new modes of meeting and discharging the great duties which spring out of the common nature and relations of humanity. Now the solution of these problems is the precise province of ethical philosophy; and to furnish such a solution on rational grounds without the suggestion of a divine revelation, or to set the solution furnished by such a revelation in philosophic relation with the true elements of humanity, involves an analysis and study of

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the constituents of human nature, both in its psychological and social aspects, as well as a knowledge of the origin and evidence of necessary truths: and all this is the business of mental philosophy. It is plain, then, that in any complete achievement of the ulterior purposes of Christianity, it must come into contact with the received teachings of philosophy: and so far as it finds them defective or erroneous, it must seek to supply or correct them, by taking on, so far forth, the normal or logical forms into which the wants of man have shaped his philosophy. It is not in a condition to question their truth, and still less to convict them of error, until it has cast its implicit teachings into formularies that will admit of a definite comparison with those of philosophy. And if the terms of such scientific statement are not to be found in the multiform, but chiefly concrete, biographic or historic teachings of the Scriptures—or if the formulas of human science are found sufficiently accurate for practical purposes, Christianity may avail itself of those formulas, only breathing into them the power of a divine life, and clothing them with the authority of a divine sanction. In some form or other, Christianity must come into collision with the intellectual culture, and the social and political institutions, which make up the peculiar civilization of each nation and age. The result may be, that it may supplant them entirely, and set up new ones in their place, organized upon its own principles, and instinct with its own life: or it may be blended with the forms and institutions of an existing philosophy, or civilization, imparting to them a shape, and colouring, and life, distinctively Christian; or finally, it may imbibe from them philosophical principles, or be perverted to practical purposes, which shall mar and pervert its own. The history of Christianity exemplifies each of these contingencies; and the result, in either case, is a controversy, taking its form and violence from the peculiar reaction which gave it birth.

Thus, when Christianity grappled with the various errors and abuses of the world, or shook the hoary pillars of the pagan religion on which its governments reposed, it drew on the hostility, and finally the malignant persecutions of the dominant powers. When it came into collision with the various forms of pagan philosophy and ethics, it absorbed largely of their human

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elements, and adopted their formulas, to a degree that corrupted for a time its own inspired teaching: and when, finally, it consented, under the blandishments of wealth and power, to throw its sanctions over the abuses of despotic government, its spirit, and in the end, its whole organic life, became infected, and were perverted to the support of a despotism, more fearful than the world had ever seen.

And, on the other hand, the reaction of Christianity upon the endless systems of Greek and oriental philosophy, generated a series of controversies, which may be classed upon the various ground-forms of those philosophies, which moulded them into shape. These may be included under three heads, according to the solution they gave of the leading questions of ontology and morals; viz., first, the nature and grounds of the certainty of human knowledge: second, of the origin and the nature of evil: and thirdly, of the character and the influence of the spiritual powers of the universe. From the first source we have the controversies which sprang from the various systems of the oriental Gnosticism, and one of the forms of Pantheism, mingled with the war of centuries between the principles of Plato and Aristotle in the schools of the Church. From the second source we derive the various forms of the Manichean heresies, asserting the eternal existence of evil on the one hand, and the pantheistic fatalism which grew out of the oriental quietism on the other. And from the last there sprang the infinitely varied and endless conflicts between the Christian teachings, touching divine and superhuman agencies on the one side, and the various mythologies of the pagan world on the other. The apologies directed against Celsus and Porphyry exemplify the latter class. Among the patristic writers who have contributed most largely to this phase of Christian Apologetics, with reference to the popular, and still more the pilosophical aspects of the pagan mythologies, we need scarcely name Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Augustine. We do not, of course, include in our enumeration the controversies which grew out of the reaction of Christianity upon the countless philosophical systems of the pagan philosophy, touching the person and nature of Christ, as these belong to the internal, doctrinal, rather than the apologetical history of the Church.

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To eliminate the errors, and correct the abuses resulting from this antagonism between Christianity and philosophy, was the work of long ages of darkness and conflict, from the very age of the apostles, to the period when the Reformation took the finished product from the schools, breathed into it the renovated life of faith, prayer, and martyrdom, and entered upon the final dispensation of the Church, in the universal diffusion of Christianity, thus cast into the living moulds of human thought, and set into vital relation with the wants and exigencies of human society, among all the nations of the earth.

The modern forms of the great Christian controversy, like those which preceded it, were determined by the external circumstances from which they sprang. The intellect of the world, struck free from its shackles, and quickened and intensified by the Reformation, was thrown, with intense ardour, upon the observation and study of nature, with the additional aid of the New Organon of the Inductive Method. The separate departments of physical research and discovery, one after another, turned, as if by some strange and unnatural instinct, like the fabled offspring of the pelican, to assault and prey upon the breast that had warmed them into life. Astronomy first, by revealing in the light of the telescope the true theory of the universe, and subsequently by the curious antiquarian discoveries of the zodiacs of Egypt, and the astronomical tables of the Hindoos, assaulted successively the credibility, the authority, and the chronology of the inspired narrative. Then came geology, with its allied and tributary sciences of zoology and physiology:—and now, last of all, comes ethnology, planting itself on the results of its predecessors, and disputing, first the unity of the human species, and when that was on the point of settlement in accordance with the Scriptures, suddenly springing a new question touching the common origin of the one species of the race.

The history of Apologetics, since the Reformation, may be divided into three distinct periods or ages, each taking its peculiar character, from the type of philosophy which happened to prevail at the time. First we have the age of English Deism, clearly affiliating with the general prevalence of the philosophy of Locke; by pushing the sensational element to excess, thus

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infecting every department both of intellectual and moral philosophy, and culminating in the blank philosophical scepticism of Berkeley, and the universal and religious scepticism of Hume. The second was the age of atheism, which reached its zenith among the philosophers of France and the court of Frederick, having such men as Voltaire, Condorcet, and D'Alembert for its chief apostles, and the great French Encyclopedia for its chief permanent organ. This form of infidelity may be readily affiliated with the pure sensationalism which sprang from the general prevalence of the English empirical psychology, as it was understood by the continental *savans*, accepting and carrying out the positive side of that philosophy to absolute materialism.

The result of these two movements—terminating in absolute scepticism on the one side, and absolute materialism on the other—was to wake up the more profound and earnest-thoughted German philosophers, and thus give birth to the *third* and last form of metaphysical infidelity; and which sprang from the extreme and one-sided development of idealism in philosophy, with its two divergent tendencies, towards pantheism on the one side, and rationalism on the other.

Passing by the older forms of English infidelity and French atheism, as likely to be familiar to our readers, besides being defunct and powerless, we propose to expend our remaining space upon those more modern forms of error, which, notwithstanding their deadly wound, still retain sufficient vitality to perpetrate great injury among us.

We shall endeavour, therefore, in the first place to indicate, in the briefest possible way, the character of the several schools of German Idealism, and so to affiliate their teaching, as to show the genesis of the modern, and most popular and dangerous process ever devised, for undermining the inspiration of the Scriptures.

Kant was the first to give a distinctly German character to the philosophy of the Continent. The germs of idealism had indeed been already planted in that fertile soil by Leibnitz; but his speculations were so little of an indigenous character, that they were not even communicated through the medium of the German language. It was chiefly to the beautiful classifications of Wolf, and to his compact and consistent logic, that

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the philosophy of Leibnitz owed its temporary, but complete, ascendency in Germany. The extreme latitudinarianism of the system which he built up out of the materials of Leibnitz, as applied especially to the truths of natural theology, was so obnoxious to the orthodoxy which still prevailed at the Court of Frederick William I., that Wolf was banished from Prussia. Such, however, was the rapid spread of his views among the philosophers of Germany, that one of the first acts of Frederick II., was to recall him from his banishment to the chair of philosophy at Halle. His system was soon introduced into every Protestant university in the country; and held its ascendency almost undisputed for the space of half a century.

The middle of the eighteenth century was the most remarkable epoch in the history of modern philosophy. In the four years from 1748 to 1752 there were published Hume's Essays on the Human Understanding, the Natural History of Buffon, the first parts of the great French Encyclopedia, Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, the earlier writings of Rousseau, the principal works of Condillac, while Voltaire was at the acme of his glory at the court of Frederick, and Lessing and Kant, both educated in the philosophy of Wolf, were just preparing to embark upon the troubled sea of metaphysics in search of unknown lands.*

Impelled by the causes we have mentioned, Kant undertook a thorough revision of the fundamental principles of psychology, for the purpose of finding a ground of certainty on which he might rest those purely necessary truths, which Hume, following out Locke's doctrines, had struck out of the catalogue of our knowledge, because his keen and subtle analysis did not enable him to find them among the contents of experience. Kant, therefore, sought for them in the laws of our intellectual being. The business of sense, in his analysis of our psychology, is merely to give us the *matter* of our thoughts, in the "now" and the "here" of the objects of perception: all the

* Our readers may consult with great satisfaction, the "*Histoire de la Philosophie Allemande, depuis Kant jusqu'à Hegel*, par J. Willm, Inspecteur de l'Académie de Strasbourg." Paris, 1846. This is the work which took the prize offered by the French Academy.

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rest comes from the depths of our own rational nature. It is the office of the understanding to give form, distinctness, and relation, to the vague shapeless matter furnished in sensation. This it does by applying to them, as they are presented, the twelve categories of existence, comprehending all the possible forms and relations of things; these categories being furnished for the purpose, by the Reason. The result is, that the formless sensation then becomes a *notion* ("begriffe"). These notions are then taken up by the Pure Reason, which seeks to reduce them to the simplest form, carrying them towards an absolute and all-comprehending unity. This is the process of generalization, which is conducted in accordance with the forms and laws of logic. The "notion," thus subjected to the action of the reason, becomes an idea, (*idee*). The notions, or judgments of the understanding, depending as they do for their matter upon sensation, are all experimental, and constitute the true and only basis of science. *Ideas*, being purely the product of the reason, are necessarily supersensuous; and can neither be proved nor disproved scientifically. These supersensuous ideas, such as God, the soul, immortality, freedom, power, &c., being thus removed beyond the range of the longest artillery of scientific scepticism, are proved to be real in their turn by an entirely different process; viz., because in point of fact they do practically control the conduct of men, with a conceded magisterial authority. To do this they must be endowed with a real existence: and this is the function of the Practical Reason—which Kant, therefore, admits to an actual and equal, or even more certain because more authoritative place, in the human constitution. This authority of the moral nature, or Practical Reason, obviously implies such correlative truths as, 1, the freedom of the will, in order to accountability; 2, the existence of God as the author or source of its authority; for otherwise its authority would be an unreal shadow without any answering substance; 3, the immortality of the soul, because we can conceive of no other adequate or rational end of human actions, &c.

For obvious reasons Kant also tears up the utilitarian or selfish foundation of virtue, and grounds all moral distinctions on the authoritative voice of the great Lawgiver, re-echoed in

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the "imperative categorical" authority, with which his philosophy robed the Practical Reason.*

There is still another sphere of mental activity, in the psychological chart of Kant, lying between the intellectual and the practical, occupied by what he terms the Judging Faculty, ("*Urtheilskraft,*") answering in his critical analysis of its function, approximately to the Taste. It is the source of our ideas of beauty, fitness, design, &c., and brings into view, in its operation, the idea of a *final cause.* This function, which is the foundation of all art, also works into, and confirms by logical deduction from the clear perception of design, the categorical belief of the Practical Reason, in regard to God and immortality.

From even this brief and bald exposition of the metaphysical system of Kant, it is not difficult to trace the steps by which it was carried out into complete subjective idealism, in the hands of Fichte.

As all science was founded, according to Kant, on the formal element contributed by the subjective laws of the mind to the matter furnished in sensation, it was a very obvious step, to deny the possibility of any scientific transition to a real outward world at all. There were two possible alternatives left: the one was philosophic scepticism, in the denial of an external universe, as reduced to systematic form by Schulze; and the other, to admit the reality of the external world, but make it a creation of the subjective mind. For while Kant assumed the reality of our sensations, and of their material cause, and admitted, on the grounds we have stated, the absoluteness of our knowledge, yet that knowledge was cognizable by the understanding, only in forms derived purely from the reason;

* We have no doubt that the incidental service rendered by the German philosophy, in sweeping away the whole ground work of the miserable sensational or utilitarian morality of the Paley school of moral philosophers, in both its great branches, viz: the advocates respectively of the disinterested and the selfish schemes, (which are only the opposite poles of the same hypothesis, both alike making virtue to consist in the love of being, and the promotion of the greatest happiness,) and both of which have flowered and borne fruit copiously in the prolific nursery of New England theology, is one of the chief reasons for the extraordinary and ready acceptance it has met, among some of the ablest thinkers both in England and America.

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and was, therefore, absolute only to man, and necessarily so to man, only so long as he retains his present constitution. Fichte began by denying Kant's assumption of the reality of our sense-perceptions; or rather by refusing to admit it into the category of scientific, *i. e.* demonstrative truth. All that we certainly know, he contended, is that of which we are conscious, and this of course is purely subjective. In reply to the allegation, that we are compelled by the laws of our mental constitution to believe in the objective reality answering to our subjective notions, he answers, that the laws which so compel us, are subjective too. The starting point of science, therefore, that which we know to be certainly true, is our sensations and subjective mental processes. We find ourselves thus completely and hopelessly shut up within the circle of our consciousness, so far at least as demonstrative science and certainty are concerned. Fichte, however, does not deny absolutely the reality of objective nature: but only the possibility of knowing it scientifically. He admits that we do and must accept and act upon its reality; but contends that this is a function of faith as contradistinguished from knowledge. He even goes on to argue for the necessity of this fundamental belief in order to our personal development, and productive self-culture. The ultimate and profoundest law of our nature, is this tendency to self-evolution, and this tendency would be for ever unfruitful, if the mind did not create for itself an objective world, like that in which we dwell, and fill it with relations and ends. Without this we should for ever remain without duties, and without a destiny. Our life, therefore, and the universe which sustains and nourishes it, all flow from the simple ultimate law of a pure and necessary subjective activity. All is thought. In the universe of Fichte, matter is created by ourselves for our own purposes: and the only God that is needed, is our own idea of moral order, personified by ourselves. Both are simple necessities of our own subjective laws; both created by ourselves. Having thus annihilated scientifically every thing in the universe except the subjective self, the opponents of Fichte, the chief of whom was Jacobi, were not long in precipitating his whole system into the bottomless abysm of *nihilism*. For if the objective world has no real existence,

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why should the subjective fare any better? We *know* nothing by consciousness of our subjective being, but its phenomena; and these phenomena are not its essence. We are therefore, totally destitute of evidence that it has any real existence. Hence the universe, already reduced to sensation, thought and knowledge, not only has nothing for the object of these functions, but there is nothing to feel, think, or know. Pressed by the merciless logic of his adversaries into this "*reductio ad absurdum*," Fichte attempted to supplement his system, by adding a realistic side to his philosophy. The attempt was always regarded by his disciples as an inconsistency and a failure.

It remained, therefore, for Schelling, the next in the catalogue of the great German metaphysicians, to supply the objective element of the ideal philosophy. This he did by assuming as the true starting point of his constructive process, the reality of absolute existence, of which, (as we must use the barbarous technical lingo of these schools,) the "me" and the "not me" were but difficult and complementary phases. He thus bridged over the impassable gulf of his predecessors, between the subjective and the objective, by identifying the two. The result, of course, was Pantheism again; differing from Spinoza chiefly in this—that he made the absolute existence spirit, while Spinoza made it substance. But this is obviously more of a distinction than a difference. It comes to the same thing in the end, whether we begin by spiritualizing matter, or materializing spirit. The great feature of Schelling's philosophy was the identifying of subject and object. And the grand organ which he employed, and which was destined to play so important a part in subsequent philosophy, was the faculty of Intellectual Intuition ("intellectuelle anschauung"), by which we gaze directly on the absolute essence of truth in all its relations, without the need of mediating it through individual objects, or special relations. We had drawn out a brief sketch of Schelling's system; but the space at our command forbids its insertion. We regret this the more, because it was the form into which he cast the ideal philosophy, that has chiefly infected the literature, the philosophy, and the theology of England and America; first through the brilliant and fascinating conversa-

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tions, lectures, and writings of Coleridge; and subsequently through a new growth from the same seed nurtured into extraordinary luxuriance in the hot beds of Schleiermacher's Theology; from whence they have been transplanted, in prime vigour, by Mr. Morell and some three or four influential writers, chiefly theologians, in our own country.

We must be content to refer our readers for a fuller view of Schelling's system to his own works—particularly his *Natur Philosophie*, and his *System des transcendentalen Idealismus;* or, for a briefer view of its principles, to any one of some half dozen critical histories of German Philosophy. Morell and Cousin may suffice for the necessary purposes of the purely English student. The forming principles of Schelling's Philosophy are, as we have stated, first the identity of subject and object; and secondly, the doctrine of Intuition, as expounded in his system. The *anschauung* of Schelling, was essentially a poetic conception, in which he sees the infinite essence passing into the unconscious development of matter, through the successive forms of light, dynamic force, (electricity, magnetism, &c.) and organism or life; becoming self-conscious in *mind*, and ascending through knowledge and activity, or in other words its mental and moral life, into a state of culture, in which it finally reproduces ideal conceptions of perfect beauty and excellence as in the highest forms of art, and so arrives at perfection, in the sphere of the divine. The great problem of philosophy thus reaches its solution in a form of poetic pantheism. With Schelling, creation was a work of art; differing not at all in kind, but only in degree, from a picture or a statue. In fact, the philosophy of Schelling is a poem, rather than a science. It is a vast, gorgeous *anschauung* of a brilliant fancy; with scarce the least vestige of rigid science, except in form, terminology and compact structure.

Accordingly it has uniformly met its keenest reception and greatest popularity among poetic minds. We owe our older knowledge of it almost wholly to Coleridge, who was as much of a poet, as he was little of a philosopher. If any fact is settled in literature, it is that Coleridge originated nothing, added nothing; but by his quick, comprehensive poetic mind, and brilliant discourse, interpreted the mystic utterances of

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the great German oracle, into captivating English prose. He began where Schelling began, and stopped where Schelling failed nim. He broke off in the middle of a sentence, not, as he would have his readers think, because the world was not prepared for his metaphysical speculations; but, as it seems to us clearly, because he had not the constructive intellect necessary to carry him on without a guide. In the fragmentary metaphysics of the *Biographia Literaria*, and in the little volume entitled *Hints towards the Formation of a more comprehensive Theory of Life*, pages upon pages are little else than a free translation of his original; and we take it upon us to say, that there is not a single leading idea in either, that is original with himself.

Schelling, like Fichte and Kant, later in life, saw the incompleteness and dangerous tendencies of his speculations, towards denying human personality, freedom and moral responsibility, and set himself to construct a practical philosophy, that would restore what he had torn to pieces and scattered to the winds. His speculations in later years seem to have blended more and more into mysticism. He delivered a course of Lectures in Berlin in 1842, after a silence of thirty years, on the Philosophy of Revelation, in opposition to the anti-religious tendencies of the Hegelian Logic, in which, judging from the Analysis of Willm and other recent historians, (for we have not seen any part of them,) he seems to blend the mythic hypothesis with his theosophic mysticism, the whole tinged with a decided strike of theological rationalism.

Hegel, the only remaining great name in the pure philosophy of Germany, began by rejecting Schelling's Intuitional Faculty as unphilosophical, and leading to unavoidable abuse, as well as destructive of all real certainty in science. His system is purely rationalistic, and well characterized by all the critics, as absolute idealism. He admits nothing but thought: the laws of which constitute the only materials of philosophy. Thought, with Hegel, is an absolute and real entity: and the development of thought is the development of the universe.

One leading characteristic of the Hegelian Logic is its identifying of opposites. Every thing has its two poles, the blending of which is necessary to complete its existence: because the conception of any thing implies also that of its opposite:

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thus being and nothing give us existence, (*seyn und nichts= daseyn.*)

The other fundamental principle of Hegel is, that thought and being are one. Nature is thought becoming objective to itself, and so externalizing itself. Nature he divides into three departments: 1, mechanics; 2, physics; 3, organism. Organism then generates mind: which again has three spheres, (1) Subjective, including anthropology, psychology and will: (2) Objective, including jurisprudence, morals and politics: (3) Absolute mind, aesthetics, religion and philosophy. This last sphere, moreover, includes three eras: (*a*) art, or the poetico-mythologic era: (*b*) religion, in which God is conceived as a person to be worshipped and obeyed: (*c*) philosophy, or absolute truth in the highest form. This last achievement being due to Hegel himself, he of course stands on the apex of the great pyramid of human glory in the universe.

Theologically considered, the thinking process is God, and the Trinity is its three-fold form. Pure thought, self-existence, the Father; when self-conscious and objective to itself, the Son; and the union of the two in the Church, the Holy Spirit.

The destructive tendencies of their philosophy, when applied to the fundamental questions of theology, produced a reaction in the case of every one of the great philosophers of Germany, (unless we except Hegel,) which led Kant and Fichte to engraft a foreign and heterogeneous element upon their system; and under stress of which, Schelling took refuge in those fundamental principles of mysticism, which Schleiermacher, the great theologian of modern Germany, has carried out and applied to the solution of the leading questions of theology: while Hegel, ever a rationalist, both in head and heart, suggested that train of application which Strauss has carried out to the complete subversion of the whole Scriptures; or rather their conversion into a string of myths, which though totally destitute of a historical foundation, yet furnish a true symbolical account of the great truths of religion.

The intermediate links between the one sided idealism of the national philosophy, and the philosophy which Schleiermacher applied to revelation and theology, were supplied chiefly by

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Jacobi. The distinctive peculiarity of his system lay in assigning a philosophical place to *Faith*, as a fundamental organ in science. Its office was two-fold, viz., to take cognizance of and affirm the reality, first, of our sense-perceptions, and so the objective truth of the outward world; and 2, of the essential or absolute truths of the pure reason,—God, the soul, immortality, &c., with all their derived ideas of virtue, obligation, religion, &c. Faith is therefore a distinct spiritual faculty, by which we gaze upon essential truth. As the certainty of an outward world arises from faith immediately apprehending the truth of our sense-perceptions, so the certainty of absolute truth arises from faith in the intuitions of our reason. Faith, therefore, is the inlet of all knowledge: and without its revelations, all science is but empty and unmeaning forms. The truths which are derived from faith, pass into the understanding, are reduced to scientific form, and so applied to the relations of life. Jacobi, therefore, adds to the psychology of Kant a fundamental organ, or sense, which takes immediate cognizance of the essence and reality of truths, assumed by Kant as real without any clear ground; and which Fichte and Hegel had rejected from the sphere of science altogether, as pure unproved assumptions.

But while furnishing a ground of resistance against the extreme idealism of the national philosophy, it is obvious that Jacobi threw open an effectual door for that mysticism, which Schleiermacher was to carry out to the denial of all objective sources of truth whether by revelation or otherwise. To do this, it was only necessary to make the intuitional consciousness not only the channel, but the source of all moral truth; to endow this organ with the power of originating, as well as perceiving, with sensibilities, feelings or emotions, which are themselves the independent fountains of all moral truth. The fundamental assumption of this hypothesis is, that religion does not depend upon external truth or relations; but is a life in the soul itself—a well-spring of truth gushing forth from the depths of the emotional human consciousness. It is purely from within, and incapable of being sustained and nourished by objective truths, which have their origin in God, and are

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conveyed to the moral nature of the soul by the vehicle of language, or imagery, or symbols, or whatever means he may see fit to employ, through the medium of the understanding.

Mr. Morell does not hesitate to avow broadly his indebtedness to Schleiermacher, for every characteristic feature of his Philosophy of Religion. He apprehends fully and adopts implicitly, in the main, the psychology of Schleiermacher, expounding it with beautiful and taking clearness; and then builds upon it a philosophy of revelation and religious experience, not differing in any essential particular, from the mystico-rationalism of his theological guide.

The system of Quakerism as applied to the theory of Inspiration, if we may call it a system,—"rudis, indigestaque moles," certainly, when compared with the polished theological architecture of the accomplished German mystic—rests upon substantially the same foundations.

"The germinal principle of the system of Schleiermacher and Morell, as applied to revelation, is the fundamental and ultimate identity of the human and divine." The personality of Christ is a perfect ideal human nature, flowing down pure from the divine fountain; and so becoming a new and divine life-principle to the race, in contradistinction from, and subversion of, the earthly life derived from Adam. Religion is not the empirical conformity of the heart and life to the principles and precepts of the gospel; it is not pardon and new obedience due to the objective righteousness of Christ, but participation in the divine life of Christ, which flows down into humanity through the channels of the Church. The highest Christianity conceivable, is perfect likeness to Christ, in point of religious consciousness. Thus there is opened in the emotional consciousness of the individual soul, a living fountain, from whence the streams of absolute religious truth are continually flowing. Revelation is a purely subjective process, though it may be supernaturally conducted; and the truth revealed has its source, not in God but in the religious life of the individual, reacting upon the surrounding world.

The spirituality and loftiness of the revelation, therefore, depends upon the purity, the depth and the enlargement of

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mind of the individual; and that again upon that of the age. Hence Mr. Morell contends explicitly that "inspiration is only a higher potency of what every man possesses to some degree." Of course, therefore, every body is inspired: and this is the same thing, in effect, as to hold that nobody is inspired: for in the common and true sense of the word, these two things differ not in degree only, but in kind. The authority of inspiration in the case of the apostles, *e. g.* is nothing more to us, than the respect which men of ordinary power and purity of intuition, should, and commonly do, feel for those of extraordinary power and purity. There is no such thing as an objective, normal, divine authority in either case. Hence Mr. Morell disparages the revelation of the Old Testament, as compared with the New, because of its low and imperfect morality, which is easily accounted for, on the ground of the low and undeveloped religious consciousness of the world at that period. In the same way he accounts for the scientific errors, imperfections, and contradictions of the sacred record.

The only divine influence which is possible or could tend to give weight and authority to revelation, or constitute it in a low and remote sense the word of God at all, is that supernatural array of circumstances which tended, first, to elevate and purify, and so impart clearness and comprehensiveness to the intuitions and emotions of prophets and apostles; and then, secondly, to bring before them in greater purity and power, as *e. g.* in the life of Christ, or the history of men or nations like the Jews, the sources or embodiments of divine truth, in concrete or historic forms. Thus God reveals his truth in the life of Christ, but no otherwise, *in kind*, than he does in all history; and the province of the inspired teacher is, by his pure, clear, and lofty intuitions, to draw forth from all such sources, the divine truths which they contain, and set them into relation with the common religious experience of humanity, through a prior reaction with his own inspired, *i. e.* spiritual, emotional consciousness. Revelation is, therefore, a perfect philosophy of human experience with reference to God. It is purely human, as much as a philosophy of history is human, though it may draw lessons of divine truth from the facts of God's dealings with the race. The only difference in its favour is, that

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its authors are more spiritual, and therefore more clear sighted than other men.

We have so often, in this journal, had occasion to describe the nature and genesis of Schleiermacher's system, that we shall not attempt any farther analysis of its ground work, as our limits would forbid us to enter upon the argument, in the present connection.

It may be questioned whether the universal, and almost unquestioned prevalence of the inductive philosophy of Bacon, combined with the allied psychology of Locke, as carried out at least among Englishmen, by the rigour with which it confines itself to phenomena and laws, to the exclusion of the absolute and necessary ideas of power and final causes, has not tended to foster and exaggerate the extreme objectivity and empiricism, which has degenerated so often, in modern physics, into materialism in philosophy, and atheism in religion. The physical philosopher finds himself constantly skirting along the domain of metaphysics; and however anxious he may be to keep clear of that land of shadows and spectres, he will soon find that there are hosts of foes, for ever skulking from the clear sunlight of his induction and experience, which hang on his flanks, and impede his progress. Certain it is, that there is a steady, and we greatly fear in some influential quarters, at least a growing tendency among men of science, to ignore all absolute and necessary truths, to rule out of the cognizance of science the whole doctrine of power, and of final causes, to deify the totality of second causes, under the designation of laws of nature, and then elevate to the vacated throne of the universe, this new impersonal apotheosis of their own creation.

We cannot better express what we mean than by quoting the language of one of the most earnest, eloquent, truth-seeking, but alas not always (in our way of thinking,) truth-finding minds of our age:

"The studies of Physical Science within a few years, have been gigantic and incessant, and thus far their results are as a whole, unfavourable to implicit faith. The telescope with its majestic and ever-lengthening sweep, seems, if I may so express it, to *crowd back* farther and still farther from the orb we inhabit. God no longer walks in the garden, conversing face to face with men; he thunders no more from Sinai, nor holds his court on the summit of Olympus; and to the search-

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ing inquiries directed to all accessible, cognizable portions of the universe for the dwelling-place of its Creator and Lord, the chilling answer comes back, 'Not here! Not here!' Meantime the number and power of the intermediary agencies between inert matter and quickening spirit, seem perpetually to increase; electricity and magnetism steadily approach the rank of demi-gods; and when at length some dogmatic Compté, some specious observer and analyzer of the 'Vestiges of Creation,' proclaims to us, as if from the utmost pinnacle of scientific achievement, the conclusion that planets, suns, systems, plants, beings, men, are but inevitable results of a law which yet had no author; and that intelligence has been slowly, blunderingly evolved from ignorance, soul from body, thought from dust, as planets, with all their diverse properties and uses, from one homogeneous, universally diffused vapour, or 'fire-mist,' our hearts sink within us as we falter out the expostulation,

'O star-eyed science! hast thou wandered there,
To waft us back the message of despair?'

"These materialist dogmas do not overcome but they try our faith. They do not vanquish our convictions, but they try our reason. Death has so steadily gone forward from a period anterior to history, cutting down all who lived, and removing them beyond all human cognition, the course of nature has been so unvaried and inflexible, the fall and disappearance of generations of men so much like that of the annually renewed foliage of the forest, that even faith hangs trembling over the brink of the grave, and tearfully, dubiously asks, 'if a man die, shall he live again?' Most of us *believe* he will, and yet would give very much to *know* it."

In this view of the subject we may economize our narrow space, by treating the sceptical or anti-religious tendencies of modern physical science under this single aspect; as they have all, by a generalization which startles us by its very magnitude, combined for a final and decisive assault upon the power, providence, and personality of God. The reader may see this generalisation carried out to its fullest extent, in blank, universal, materialistic atheism, with amazing power of intellect and of logic, in the vast, comprehensive, all-embracing classifications of Compté's "Philosophie Positive." This is the ultimatum of sceptical philosophy.

This comprehensive generalization admits of easy reduction within the sphere of physical science, to three subordinate hypotheses, as successively applied to the solution of the problem of the universe, in the three great departments of Cosmogony, Zoögony, and Zöönomy. The first includes the Nebular Hypothesis, first cast into complete form by La Place: the second regards life purely as a result of physical organization, and then traces the latter, in its ultimate analysis, to purely physical causes; viz., to a stream of electricity acting upon a globule of albumen, and imparting to it, dynamically, the power of absorption, growth, and propagation; and so ori-

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ginating organic structure, endowed with organic life: while the third, commonly known as the development hypothesis, taking this ultimate organic structure for its starting point, makes its varied organic forms the result of a vegetative instinct, or unconscious want, prompting a *conatus* in certain directions, just as the tendrils of a plant in a window all grow towards the light; and this again resulting in new wants, as the development goes on, gives rise to new struggles of the dynamic or vital force, until the whole complex organism is perfectly developed.

We entreat our readers' patience while we describe these hypotheses of science; for however they may strike across their common sense, as solutions of the profound mysteries of living nature, we assure them, first, that they are held by men of great vigour and penetration of intellect, great compass of knowledge, and, so far as appears, of the utmost scientific fairness and candour: and secondly, that they are calm and careful records of what microscopic and chemical analysis seems to reveal, as the true history of the ultimate phenomena and laws of the physical and the organic world. And then, if they will further remember, that phenomena and laws are all that the inductive processes of physical science are held to apply to, it may mitigate their wonder, that so many, especially of our enthusiastic young scholars of science, should step short with a physical solution of physical facts; and discarding the whole doctrines of efficient and final causes from the domain of science, to that of religious (*i. e.* in their view of unsupported or superstitious) faith, should easily dispense with a personal, intelligent and beneficent First Cause.

In admitting the truth of the ultimate facts of physiology on which the Development Hypothesis rests its argument, we are far from conceding that the zoological deductions from them are valid, in whole or in part. The moment the hypothesis leaves the ultimate phenomenon of organic life, mysteriously originating in a nucleated albuminous cell, endowed by its vital forces with the power of assimilation and reproduction, to construct on that fact a solution of the vast and complex problem of the organic world, it becomes a tissue of assumptions and unproved generalizations; many of which, that are

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vital to its truth as a hypothesis, are contradicted by the observations and inductions of what is even now settled physiological science.

This hypothesis for explaining the origin of organic life, wholly refuses to bear the tests supplied by the rapid progress of discovery, or accommodate what are now perfectly established and familiar facts. The examples which were at first supposed to prove its truth, have one after another fallen away under the more penetrating research of recent experiment. The monads of vegetable infusions prove to be separate animalcules under the microscope of Ehrenberg; furnish no less than twenty-five or thirty distinct and classified species, some of which do not exceed the 12,000 part of an inch. The studied and prodigious provision for organic propagation convicts the hypothesis of uselessness and error. Geology lifts up a clear and decided testimony against it. The famous *acarus* experiments are explained and exploded. The improvement of instruments is every day withdrawing the supposed examples of the spontaneous generation; and the only ground on which the assumption now rests, is the obscure and doubtful case of certain *entozoa*, which promise to follow in the same train with the *acari* of Mr. Crosse. The hypothesis once so pretending and formidable, is now delivered over by all the really great naturalists of the age, into the hands of the neophytes in science, who are easily captivated by the novelty of the hypothesis, and whose smattering acquaintance with the facts of science is too superficial to enable them to see its fallacy.

The second alleged generalization of the development hypothesis, is that which undertakes to deduce the varied organism of the economy, in a given individual, from the simple law of organic growth, subject only to the modification of external agencies and of internal wants. This is analogous to the doctrine first announced by Göthe, and now very generally accepted in botany, under the name of the morphology of plants. For its application to the organic development of the animal economy, we are indebted to the ingenious and brilliant, but fanciful mind of Professor Oken, a transcendental pantheist, of the school of Schelling. According to this hypothesis, the various organs of the animal body, are merely the products of

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a common law of vital development, inherent in organized matter, subject merely to the modifying physical agencies of position and vital instinct. Thus, *e. g.* the curious and complex bones of the cranium are only peculiar developments of vertebræ determined by their position and uses, and modified by the cerebral expansion and development of the spinal marrow: precisely as the petals of a flower are resolved by the botanist into mere modifications, occurring in the development of a common leaf-bud of the plant. The advantage of this hypothesis, which is not very apparent at first sight, is that it dispenses with the old fashioned notion both of an intelligible final cause, and an intelligent first cause in the amazingly complex and perfect structure, as in the example just cited, of the cranium and brain, and accounts for their production with no other agency than the vital force, which developes a fungus or an eye according to circumstances. This, to say the least, is in admirable keeping with the highest generalization of the same author, in his Physico-philosophy, "God is a rotating globe; the world is God rotating."

This segment of the Development Hypothesis has a claim upon our respectful consideration, not because of its place in a work which its author believed himself inspired to produce, but because its approximations to other analogies in organic nature which science has accepted as true, were so striking, and the solution it offered of certain physiological phenomena, so beautiful, that it was at first received by naturalists of the highest eminence; and even yet numbers among its adherents, we believe, Professor Owen, of the London College of Surgeons, than whom there is no higher authority in questions of comparative anatomy and physiology.*

As there is no great interest at stake on the issue of this particular doctrine, we shall not argue the question, farther than to say, that Professor Agassiz, though at first strongly disposed to accept the hypothesis of Oken, has since decisively rejected

* The reader may see an ingenious and beautiful application of this hypothesis, in Professor Owen's work on the Nature of Limbs: also an elaborate and very able report to the British Association on "The Archetype and Homologies of the Vertebrate Skeleton," by the same distinguished comparative anatomist, for the year 1846.

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it on purely scientific grounds; and Mr. Miller deals it a most stunning blow, with his ponderous stone-hammer, in the "Foot-prints of the Creator." Indeed, we may say with great confidence that the weight of scientific authority, with the exception of Professor Owen, is almost unanimous against the doctrine: so that no formidable argument, at least in the present state of the evidence, can be raised upon it against the fundamental truths of Natural Religion.*

The third and only remaining phase of the Development Hypothesis, is that first suggested, we believe, by Geoffrey St. Hilaire, but chiefly elaborated into form by the learned French naturalist, Lamarck. It rests on the assumption, first, that all the functions of life, from the lowest to the highest alike, are purely the result of physical organization: and secondly, that there is inherent and fundamental to that organization a law of progressive development, by which the vital organism, in obedience to instinctive wants, is constantly struggling up into higher types, by the mere process of perpetual, progressive self-evolution. The higher species of animals no more need a Creator, than the foliage of a tree, or the perfect organic forms which incubation developes from an egg. All are alike, and in the same sense, the development of purely physical agencies, acting under purely physical laws, inherent in themselves. And in like manner, at the lower end of the animal scale, the vegetable organic life, by the development of self-consciousness, passed into the class of animal existence.

Without wasting time upon this hypothesis, once so imposing in the eyes of naturalists, and so formidable to weak hearted Christian believers, it is sufficient to say that its plausible facts and deductions are daily vanishing under the increasing light of modern scientific research. Analysis, armed with the power of the microscope, has proceeded to unfold the constituent organic elements of living forms, until it has detected, in the very germs of the organism, at the very fountain of organic life, differences just as decisive, both in kind and degree, as those

* We may refer our readers who desire to see an able and thorough examination of this whole theory, to the late work of President Hitchcock—"*The Religion of Geology and its connected Sciences.*"

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which distinguish the maturest and completest forms of the organic world. While it has traced back the growth of each genus and species of the animal kingdom, to its primordial germinal cell in the embryo from which it sprang, it finds a generic and specific character impressed upon that ultimate, primordial, living cell, containing, potentially, all that is to be, or that ever can be developed from it; and which forbids its transition into any higher form of animate existence, just as peremptorily as the mature and perfect organism itself is forbidden to take on the form of some higher type of being. When analytic research has carried us down to the germinal cell from which an oyster is to be developed, it finds its character so settled, both in organic constituents, and organic laws, that it can no more develope a man, by any conceivable process of nature, or in any conceivable period of time, or by any succession of generations, than an oyster in its mature form can open its shell, and rise up in the proportions and symmetry of a man. We make a definite and intelligible statement to every tyro in natural history, when we say, that the cell-life out of which the tissues first, and then the organs, and finally the specific forms, of the animal kingdom are built up, are just as specific and determinate, and just as incapable of transmutation or progressive organic development, as the fully formed species themselves. The globules of the blood, *e. g.*—the mysterious symbol of life—which different species of animals elaborate out of the same food, notwithstanding their apparent identity of character, are yet as really different, and as incapable of interchange or transition, as would be the full formed members or organs of the body. The blood-globules of a reptile, or a fish, or a bird, differ as really, and are just as incompatible with those which form and nourish the organism of a man, as would be the head of a fish, or an alligator, on the shoulders of Lamarck. When the Scriptures refer the family relationships of the animal kingdom to the blood, they are laid upon foundations that are deeper and firmer than a rhetorical analogy, or a figure of speech. They are like the everlasting granite which underlies the formations of geology; which human science may possibly dig down and reveal, but can never take up or shift.

In like manner there is an impassable gulf, which no natu-

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ral law of development can bridge over, between the vegetable and animal kingdoms. There is in the constitution of their respective germs, in every stage of their development, and in the whole results of their vital action, an absolute opposition, as great as that which exists between the poles of a magnet. The organism of the one can by no possibility be developed from or pass into that of the other; except by a total change of properties, laws, and functions, equivalent to a miracle, or an act of creation. Nor could the different classes and families, even of the vegetable world, be developed from any common type of vegetable life. The formation and form of their *utricles* and *cytoblasts*, or germinal organs—answering to the cells and blood discs of animal life—the law of their germination—the selection of their constituent elements, in each of the great divisions, of the monocotyledon, the dicotyledon, and the acotyledon, utterly forbid the hypothesis of development in any of its applications.

If, therefore, the laws of nature possess the uniformity claimed for them with one voice by philosophers, and without which there could be no such thing as science, it follows of necessity, that as Cuvier could, by his faith in their absolute uniformity, restore the full form of an extinct and unknown fossil animal, from a single tooth or splinter of its bone, so, on the very same principles, could Ehrenberg, by a glance of his microscope, directed to the germinating cell of a living organism, make out its complete form, and determine its future position, as regards at least the great classes of the organic world. The logic of both processes is the same, and grounds itself in both cases on our rational conviction of the absolute specific uniformity of the laws of nature, on which alone the advocates of the law-hypothesis of creation can proceed a single step in their argument. Thus it is that we are enabled by a maturer science, to demolish by their own artillery the fortresses which infidelity has founded upon premature and erroneous inductions, for the purpose of battering down the sacred defences which Christianity has reared for the human race, against the day of adversity.

But we cannot go into this argument more largely in this connection, nor happily is it any longer necessary. There is

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not a living naturalist known to us, of any authority in science, who would risk his reputation on its support. The very facts which gave such an air of plausibility to the Development Theory, though long regarded as settled conclusions of geological science, seem likely once more to be drawn into question, at least so far as they have any bearing on the theory before us. We have heard Professor Agassiz, ourselves, ascribe its advocacy to ignorance and misconception of the real laws of comparative physiology. Mr. Lyell, perhaps the highest purely geological authority now living, in the last edition of his "Principles of Geology," and still more pointedly in the last annual address to the Geological Society, which has long honoured his eminent scientific attainments by the gift of its Presidency, labours to prove that there is no sufficient geological evidence of any progressive development of organic forms, from the earliest epochs of organic life; and to explain the absence of fossil remains of the higher types, in the lower strata of the geological scale, by the agency of causes which are entirely compatible with their existence in full proportion among the very earliest products of the creative power. And while Professor Agassiz was thus turning to scorn the scientific logic of the Development Hypothesis, and Mr. Lyell was assailing the foundation facts on which it built its argument, Mr. Hugh Miller was propounding the *counter* hypothesis of *degradation*, as the true law of organic change, pervading the animal kingdom as a dark and terrible symbol of the moral history of that race which the previous stages of creation were designed to prefigure and to inaugurate.

In the view of this sketch of the Apologetics of physical science, the most nervous among us may well acquire sufficient steadiness of nerve to stand by, and if need be, hold the torch of science, or even lend a hand in prosecuting to their completion, researches which the varied experience of the past must satisfy the candid observer will only render a more signal testimony, and put more abundant honour on the inspiration of the word of God. The whole ground once bristling with hostile bayonets, is now deserted, and the enemies of the gospel have drawn up their forces for the next conflict, and quartered

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themselves upon a still more remote outpost of the disputed ground.

It is curious to observe, that while science, in the flush of its prime, sought to dispense entirely with divine agency, in the creation of organic as well as inorganic nature, it has now swung off to the opposite extreme, and objects to the sacred narrative on the ground that its record of creation is inadequate and defective. Instead of claiming to develope the human race by natural law, from the inferior types of the animal kingdom, it passes to the assumption that *one* primeval origin is insufficient to account for the diversified races of men; and that there must have been distinct and separate origins for each of the several varieties of the species. It is to us a matter of sincere and deep regret, that this hypothesis is due to a name so universally respected and commanding in the world of science as that of Professor Agassiz. We are entirely confident of these two things,—1. That it owes its temporary ascendency mainly to his great authority as a naturalist; and 2, that it is doomed to a speedy overthrow; because no authority can stand long against the pressure of accumulating evidence.

The difficulties which press upon this recent hypothesis of diversity of origin for the single human species, grounded on the anthropological diversities of the races, are multiplying every day. The facts which research is daily adding to our knowledge, are already refusing to conform to the hypothesis; while, on the other hand, the more the philological, anthropological, and ethnographical details of the argument are studied, the more they point towards a common origin for the whole human race. In favour of this declaration we may cite the testimony of such men as Humboldt, Bopp, Bunsen, Prichard, and Latham; all devoted to different departments of the subject. Walls of separation between the races, lately deemed impassable, are already levelled to the ground; and others still standing are only waiting similar researches, in all human probability, to follow in their train.

We do not hesitate to say that the difficulties of the hypothesis are already insuperable; while the current of research and discovery is setting steadily and strongly against it. A very brief

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summary of the chief points involved in the argument, in its present form, is all that our limits will permit.

We remark, first, that the hypothesis has never been cast into definite form, so as to admit of decisive criticism. As propounded by Professor Agassiz, it rests upon the analogy of the animal and vegetable kingdoms: and if this analogy is valid at all, we should infer that the zones in which separate human races have originated, not—(for such is his hypothesis)—in single pairs, but, like plants and animals, in numbers bearing nearly the same relative ratio as at present, should coincide with the zones or centres of separate botanical and animal creations. If so, we should have at least ten different races, besides the Adamic, totally distinct in their origin and history. Now we defy the most ingenious naturalist living to make out a schedule of ten distinct races, which we cannot identify, in some part of them at least, even in the present state of the evidence, by affinities either philological, anatomical, archæological, or historical, such as no ethnologist will hesitate to accept as conclusive. Indeed the leading advocates of the hypothesis may be easily set to repeating the famous Kilkenny game of destroying one another. The late Dr. Morton, perhaps next to Agassiz, the ablest supporter of this hypothesis in our country, makes his strongest stand on the separate origin of the American variety. Pickering, on the other hand, is clear that the American is partly Asiatic and partly Oceanic in its origin: and Colonel Hamilton Smith, who, we believe, first led Dr. Morton astray, in his work,* the last published in this country on this controversy, with a very pretending, but unphilosophical and feeble preface by Dr. Kneeland, also rejects Dr. Morton's strongest case—the American variety—and limits the species, if we understand him aright, to three, having, therefore, but three centres of origin, viz., the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the African. Of course it is the easiest thing in the world, in the present state of the evidence, to show, on universally recognized ethnological grounds, that these terms separate races as certainly one in their origin, as the English of our day are

* The Natural History of the Human Species, by Lieut. Col. Charles Hamilton Smith, K. H.

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lineally one with the Germani of Tacitus, or the Gauls of Cæsar one with the Keltoi of Herodotus. The great difficulty with these naturalists is, that they appear to have no knowledge, whatever, of the very elements of ethnological science. This is provokingly the case with Colonel Smith, and, we are sorry to add, it is palpably so with Professor Agassiz. They leave out of sight the corrective testimonies that are offered from other sources, as, *e. g.*, the affinities of language; and give a free rein to the fancy, in interpreting the anatomical and physiological diversities. In the vaunted work of Hamilton Smith, on the Natural History of the Animal Kingdom, of the new species described by the author *every one* proves to be merely a variety. As a pure naturalist he regards slight osteological peculiarities as evidence of diversity of species; and thereupon constitutes such a case as the tail-less fowl, a separate species, because it wants the caudal vertebræ.

Now it so happens that neither the Caucasian, Mongolian, nor African varieties are distinct natural groups. They are merely geographical, and not ethnological classifications. They represent anthropological agencies, and not affiliation, which is the proper question in ethnology.

It is very much as if a naturalist should found his zoological classifications on the colour of the feathers, or the texture of the hair, or external varieties of form, irrespective of physical agencies likely to produce them. Like Colonel Smith, he would be apt to find that what he regarded as different species, were, in fact, the same species, and even perhaps the same individuals, in the dress of a different season or a different climate. As an ethnological hypothesis, it is unphilosophical and insufficient. We do not, in fact, know a single authority of a high order in ethnology, where it properly belongs, who has given in his adherence to it; while the really great names in that science, such as Prichard, Bunsen, Rask, Humboldt, &c., decisively reject and repudiate it. It is impossible that it should ever prevail. Indeed the very analogy with the vegetable and lower animal kingdoms, which originally suggested it, now falls away from its support. The separate vegetable and animal provinces or zones are all distinctly marked, and strictly coincide in the two kingdoms.

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In the second place we have to say, that the hypothesis which ascribes the varieties of men to diversity of origin, fails to obviate the difficulties it was devised to relieve, or labours under others equally great. There is nothing really gained by it even in an anthropological point of view. We say this deliberately and advisedly, after a patient examination of the hypothesis in all the forms yet proposed, whether separately or combined. By taking the extreme abnormal departures from the standard type of the human race, a plausible argument is made out for a diversity of origins. But what we have now to affirm is, that whether three or eleven distinct centres of origin be assumed, we shall find among the races undeniably proceeding from a common source, diversities just as unaccountable, as on the hypothesis of a common origin for the whole.

Among the eastern branch of the Indo-European (Arian, Prichard,) nations, we have every hue of colour, from the "very fair, often with blue eyes, and with hair and beards curled, and of an auburn or red colour," as among the Kafirs of Kohistan and the Himalayas, down to the very dark and even jet black natives of the south of India, especially in the low agricultural castes, such as we have seen them ourselves. That they are all pure Indians has been proved beyond dispute by Ritter and Bopp.*

So the Arabs of Shegya, on the Nile above Dongola, of undisputably pure blood, are described by Mr. Waddington as "black—a clear, glossy, jet black." And Bruce describes the inhabitants of the high craggy mountains on the coast of Yemen, as having "red hair and blue eyes." And then as supplying the intermediate transition stage towards the negro type, and involving all the particulars of colour, hair, features, and skull, we have the Gallas of Abyssinia, described by Dr. Rüppel, with "dark complexion, round faces, obtuse and thick features, thick lips, hair thick, strongly frizzled and almost woolly, (*beinahe wolliges.*) In like manner we find among the Austra-

* See "Travels in the Himalaya," by James Bailey Fraser. Researches of Lord Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir Alexander Burnes. Prichard's Nat. Hist. of Man.

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lian family of nations, the extreme abnormal Negro type repeated, in distinct localities, which their isolation and language utterly forbid us to assign to the Negro zone.

The Negro is, in fact, itself an exaggerated and extreme representation of the African type, evidently due to the collective force of physical conditions perpetuated and exaggerated by the natural laws of reproduction; and varying extremely in different parts of the continent, and different portions of the same family. Any argument that will demand a separate origin for the African variety, will require a separate origin for the Negro and Hottentot sub-varieties.

In an exceedingly elaborate table on the ethnographical distribution of round and elongated crania, combined with the perpendicular or the prognathous profile, by Professor Retzius, in the proceedings of the British Association, for 1846, we find a complete network of these cranial and physiognomical variations, applied to each of the great divisions of the globe, which laughs to scorn any idea of classifying, permanently, the families of the human race, on any principles of the sort. Each of the forms, in all their possible combinations and transition stages, is found in every separate family of affiliated nations on the globe.

But it is impossible for us to present a tithe of the evidence before us, to the truth of the proposition, that whether we make few or many centres of origin, the difficulties of the subject are not met: and an ethnographic classification, founded on the hypothesis of a diversity of origins, would be an inconceivable absurdity. It groups together, as in the African, the Hyperborean, and still more in the Australian zoölogical province, the most diverse and incongruous elements of classification: and it separates others into distinct zones, which are clearly one in origin and history.

Our third, and we think decisive, point against the hypothesis is, that it ignores all settled ethnographical distributions, and runs a quixotic tilt against the profound researches, and rigorous scientific deductions of comparative philology. Professor Agassiz despatches the whole results of the untiring and amazing labours of nearly half the highest German intellect, for half a century, to say nothing of the countless scholars devoted to

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the same pursuits in other countries, by the *naive* remark, that men of different origins may talk alike, just as swallows hatched in different nests, twitter alike. It might be a curious problem, on this hypothesis, to explain how a Chinese swallow should twitter so very differently from an American. In truth the hypothesis was one of those rapid leaps of the generalizing faculties, in view of a single set of facts, in a man cultivated in that one direction, to a degree that makes his mental conformation all but abnormal. The moment new facts come to be applied, the theory breaks down.

We can only furnish a specimen or two of this description, in the present connection: and we shall give its advocates the advantage of selecting the extremest case of departure from the ideal human type: let us take the Hottentots of South Africa. They certainly belong to a distinct species, or a diverse origin, if there be such a thing, yet even this refractory case at last yields facts that are incompatible with the hypothesis.

It will hardly be contended that the Hottentots were a separate creation by themselves. This, we submit, would hardly fulfil the requirement of Horace—

> "Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
> Inciderit."

To what family, then, do they belong, and how far can we trace them towards a common origin with humanity? The first generalization will clearly include the next member of the African family—the Caffre—and yet he is as unlike the Hottentot on the one side, as he is unlike the chain of tribes reaching up both coasts to the equator. But still the identity rests on no vague analogy. We have positive proof. The languages are absolutely identical, in all the essential elements of one language. Even the inarticulate click of the tongue, so characteristic of the Bushman, is heard in some of the lower Caffre races. The transition from the one to the other is all but historical.

We are thus carried into the very midst of the great family of Congo dialects; and these again shade off, by almost insensible gradations, into idioms extending up the West coast to the Gambia and the Senegal—the proper home of the true typical Negro. There is no proposition more determinately settled than

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the essential ethnological unity of the greatly diversified families of Southern, Western, and Central Africa.

In this stage of the research, the philological labours of our able countryman, the Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, are deserving of, highly honourable mention, as resolving the problem in one portion of the generalization just stated.

The next step in setting this great African family of languages into connection with a common origin for the human race, brings us to the languages of Eastern Africa—Abyssinia, Nubia and the Valley of the Nile, especially the Gheez, the Galla, the Coptic and the Berber. It is now a settled point among ethnologists of every class, (unless we except the pure naturalists who class and affiliate families on purely anthropological grounds,) that these families of languages are all descended from an Asiatic stock. Bunsen, in a masterly and extended report presented to the British Association at Oxford, in anticipation of the remaining volumes of his great work on Egypt, argues this question out, and settles it, we think, beyond farther dispute. The only question that can be raised is, whether this class of African languages can be affiliated certainly with those of Western, Southern, and Central Africa. To this point Latham has directed special attention. "Unequivocal," says he, "as may be the Semitic elements of the Berber, Coptic and Galla, their affinities with the tongues of Western and Southern Africa are more so. I weigh my words when I say not *equally* but *more*. Changing the expression, for every foot of ground in advance which can be made towards the Semitic tongues in one direction, the African ethnologist can go a yard towards the Negro ones in the other."

The Gallas are, in fact, as nearly as possible, in every respect, midway between these two extremes; passing on the one side through the Abyssinian, the Nubian, the Berber and the Copt, into the recognized Caucasian, in the mummies and paintings of ancient Egypt, and on the other running into the Negro type, as pure as it can be found in Senegal itself, in the Negroes of Sennaar, on the very borders of Abyssinia. These physical characteristics may be cited in confirmation of the linguistic affiliation of Latham and Bunsen.

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The generalizations and classifications of Dr. Latham, touching this point, are in perfect agreement with the prior and independent researches of Dr. Prichard, which comprehend also the anthropological aspects of the subject; and have since been adopted and confirmed by an elaborate paper in the Philological Transactions by Dr. Beke of Abyssinia, and by Tutscheck, Gablentz, and Krapf, of the Galla country, than whom there are no higher living authorities, in regard to questions pertaining to that family of languages. One of these Galla dialects runs four or five degrees south of the equator, and actually loses itself by merging into the Somali of Barawa.

The clear indications furnished by the great family of African languages and dialects, numbering in all more than a hundred, and so long regarded as wholly isolated from those which fall within the range of sacred and profane history, are now, therefore, universally received by ethnologists, as establishing a relation between this remote province of human civilization,—in its general characteristics, perhaps the most remote of all the great divisions of the human race—and the common centre of origin to which the Scriptures refer the beginnings of all human history.

It would doubtless be premature to affirm that comparative philology is yet prepared to render a definitive and final verdict upon the ultimate question of ethnology—the unity and common origin of the human race: but we hold ourselves fully authorized to say, that there are no dividing lines which any extant hypothesis of diversity of origins has laid down, which it has not already obliterated; and no arguments for such diversity yet produced, which it is not prepared to overthrow and scatter to the winds.

The great family of African languages has thus been traced, by the united researches chiefly of the Tutschecks, Gablentz, Krapf, Wilson, Beke, Bunsen, Prichard and Latham, (the fruits of whose labours are piled up before us while we write,) to a vital connection with the Asiatic stem either through the Semitic relations with the old Abyssinian tongues, or, as Bunsen maintains is more probable, through a colony of Hamites by whom Egypt was originally colonized; and whose language preserved, and now yields up to philological research, indubit-

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able proofs of a common primitive relation existing between the Semitic and Japhetic, or Indo-European branches of the human family.

The great American family, regarded by the naturalists as furnishing the next clearest case of perfect isolation, in its origin and history, under the combined labours of Gallatin, Du Ponceau, Pickering, Alexander Humboldt, and Hale, has been brought into such relationship as to authorize general ethnologists like Prichard, Bunsen, and Latham, to lay it down as settled, 1. that all the countless and highly diversified languages of the western continent constitute but one great family, divided into a few subordinate groups, with some minor offshoots not yet placed:—a fact which is wholly inexplicable on any other hypothesis than that of ethnological affiliation; and 2. that this family displays so many and striking marks of analogy, in point of grammatical structure, and even amidst the general and wide discrepancies of its vocabulary, so many cases of obvious analogy in its roots, and its lexicographical forms, that Bunsen does not hesitate to pronounce it a scion of the great Turanian stock of Central Asia; and Latham, in his latest and maturest contribution to ethnology,* undertakes to trace the aboriginal American race, by the aid of philology, from Terra del Fuego to the North Eastern parts of Asia. We need scarcely add that the cranial conformation perfectly agrees with this philological result.

Still another and wholly independent line of investigation has led to a farther result in a different quarter, pointing to the same general conclusion. William Von Humboldt, in the elaborate and learned introduction to his great work on the Kawi tongues of the South East of Asia, has established, to the unanimous acceptance of the ethnologists of Europe, a clear connection between the widely diffused languages of Polynesia and the Kawi or Malay family, and thus brought them into relation with the Turanian or eastern branch of the great Asiatic stock. Thus again we have affiliated with the central province of Asia, a class of languages spoken by people who must constitute a separate division of the human race, if such

* Man and his Migrations; by R. G. Latham. New York, Charles B. Norton, 71 Chambers street.

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a thing exists at all, inhabiting isolated and widely separated islands of the Pacific, reaching from Madagascar, on the very coast of Africa, to within 40° of the west coast of South America, girdling the globe to the extent of three-fifths, if not three-fourths of its entire equatorial circumference. If this result is accepted, and we see not how any man who reads the argument can fail to see its conclusiveness, (nor do we know any competent or respectable ethnologist who denies it,) both the necessity and the fact of diverse origins for the scattered families of the human race, seem to be reduced to an assumption as gratuitous and unnecessary, as it is destitute of sufficient proof.* If three-fifths of the circumference of the globe, separated by trackless oceans, can be peopled from one centre, by tribes differing, as the inhabitants of Polynesia and New Holland do, in all the points of diversity which divide the most dissimilar families of the race, it is surely unphilosophical to assume, without proof, distinct original creations for the continental populations of the remaining two-fifths.

As the remotest and most isolated human races have been brought into relation with the primitive stock of mankind, by the evidence furnished by a thorough study of their languages, we need not dwell on the more probable, if not palpable, inference, that the inhabitants of Central Asia, to whom these wide and diversified human migrations have been traced back, were really one in their origin. The hypothesis of Professor Agassiz does not require us to make different centres for families so nearly allied. It has long been known that all the leading nations of Central and Western Asia, and the whole of Europe, belonged to one great family. Prichard, in his masterly analysis of the Keltic tongues, made the last important addition to this family, by substituting the wider Indo-European, for the

* To preclude any possible charge of a *suppressio veri*, in the statement of this part of the argument, perhaps we ought to say, that there are two languages prevailing in Polynesia, while the text refers only to the Malayo-Polynesian. The Papuan languages have not yet been studied sufficiently to fix their relations with entire certainty. The prevailing impression, at the present moment is, that they are an independent stem from the same stock with the Polynesian proper,—older probably, less developed, and more degenerate. But there is certainly no likelihood that they will ever suggest the idea of a separate origin for the few Negroes who use them.

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less comprehensive limits of the Indo-Germanic family. Professor Rask of Copenhagen, the great Scandinavian ethnologist and philologist, was, we believe, the first to suggest a hypothesis, (now familiarly known to ethnologists as the Finnic Hypothesis,) by which certain fragmentary and insignificant remnants of people scattered over Europe, and Asia also, (the most familiar of whom are the Basques of Biscay, and the Finns of the extreme north,) were brought into relation with the same teeming centre of population, in the heart of Asia. These are alleged to be the remains of a migration anterior even to the Keltic, and underlying, so to speak, and cropping out at the edges of the present European civilization, which is due to a succession of inundations from the same prolific source, the ethnological analogues of whom are still to be found in similar isolated spots in India itself—as exemplified by the mountain tribes of the Dekhan, who are destitute of caste, and differ in language, religion, government and social life, from the dominant races of Hindustan. Curiously enough, it is now alleged, that late excavations, penetrating beneath the oldest Gothic burying grounds, have brought to light skulls manifestly differing from those of the Keltic, or any of the later migrations, and yet bearing a clear and close resemblance to the scattered wandering tribes whom this hypothesis regards as the remnants of races which once covered this whole area, from Iceland to the mouth of the Ganges, and which, in their turn, as the organic affinities of the language clearly show, are only an older branch of the same great family—the Japhetic.*

The connection between the Indo-European or Iranian languages and nations, and the Turanian, or Eastern Asiatic, has been partially, but never quite fully investigated and determined.

* Among the works of high authority, on this department of the philological argument, we may mention Bopp, Burnouf, Lassen, Pott, Benfey, W. Humboldt, Lepsius and Höfer. The languages of Keltic origin have been investigated, independently, by Prichard, Bopp, Meyer, Rosen, the brother of Professor Rosen, of London University, and author of the Grammar of the important Ossetic languages of the Caucasus. And on the Meroïtic and Nubian, as collateral with the Egyptian, Lepsius is the great authority; while the Berber and connecting languages of the African family, in their Asiatic relationships, have been made accessible by Professor Newman of London. Many, very many of the evidences and authorities now lying before us, we are compelled to pass without a reference.

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The great belt which runs across Asia, including Tartary, Mongolia, and Mantchouria, has been sufficiently explored to establish the fundamental identity of its languages.* The recent researches on the Ossetic family, spoken in the region of the Caucasus, have disclosed, unexpectedly, some most striking affinities with the most eastern side of the Turanian stock, which has led Dr. Latham from the careful comparison of their vocabularies, and Mr. Norris, the accomplished President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (strangely and unaccountably, we confess, to us,) to concur in the classification on the ground of their grammatical affinities.

For our own part, we are entirely satisfied that the true connecting link of the monosyllabic and inorganic languages, of which the Chinese may be taken as the type, will be found in the polysyllabic tongues of Siam, Burmah† and Thibet; the Bhotyah of Thibet furnishing the closest analogue of all.

But these are minor considerations in the great philological conclusion, touching the unity of origin of the human race; and however they may be decided, or whether they are ever decided at all, it is clear enough already, that the whole weight of authority, and (what is still more decisive,) the whole drift of research and discovery are in favour of the plain teaching of the sacred record, and are so held at this hour by the greatest names in philologico-ethnological science, with a unanimity which should be held conclusive on the point. While the immense multitude of new facts disclosed every year, especially in philological ethnology, utterly refuse to conform to any classification of races, that is conceivable upon the new hypothesis of diversity of origins, they all fall in with, and tend to establish more and more clearly, the scriptural account of a single origin from a single pair. It may, we think, be fairly claimed, that this strong and steady tendency in one direction, this constant and ready absorption of new facts as fast as they are discovered, actually, in effect, fulfils that decisive sign of

* See, on this point, the great work of Abel Remusat, *Sur les Langues Tartares.*

† Since writing the text, we see that Humboldt, in his "Kawi Sprache," argues strongly for the radical agreement of the Burmese and the Chinese.

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all true inductions in science, viz., the power to predict future phenomena. The very last paper ever contributed to the science, by Dr. Prichard, distinguished by his achievements in comparative philology, as well as by his unrivaled scholarship in the anatomy, physiology and anthropology of the science, concludes with a remark made in the modesty so characteristic of a truly great mind—"I may venture to say, that with the increase of knowledge in every direction, we find continually less and less reason for believing that the diversified races of men are separated from each other by insurmountable barriers: and it is with much gratification that I find this to be the ultimate conviction of the great author of Kosmos." Testimony equally decisive might be added to any extent from the able and laboured argument of Bunsen, than whom there is no higher authority living upon all questions of general ethnology; and more especially upon such as hinge upon comprehensive and minute research, coupled with the most careful and scrupulous induction. After the fullest sifting of his materials, he enunciates as his conclusion, "the original unity of mankind, and a common origin of all languages of the globe."

ART. VII.—*Five Years in an English University*, by Charles Astor Bristed, late Foundation Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols. G. P. Putnam, New York, 1852.

WHEN we first heard that these volumes of Mr. Bristed were in the press, we confidently expected that they would supply a want which many in this country have felt, of a work giving a clear and intelligible account of English University life. We took up Mr. Bristed's book, certain that we should find in it ample details respecting the English collegiate system, and the methods of education pursued in one of the most distinguished seats of learning in Britain. From the few productions of Mr.

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Bristed that had fallen in our way, we had no doubt that his volumes would be on the whole quite readable—certainly amusing, if not very instructive. Nor have we been in this respect disappointed. He has an ample *copia fandi*, he is not wanting in satirical power, his style is fluent and lively, he tells a story very well, and now and then he has a telling stroke of humour. But we regret to say that we have not found in the work those other and higher qualities for which we had looked. The author indeed apologizes to Cambridge men into whose hands the book may come, for the minuteness of his details, and commends to their attention an apologue, in which an Arab traveller in England is represented as writing home to his friends, "the frivolity of these English is intense. Yesterday I saw a large concourse of people staring at an ordinary camel, which one of our boys would not have turned his head to look at." We cannot however help thinking that the apology is needless, and that the work, for American readers at least, would have gained greatly both in interest and value, if the author had kept the story of the Arab traveller more constantly in mind.

Mr. Bristed says that his original intention was merely to present a series of sketches of Cambridge life. "Two different Magazines," he adds, "at different times began to publish them, *but were very soon afraid to go on*, because I did not pretend to conceal our inferiority to the English in certain branches of liberal education." He then resolved to abstain from writing as well as publishing, until as many years had been spent at home as he spent in England. Whether this resolution arose from a sudden remembrance of the well known Horatian advice, "*nonumque prematur in annum*," or from a sudden conviction that it would be proper to wait and make himself better acquainted with the state of education in this country, than he could be supposed to be after so long an absence, he does not tell us. All we know is the fact that he determined to wait—and that his opinions on the subjects of which he treats have undergone no change; at the same time we strongly suspect that his knowledge of these topics has received no material addition; so that for all his readers have

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gained by the delay, his work might as well have been written at the beginning as at the end of the quinquennium. During these five years he certainly should have learned the particular points in English University life, which are most interesting to Americans who have not enjoyed the same advantages with himself, and in regard to which they would look to him for information. Yet, as we have already hinted, the work is for the most part written as if intended for circulation in Cambridge rather than New York. Occasional explanations indeed occur, but they are not always as lucid as they might be, and are never well arranged. Indeed Mr. Bristed himself confesses that there is an entire absence of the "*lucidus ordo*," which one of his favourite authors says will never be wanting in the writings of those who have wisely chosen and thoroughly studied their subject: and he endeavours to disarm criticism by the statement that he never had any taste for mathematics. But admitting the plea to be a good one, Mr. Bristed should have considered that the whole tone of his book is such as to invite his American readers to look upon himself as a sort of exponent of the system of education which he so loudly praises, and to measure its value by what it has done for him. In the strictly narrative parts these volumes are very readable, but when Mr. Bristed undertakes to discuss the topics involved in the comparison of the English and American methods of education, while he still amuses us, he makes it very obvious that he has never studied mathematics, and that he has but partially gained the great end of classical training. He cannot reason. Before we are aware, he is away from the subject in hand, arguing (in his own way) with Mr. Horace Greely the question whether a man can be considered educated who knows not how to plant potatoes, or else showing up the follies of the Cambridge Camden Society, or those of Puseyism in general.

Many of our readers will perhaps be disposed to ask, Who is Mr. Bristed? In reply to the inquiry we may state that he is a grandson of the late well known millionaire Mr. John Jacob Astor. He was educated, as he himself informs us, with a view to entering Columbia College, New York, but for some reason was sent to Yale, where he resided four years. After graduat-

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ing at New Haven he went to England, and entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at first with the intention of remaining there only a twelve month, and then of proceeding to some German university, but ultimately the latter part of his plan was abandoned, and his residence at Cambridge extended over five years. While a member of the University he seems to have been on the whole a close student, especially of classical learning; he gained in the course of his second year a Foundation scholarship in the college of which he was a member, and took two or three minor prizes for essays and declamations during the period of his residence. Mr. Bristed's University career came to a close about the time of the memorable contest between Mr. Clay and Mr. Polk for the Presidential chair. He was not only a warm admirer of Mr. Clay, but had somehow persuaded himself that the perpetuity of our institutions depended upon his election. So great was his dismay, therefore, when the news reached him of Mr. Clay's defeat, and so strong his fears that every thing would go wrong, in consequence of the democratic triumph in the election of Mr. Polk, that he seriously entertained the question of becoming a loyal subject of her Majesty, and was only diverted from it by the good sense of his English friends, who, strange to say, took a much more rational view of the perils and prospects of our country.

This latter circumstance may possibly serve to account for the temper of mind with which Mr. Bristed came back to his home, and which gives tone to many parts of his volumes. He intimates with sufficient distinctness that in his judgment society is pervaded by a spirit of rampant democracy, and that Americans generally are so inflated with the notion of their own superiority to all others, as to feel that no other nation can teach them any thing that is worth learning, and at the same time so intensely jealous of all who rise above the common level, especially in respect of riches or learning, as to render it virtually impossible for men of large wealth or of exquisite mental culture to enter into public life. This is one of the grounds on which the author expressly puts the publication of his work. "As I am to say a great deal that is unusual, unpopular, and pretty sure to give offence, it may be as well to

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anticipate a summary way of disposing of all my remarks. It is a stock argument against any man possessing an independent property, and having ever travelled or resided abroad, when he makes any assertion not flattering to the popular vanity—*This man cannot give any valuable information to American citizens because from his position and associations, he does not know what the duties of an American citizen are.* In short, a man who has nothing to expect or fear from the public, who never intends to depend on their suffrages for any thing—such a man is almost the only one who can afford to speak the truth boldly."* Such a man, happily, is Mr. Bristed, rich enough to be perfectly independent of the public, and thus in a position to say what he thinks, careless of all personal results.

We should require much more space than we have at command if we noticed all the observations on the state of society in general, and of our colleges in particular, with which Mr. Bristed, with such heroic disinterestedness shall we say, favours the public. Some of his remarks are undoubtedly just, in regard to certain foibles, which, if not peculiar to Americans, are at least much more prominent features of their character than we could wish; nor are we disposed to call in question all the hard sayings of our author respecting our collegiate system. But we cannot resist the conclusion that most of those into whose hands these volumes of Mr. Bristed are likely to come, will be much more inclined to smile at the reasons which he assigns for assuming the unpleasant office of censor, than to take offence at the severity of his criticisms. It may be owing to our limited sphere of observation, or the narrow range of our reading, that we have never met with what Mr. Bristed calls "the stock argument" against the animadversions of gentlemen of fortune who have travelled or resided abroad, until we found it in the work before us. As Mr. Bristed is a man of fortune, and has been a resident abroad, and has had, no doubt, frequent occasion, in various circles to express the same views of men and things which are embodied in these volumes, his authority as to the kind of replies they are accustomed to call forth, should perhaps have a good deal of weight. The chief

* Vol. II. p. 79. The italics are Mr. Bristed's.

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thing that induces hesitation, is the closely connected statement, that men of large wealth, refined culture, and independent character are regarded by the masses with such intense jealousy, as to render it next to impossible for them to enter public life; and that thus as they are in a measure excluded from all share in the offices and dignities of the State, the only thing that remains for them to do, is to administer to the public, as Mr. Bristed has done, those wholesome but offensive lessons, which statesmen cannot teach with safety to themselves. We must own that this is somewhat stumbling to us; for with all the democratic tendencies of American society, we can still point to some men in high stations who are neither poor nor unlettered, some who are not rich, yet not afraid to utter unpalatable truths; and therefore if Mr. Bristed should never become one of the ornaments of the senate, or the occupant of the chair of state, we must ascribe it to some other cause than his wealth or his learning. We should be the last to decry those classical studies in which Mr. Bristed affects to have made uncommon attainments, and to find extreme delight; we put a very high estimate upon them as an instrument of intellectual training, to say nothing of their tendency to refine the taste; but Mr. Bristed has gained little from his residence abroad if he has not discovered that a man may be intimately acquainted with the nicest points of criticism, may be able to compose faultless Greek Iambics, and yet be sadly ignorant in other branches of knowledge, and incompetent for the practical business of life.

The opinions of Mr. Bristed as to the comparative merits of the English and American collegiate systems are not indistinctly brought out in the historical portion of his work, but in the second volume he discusses *ex professo* their relative merits. For Cambridge his admiration is intense, the constitutions of the University, its relations to the Established Church and to Dissenters, its methods of instruction—every thing in short, is warmly lauded, except the *morals* of the place, which are admitted to be most deplorably bad. With this exception, things as they are, are just as they ought to be. Of the collegiate system of our own country, Mr. Bristed's estimate is of course correspondingly low. His own favourite branch of

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literature is the classical, and he does not disguise the fact, that in his judgment, classical scholarship of the highest order, such as Cambridge produces, is hardly to be looked for in any other quarter, and certainly cannot be found in our country unless among the fortunate few who, like Mr. Bristed have had the privilege of residing on the banks of the Cam. He seizes every occasion that offers in the course of his book, and sometimes goes a good deal out of his way to have a stroke at the ridiculous pretensions to scholarship of "Yankee Professors," to use a phrase which he several times employs, who, he says "would stare" with astonishment if they could witness the performances of Cambridge under-graduates. It would be strange indeed if Cambridge, with her overflowing abundance of all the appliances of learning, did not produce scholars of the first order. No one will deny that there are many such within her venerable halls; but we feel very confident that those whom she herself regards as among her brightest ornaments would be among the first to own, that even in New England scholars can be found not unworthy of their fellowship, and that neither the achievements of Mr. Bristed during his five years sojourn abroad, nor any evidences of superior scholarship which he has given the public during his five years' residence at home, entitle him to sneer at the attainments of "Yankee Professors."

In comparing the two systems, our author takes Yale (where he was educated,) as it was some fifteen years ago, as the standard and representative of American colleges. During the period just named, all our older and many of our more recent colleges have certainly made some improvement, but to what extent there has been a change for the better, it does not appear from the work before us that Mr. Bristed knows, or even has been at any special pains to inquire. Indeed the only institutions with which he claims to have any personal acquaintance, are Columbia for which he prepared, and Yale at which he studied, yet he speaks about the amount of classical and mathematical attainment demanded for entrance and for degrees in all the Colleges of the United States, with as much positiveness, as if he had visited each of them. Then again he entirely overlooks the immense difference between the structure of our American colleges, and that of an English University.

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If all the colleges of New England, instead of being scattered over a vast extent of territory, each perfectly independent of the other, each exercising the highest academic powers, were gathered into a single town, and while still forming distinct societies, each with its own endowments for the support of tutors and students, and governed by its own laws, but collectively constituting the University, there would then be some fairness in the kind of comparison which Mr. Bristed institutes. That our American colleges labour under great defects, no intelligent person will deny; at the same time, nothing can be more unfair and unjust than to decry them as worthless because they do not yield the same fruit as an English university. Viewing them from Mr. Bristed's stand-point, the inquiry as to the relative value of the American and English colleges, if properly conducted, would involve the question, are the latter as much superior to the former in their actual educational facilities as they are in wealth and other external advantages? Is Trinity College, with its princely income, its numerous fellowships and scholarships, doing proportionately as much in the work of training youth to cultivate literature, to enlarge the domain of science, to enter public or professional life, as Yale or Princeton in their comparative poverty, with their limited resources? We fancy that all who are competent to form a judgment upon the subject, and are sufficiently free from prejudice, will give to these questions one and the same answer.

The great defect, according to Mr. Bristed, of the method of education prevalent in our American Colleges, is the want of thoroughness, while the presence of this quality in the English system gives it its peculiar character and value. We are free to confess that there is too much ground for this charge against our educational institutions generally. Our students are too often hurried through the elementary studies preparatory to a collegiate course, and the momentum thus acquired in the grammar-school or the academy is rarely lost after they have entered college. Considering the imperfect preparation of many students at their entrance into college, the immaturity of others whose previous training may have been thorough enough, and especially the brief period during which they reside in college, the question deserves at least to be pondered, whether the

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curriculum of study is not too extended, in the sense of embracing too many distinct branches of science. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that too many of our youth leave college with a mere smattering of knowledge in several of the departments of science strictly so called, which they profess to have studied. This tendency to hasten the process of education arises in part from the peculiar circumstances of our country, in which the avenues to public and professional life are so numerous and accessible; then again, the many utilitarian theorists in the midst of us, who claim to have discovered, if not a "royal road to mathematics," at least a smoother path to knowledge than the one hitherto travelled, are all helping to confirm this fondness for expedition in the work of education. With this class of speculates to mental training, the development of the intellectual powers, the teaching a youth how to investigate truth, should not be made the primary aim of the school and the college; on the contrary the great problem of education is, how can the greatest quantity of facts be gathered in the shortest time? The youth who quits college, a kind of moving encyclopedia of practical science and art, can alone be regarded as, in the proper sense, liberally educated.

According to Mr. Bristed the distinctive and crowning excellence of the Cambridge method of education is its thoroughness. The range embraced in the course there, is limited indeed, but what the Cantab learns, he learns well. In proof of this he relates a case that occurred just before he entered the University. "A high Wrangler, then a Trinity Bachelor, went to see a relative who was largely engaged in the manufacture of plate glass; he learned that the chief difficulty and expense lay in the polishing. Forthwith our Trinity man sets himself to work to calculate the formula of a law according to which two plates of glass rubbing together will polish each other. The result was an improvement which realized a handsome fortune for the manufacturer." No one doubts that Cambridge possesses very accomplished mathematicians, but we suppose that Mr. Bristed himself will not claim that all or even many of the bachelors of Trinity of any one year are so thoroughly conversant with the higher mathematics, as to be able to solve problems like the one above mentioned. Still we know enough

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of Cambridge, independently of the information given in these volumes, to be aware that her "reading men" are very hard and very laborious students, and we heartily wish that the mass of our American collegians were imbued with their zeal.

But the question arises, to what cause is this thoroughness to be ascribed? Mr. Bristed represents it to be the natural result of the Cambridge system, which is based upon the theory that the primary object of a liberal education is not so much to impart information as to train and discipline the mind. For ourselves, while we cordially agree with Mr. Bristed in the opinion that the theory of education just mentioned is the true one, we are not prepared to admit that it is not recognized by our own colleges, nor do we believe that its influence in Cambridge is so potential as he imagines. There is another cause, amply sufficient, irrespective of any theory, to account for the intense zeal with which her "reading men" devote themselves to study, and for the high attainments of her wranglers and optimes, namely, the magnificent prizes which she holds forth to excite the emulation of her sons. "What is your *system* of instruction?" said an American gentleman a few years ago to Mr. Carus, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. "We have no *system* in the proper sense of the word," he replied; "the University exercises no supervision over the instruction of the students, and even the particular colleges of which they are more immediately members, leave them very much to themselves; there is indeed a certain amount of attainment necessary to get a degree, but the rich prizes proposed in the shape of scholarships, fellowships, &c., awaken the most earnest competition, and do more for us than could be effected by any mere system." Even a partial enumeration of these prizes will, we think, convince our readers that if it cannot be said of the little world of Cambridge as of the wider one of ordinary life, "money answereth all things," it at least exercises a very powerful influence in the production of its scholarship. But before we enter into details on this point, we deem it in place to give a brief account of the University and of its methods of instruction.

The University of Cambridge contains seventeen colleges and halls; Oxford has twenty-four, but the number of students

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"on the books" at the former, has for some years past exceeded that at the latter. In 1844 Cambridge had 5974, Oxford, 5657. The relation in which the University and the Colleges stand to each other, is somewhat analogous to that between our general and state governments. Each college is an incorporated society consisting of its President, or master, Fellows, and Scholars; having its own buildings, chapel, library, and other property, entirely under its own control. The University, again, constitutes a distinct corporation, which besides various official personages and professors, includes all graduates of a certain standing, whether resident in Cambridge or not. The last named are in virtue of their degrees, life-members of the Senate, or as the name indicates, the great collective legislature of the University, which assembles annually, and without whose consent no statute can be enacted, and no honorary degree can be conferred. Cambridge has twenty-five professors; but they have nothing to do with the work of teaching beyond the delivery of lectures which the student is under no obligation to attend. Some of these professorships have large endowments connected with them, *e. g.* Lady Margaret's Divinity has about £2000, Lucasian Mathematics, about £1500, Modern History £400, Lowndean Astronomy £300, Plumian Astronomy £250, yet notwithstanding these ample salaries the incumbents demand two or three guineas per term from all who wish to avail themselves of their instructions.

A young man going up to Cambridge to complete his education, enters some one of these seventeen colleges, and during his under-graduateship, while bound to observe all the academic laws and usages, he is properly speaking a member of the college in which he resides, rather than of the University. At Oxford the applicant for admission is examined, and about the same amount of knowledge is demanded, as we require from those who enter the lower classes in our larger colleges. At Cambridge no examination is necessary before being admitted to residence by any of the colleges, with the exception of Trinity—at least such was the case a few years ago; and even the Trinity examination is by no means one which our students would reckon rigid. The studies of the freshmen, or the students of the first year, are under the immediate supervision

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of the mathematical and classical tutors of their respective colleges; two hours a day, one of which is devoted to classics, the other to mathematics, are spent by this class in the lecture-room, the order of exercises there, being essentially the same as in our college recitations, except that there is more lecturing on the part of the tutor than is common with us. Beyond these preliminary exercises and lectures of the first year, the student is left by the college authorities almost entirely at his own disposal. He is bound under penalty to attend morning and evening chapel, but he may spend the day as he pleases in utter idleness or in hard labour; whether he is a "reading man" or a "rowing man," is a point about which the officers of his college give themselves no concern. The goal is before the student, he knows perfectly well the means by which alone it can be reached, and these he uses at his own discretion. He must spend a certain number of terms in residence,* and there are certain subjects on which he must submit to a very rigid examination, before he can hope to gain the higher honours and prizes of the university and of his college. If wanting in literary ambition, or if his previous training has been very defective, and numbers are received at Cambridge who could not enter the Freshmen class at Yale, Columbia or Princeton, the student marks out a course of study for himself. On the other hand if he is bent upon winning academic distinction and the golden rewards of scholarship, instead of looking for help from the authorized instructors whether collegiate or university, he must put himself at a very heavy expense into the hands of a private tutor. Without his aid success would be perfectly hopeless, so that in point of fact the work of training is performed not by those to whom the student has a right to look for it, but by a class of teachers wholly unrecognized by the University. Some attempts have been made of late years to do away with the system of private tutors on the ground that it gives one class of men an undue advantage over others, but they have thus far proved fruitless, and unless the constitution of the University is radically changed, this class of instructors must retain the position they have so long held.

* The Cambridge curriculum extends over three years. The academic year contains about twenty-three weeks, and is divided into three terms.

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One of the evils growing out of the system of private tutors, according to the testimony of an alumnus of Cambridge, published in the Westminster Review for 1841, "is the habit of *cramming*."—"From long habit, he adds, the private tutors knows the books which are most likely to *tell*, or the questions which are most likely to be asked at the examinations, and they fill their pupil's head with these without much reference to his real improvement: in mathematics too, their tendency is to teach the pupil the shortest method of getting through the problems without much troubling themselves whether this way is the most elegant or the most fitted to make him a good mathematician. There is moreover a tact which they possess of making an inferior man to excel his superiors who have not enjoyed the benefit of this instruction. The power of 'cramming'—of filling the mind with knowledge hastily acquired for a particular occasion, and to be forgotten when that occasion is past, is a power not to be despised. Still, it is not necessary to 'cram' so outrageously, as at some of the college examinations, where hundreds of minute questions are asked about the management of Greek theatres, the history of Greek plays, and the lives of Greek authors. These are things unimportant to know, which every body can get up, as it is well known what will be asked, and of which no one a week after remembers a single word. We should be puzzled to find any questions more absurd and unreasonable than those in the cram papers in the college examinations. By the way, the most tiresome labour in the whole university course is at these same college examinations. For eight mortal hours, for six successive days, is the undergraduate obliged to *write against time*. At Trinity and at St. John's, we believe, it is still worse. It is true, only the candidates for high classes remain all the time at work; but these have not a minute to spare, for there is more to be done than the quickest can accomplish in the time. It is curious to observe the bustle at first in the hall, with four hundred men writing and joking at once, and which gradually decreases as one gives up after another, till a few scattered faces only are left, anxious, jaded, disappointed (for no one succeeds as he expected) and with their pens moving at the utmost speed of nervous excitement." We have quoted this passage to show

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that all who have had experience of the Cambridge system are by no means agreed in their estimate of its excellence.

Let us now take a cursory survey of the numerous and rich prizes which Cambridge holds forth to stimulate the diligence of her sons, and with which she rewards the toils of those who do honour to themselves and to her. Mr. Bristed states that the amount of money annually distributed in the shape of college and university prizes, exclusive of the more valuable emoluments, exceeds £1500. There are prizes to be competed for by the under graduates, and which may be gained at an early period of their college residence; then there are prizes open to Bachelors; and finally there are the Fellowships, which besides securing to their holders a handsome income, open the way to the higher offices of the University.

Trinity College has 66 Fellowships, so richly endowed as to yield upon an average upwards of £300 per annum to their possessors, besides the privileges of elegant apartments in the college, and the most luxurious living almost for nothing. These are perfectly unrestricted; and in each of the three succeeding Septembers after the Senate-house examination, the student may offer himself a candidate. *St. Johns* has 53 Fellowships, of which there are 32 open to all natives of England and Wales, the remainder being appropriated to natives of particular counties or towns. There are at this college 114 Scholarships, of which only 16 are appropriated to particular schools, besides 66 Exhibitions varying from £10 to £100 in value. *Queen's* has 20 Fellowships, most of them slightly restricted, and 26 Scholarships, varying in value from £9 to £25. *Emmanuel* has 18 Fellowships and about 50 Scholarships. *Christ's* has 15 Fellowships and 70 Scholarships, more or less restricted. *Jesus* has 17 Fellowships, very slightly restricted, and 49 Scholarships, two of which are of the value of £70 per annum, one of £60, and eleven others of £45 each. *Caius* (pronounced *Keys*) has 29 Fellowships and 77 Scholarships. *St. Peter's* has 14 Foundation, 8 Bye Fellowships and 48 Scholarships. *Clare Hall* has 21 Fellowships and 46 Scholarships. *Trinity Hall*, 12 Fellowships and 14 Scholarships. *Corpus*, 12 Fellowships and 68 Scholarships and Exhibitions. *King's* is very richly endowed for the support of

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a Provost and 70 Fellows and Scholars. It stands on a different position from that of the other colleges, being a mere appanage of Eton, as New College, Oxford, is of Winchester. The statistics of the few remaining colleges it will not be necessary to give. We have made them on the authority of an English work entitled "Seven Years at the University of Cambridge, by a Trinity Man." His estimate of the revenue of the University, independent of the fees paid by undergraduates for tuition, and by those who simply keep their names upon the college boards without residence, is as follows:

University Chest, - - - - -	£16,000
17 Masterships of Colleges, averaging at least £1200 per annum, - - - -	20,400
26 Professorships and Lectureships, -	7,200
416 Fellowships, averaging £200 per annum,	88,200
993 Scholarships, &c. - - - - -	22,800
101 Prizes, &c. - - - - - - -	2,827

To which he adds 294 Benefices in the church, each on an average worth £300 per annum, the patronage of which is distributed among the various colleges. This vast wealth consecrated to the cause of learning and science has been accumulating during several centuries, but what is very remarkable, nearly the whole of it consists of private benefactions, and a large part of it came from benefactors who lived in times which some are accustomed to regard as almost semi-barbarous. St. Peter's, the oldest college at Cambridge, was founded in 1257; between that date and 1351, or in less than a century, Clare Hall, Pembroke, Caius, Trinity Hall, and Corpus Christi, were erected; in the next century only one was added to the number, King's in 1441, but the ensuing century and a half, *i. e.* from 1448 to 1598, was very prolific in colleges, giving birth to Queen's, Catherine Hall, Jesus, Christ's, St. John's, Magdalen, Trinity, Emmanuel, and Sidney Sussex, while the last two centuries and a half have produced only one, viz. Downing, founded in 1800. Little as we sympathize with the mediæval tendencies which of late years have manifested themselves in certain quarters, we should greatly rejoice if our merchant princes, and other men of large wealth, would catch the spirit and imitate the example of those large hearted men of former

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ages who erected and endowed the magnificent establishments of Cambridge and Oxford.

The collegiate system that obtains in this country embodies elements, some of which were derived from the Universities of England; others seem rather to have been taken from her great collegiate schools, as Eton and Harrow; while others again are wholly of indigenous growth. Of these last perhaps the most prominent is the form of collegiate incorporation, the body in which the collegiate property is vested, and by which all academic degrees are conferred. The erection of a University similar in its constitution to that of Cambridge or Oxford, even if we had ample means, would be, to say the least, of doubtful propriety; some there are unquestionably, who would oppose it as unsuited alike to the circumstances of our country, and to the genius of our institutions. Be this as it may, our system has already become firmly rooted, it has a structure and character, so to speak, of its own; and we believe that any attempt to overthrow it with a view to the introduction of another system would endanger the cause of liberal education. That it admits of improvement, and in certain respects very greatly needs it, will be generally conceded; but this may be accomplished without involving a radical change in the system itself, or the necessity of bringing it into conformity with a foreign model, English or German. Widely as the university systems last named differ, they may each of them, if rightly studied, furnish many useful hints for the perfecting of our own. Some of the suggestions of our author well deserve to be considered by all who are interested in the elevation of our colleges.

Perhaps it would be going too far to say that Cambridge owes every thing to her wealth, but it must certainly be admitted that this is one chief source of her educational power. Whether or not she makes the wisest use of it, we need not now inquire; the main point to which we would direct the attention of our readers, is the fact that a large share of her ample resources is so employed as to attain the two-fold result of ministering stimulus to the diligent and aid to the needy. The student there meets along the whole course of his academic life prizes in the shape of books, medals, and money, and scholar-

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ships, many of which yield him a competency during the remainder of his undergraduateship. For all these, as well as for the fellowships at the close of his college career, there is a very sharp, but at the same time a generous competition. The best man wins. But alas! "the destruction of" our colleges "is their poverty." At least this is the case with the great majority of them; if we except Harvard, with one or two state institutions—and we are not sure that they are exceptions—even the best endowed are compelled to depend for their support mainly upon the fees of students. Hence every means must be taken to increase their number, and though these means are perfectly honourable and fair, yet just as the number of students grows, do the difficulties increase of giving them a thorough education. Our collegiate system is so constructed that it may serve the double purpose of *training* and *teaching*, of disciplining the intellect, and imparting information; but it must be perfectly manifest that the first of these ends cannot be effectually attained, unless the classes be small, or else subdivided into sections; and it is just as obvious that without previous and thorough training the student can derive little benefit from the ablest course of lectures on any branch of science. Then again, if a professor devotes himself to the work of training a class of fifty or sixty, and does it properly, he will have little time and strength left for any other part of academic service. In the English colleges, this laborious yet necessary work is chiefly done by the large body of private tutors. And what we especially need in our colleges, is the means of sustaining a body of teachers adequate in numbers as well as ability, for the work they are expected to perform.

Even in our wealthiest colleges the prizes offered with a view to stimulate the exertions and reward the diligence of the student, are few in number and trifling in value. In most of our institutions there is nothing of the kind. The utmost that the superior scholar can hope to win is an honorary speech. But why may we not avail ourselves of the power of money, with a view to raise the standard of scholarship in our seats of learning? Societies strictly religious do not scruple to employ this potent agency in order to enlist in their service our most intellectual men. Many admirable tracts are at this moment in

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circulation, which their authors would never so much as have thought of writing, if the principle to which we refer had not been brought to bear upon them. One of the ablest and best known volumes in our language on the subject of "Mammon," was produced by a prize of one hundred guineas, which its author won. Why not use the same instrumentality in our colleges? Though in doing so we would seem to make an appeal simply to the selfish principles of youth, yet the experience of both the English and Scottish universities abundantly shows that the actual effect of such prizes is to excite among the competitors for them a generous ambition. We cannot help thinking that the importance of this kind of stimulant to intellectual exertion has not been sufficiently appreciated by the friends of liberal education among us, nor even by those who are more immediately connected with academic life. Some of our colleges are in possession of funds contributed for the purpose of aiding indigent young men who have the ministry in view. It would be a gross violation of a sacred trust to divert these funds from the object for which they were given; but the question certainly deserves to be looked at, whether other considerations besides those of poverty and hopeful piety should not control their distribution. May not a scheme be devised for administering these funds, which shall have the effect of arousing the intellectual activity and of greatly improving the scholarship of the recipients, without in the least doing injury to their Christian principles, or cooling the fervour of their devotional feelings?

There are some other points, particularly the connection between valuable prizes and rigid examinations as seen in the English colleges, and the life-long relation which subsists between the latter and their graduates, on which we should like to enlarge, but the limits within which we must confine our article warn us to bring our observations to a close. We shall conclude with saying, that while the volumes which have given rise to our remarks have, in certain respects, greatly disappointed us, we should be doing them and their author injustice if we did not state that they present a very graphic picture of English University life. We would only add that the various papers forming the last half of the second volume well deserve to be pondered by our American students.

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ART. VIII.—*Parrhesia, or Christian and Ministerial Freedom of Speech.*

THE history of the Christian Church, as such, begins with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. Until that time the New Testament history is a history of our Saviour's personal ministry on earth. Till then the Apostles were in a state of pupilage, preparing for the great work upon which they were so soon to enter. It was no part of our Lord's purpose to establish an organized society during his personal presence. This he reserved for his Apostles, and for this they were fitted by the great effusion of the Holy Spirit at the time in question. Before this they were ignorant, confused, and liable to continual mistakes as to the nature of Christ's kingdom and the means of its establishment. These crude and false conceptions were now exchanged for clear and just views. Selfish ambition gave way to a noble and disinterested zeal for the honour of God and the salvation of men. Henceforth the Apostles became models of Christian and ministerial fidelity, from which, without a slavish imitation, we may learn important lessons, as to our own rights and obligations, both as preachers and hearers of the gospel.

To facilitate this use of their example, inspiration has recorded some of the most striking and instructive incidents in the early periods of the apostolic ministry. Among these one of the most interesting is that recorded in the fourth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Peter and John, going up to the temple at the hour of prayer, performed a miracle of healing, in the name of Christ, upon a man who had been crippled from his birth, and then took advantage of the general attention which the miracle excited, to preach Jesus as a Saviour, and as the Messiah of the prophecies. In consequence of this they were arraigned before the Sanhedrim, or national council of the Jews, and forbidden to speak further in the name of Christ, a prohibition which they publicly avowed themselves resolved to disregard. Being thereupon dismissed by the council, they returned to their own company, who, hearing what had taken

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place, lifted up their voice to God, with one accord, in a sublime prayer, which is still on record. The petition of this prayer is in these words: "Grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word, by stretching forth thine hand to heal, and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus." This prayer was heard; for we read that "when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with boldness."

The point to which we would direct attention is the stress laid, both by the assembled Christians and by the inspired historian, on the *boldness*, or, as the original word (παῤῥησία) properly means freedom of speech, with which the first disciples wished to speak, and did speak, in the name of Christ. The importance which they attached to this particular quality of faithful preaching could not be more clearly shown, by any thing short of a direct assertion, than it is by the fact, that in such solemn circumstances, this was the burden of their prayer, that they might speak the word of God "with boldness," and that in describing the result, the sacred writer singles out this fact, which in itself might seem a slight one, that they did, under a special divine influence, speak the word of God "with boldness."

That this view of the matter was not an accidental one, confined to that occasion, may be easily established by comparing the subsequent statements of the same kind in the course of the same history, which is the more important as the terms employed by our translators in rendering the same Greek noun and verb are not entirely uniform, and thus the frequency with which they recur is, in some measure, lost to the English reader.

When Paul, soon after his conversion, was made known to the apostles at Jerusalem by Barnabas, the latter told them as a proof that he had undergone a real change, not only that "he had seen the Lord by the way," but also that "he had preached *boldly* at Damascus in the name of Jesus." Acts ix. 27. And the history adds that "he was with them coming in and going out at Jerusalem, and speaking *boldly* in the name of the Lord Jesus." Acts v. 28. It was therefore no personal

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peculiarity of Paul, but a sign of his conformity, in spirit and practice, to the example of the twelve. Nor was this conformity restricted to the time of his personal presence in the holy city; for we read of the same thing incidentally afterwards, as when it is said that Paul and Barnabas, at Antioch in Pisidia, "waxed bold," (Acts xiii. 46,) the verb used is the same translated "speaking boldly" and "preached boldly" in the passage before quoted.

It is also certain that this quality of the apostolical preaching was a constant one; for we read of it, not only on particular occasions, but as a habitual practice. Thus it is said expressly of the same two missionaries, that "they abode a long time (in Iconium,) *speaking boldly* in the Lord;" (Acts xiv. 8;) and of Paul alone, that "he went into the synagogue (at Corinth), and *spake boldly* for the space of three months, disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God." Acts xix. 8. The same thing was practised before kings and governors; for Paul, when speaking before Festus and Agrippa said: "The king knoweth of these things, before whom also I *speak freely*," (Acts xxvi. 26,) using precisely the same word that is elsewhere rendered "speaking boldly." The same spirit and the same practice may be traced to the end of his recorded history, which closes with the statement, that "Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house (at Rome), preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, *with all confidence*, no man forbidding him." Acts xxviii. 30, 31. The word here rendered "confidence," is still the same repeatedly translated elsewhere "boldness."

The only other fact which we shall cite from the historical part of the New Testament, is that this characteristic of Paul's preaching was not confined even to Apostles, but appeared in the ministrations of their most eminent contemporaries and co-workers, as we learn from the statement that Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures, even when his own views were imperfect, being fervent in spirit, and having some acquaintance with the way of the Lord, began to *speak boldly* in the synagogue at Ephesus, and after he had been more perfectly instructed, "helped them much which had

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believed through grace, for he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ." Acts xviii. 24—28.

From the apostolical history let us now turn for a moment to the apostolical writings, and see how far the attribute in question is there recognized as necessary or important. Paul, addressing the Philippians, and referring to one of the severest trials of his ministerial life, says: "I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, according to my earnest expectation and my hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that *with all boldness*, as always, so now also, Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death." Phil. i. 19, 20. He exhorts the Ephesians to pray always for all saints, "and for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth *boldly*, to make known the mystery of the gospel." Eph. vi. 19. That this desire of his heart was not ungratified, we learn from his own appeal to the Thessalonians: "Yourselves, brethren, know our entrance in unto you that it was not in vain; but even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know at Philippi, *we were bold* in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention." 1 Thess. i. 1, 2. In all these cases the leading terms employed are identical with those which we have already seen so often used in the apostolical history.

There is another application of these terms, particularly common in the epistle to the Hebrews and in those of John, where they often denote boldness of access to God in the exercise of faith and in reliance on his promise. "We are Christ's household if we hold fast the *confidence* and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end." Heb. iii. 6. "Let us therefore come *boldly* unto the throne of grace, &c." Heb. iv. 16. "Having therefore, brethren, *boldness* to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus." Heb. x. 19. "Cast not away therefore your *confidence*, which hath great recompense of reward." Heb. x. 35. "And now little children, abide in him, that when he shall appear, we may have *confidence* and not be ashamed before him at his coming." 1 John ii. 28. "Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we *confidence* toward God." 1 John

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iii. 21. "Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have *boldness* in the day of judgment." 1 John iv. 17. "And this is the *confidence* that we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us." 1 John v. 14. The word rendered "confidence" and "boldness" in these passages, is still the same that we have met so frequently before; nor is there any real departure from its essential meaning elsewhere, *freedom of speech*, whether towards God in earnest and believing prayer, or towards man in faithful declaration of the truth. It is, however, with the latter that we are concerned at present. We shall therefore set aside, as unconnected with this theme, not only the passages last quoted, but a number of others where the terms are employed in a lower sense, to signify plainness of speech, or freedom from obscurity in ordinary intercourse. Confining our attention then to those texts where the words in question have explicit reference to the communication of religious truth, we may draw two inferences from them all viewed in connection so as to illustrate and interpret one another. The first is, that the Apostles, and particularly Paul, attached, both in theory and practice, great importance to freedom of speech, or boldness in the preaching of the gospel. The other is, that after all allowance for a change of circumstances and relations, this characteristic quality cannot have wholly lost its value, but must still be desirable and still incumbent upon those who preach the gospel now.

This last proposition may seem to concern only the ministry as a distinct order or profession. But for several reasons, it is interesting also to the great mass of those who hear the gospel. In the first place, all these have, or ought to have a kind of inofficial share in the work more especially entrusted to the ministry. All who hear the truth are thereby bound to make it known to others. All such are called, in a wider or a smaller sphere, to preach the gospel, and to do it boldly. But even in reference to the public duties of the ministry properly so called, the body of the people have an interest in this matter, because connected closely with their own peculiar rights and obligations. If the ministry are authorized and bound to preach the word of God with boldness, it is surely a correlative duty of the church to hear it when so preached. And if, on

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the other hand, there is a sense in which, or a point beyond which, boldness is unlawful, then it is no less certainly the right of the hearers to condemn such boldness, and withhold their countenance and even tacit approbation from it. It is therefore no official or professional inquiry, but one of general interest and importance, wherein the legitimate boldness of the pulpit, or freedom of speech in the promulgation of the gospel, does or does not consist.

This is one of those cases where the truth can be most fully ascertained by a joint use of the positive and negative methods of investigation, or at least of statement. And in deference to the rights of Christian people, we begin by stating negatively, wherein this apostolic boldness or *parrhesia* does not consist.

And first, it might appear almost insulting to our readers if we should appear to think it necessary to announce, as a distinct and formal proposition, that this apostolical boldness does not consist in any thing external, such as loudness of voice, or violence of gesture, or severity of countenance. All this is perfectly compatible with radical deficiency in boldness or liberty of speech, such as Paul approved and practised. Nay, it may even be adopted as a mask to conceal that very deficiency. Men may assume the look and language of defiance, not only when courageous, but when most afraid. And even when this is not the case, and when they really are bold, their boldness, so far as it resembles that of the Apostles, does not lie in any thing corporeal or external. Experience shows that those are not always the most searching and effective strokes at the conscience or the heart which are given with most violence of manner; and that saving truth is just as frequently conveyed by the still small voice as by the fire or the earthquake. The boldness, then, of which we speak, is not mere boldness of delivery.

Nor is it boldness of expression or of language, the investing of familiar thoughts in new and startling forms of speech. Besides the confusion of mind, and the perversion of the truth arising from this practice, it is utterly devoid of any tendency to vanquish or conciliate the adversaries of the gospel, and without the slightest countenance or warrant in the doctrine or example of the apostolic ministry. In the pregnant dialect of

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Scripture, the idea never falls short of the expression, though it often very far transcends it.

But even boldness or audacity of *thought* is not the characteristic boldness of the apostolic preaching. It may be mistaken for it by ambitious minds, infected with a morbid craving for originality. But the two things are none the less distinct and independent of each other. The same man, it is true, may be bold in both ways; but the two ways are not, therefore, to be merged in one. The utmost boldness of original speculation is compatible with utter want of it in the promulgation of revealed truth.

Again, this apostolic boldness must not be confounded with a strong disposition to exaggerate particular features in the system of divine truth, or at least to render them unduly prominent in reference and proportion to the rest. This may be done with an express design to shock the prepossessions of the hearer; but although this may be bold in a popular and worldly sense, it is not the apostolic freedom of speech. The first preachers of the gospel did not show their boldness by insisting on the terrors of the law, to the exclusion of the offers of the gospel; or on future torments, to the exclusion of the joys of heaven; or on those mysterious doctrines which are most repugnant to the natural man, without the qualifying adjuncts which are commonly joined to them in the word of God. Life and death, blessing and cursing, hell and heaven, reprobation and salvation, go together in the Bible, and are seldom to be found there far apart. The man who thinks it better to divorce them, and to hold up the dark side of the picture by itself, may glory in his boldness; but if so, he only boasts that he is bolder than the apostles, and wiser than the Holy Spirit. Such boldness, need we say, is infinitely far removed from the boldness of the apostolic preaching.

Lastly, this apostolic boldness did not show itself in what is now familiarly called personality. There is indeed a sense in which all effective preaching must be personal; that is to say, it must not spend itself in barren generalities or abstract speculations, but be so framed as to bring the truth to bear, with force, upon the individual mind and conscience. This is essential to the effective preaching of the gospel; but this is some-

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thing very different from personality. The difference is this, that in the one case the statement of truth, or the description of character, being derived from inspiration, suits the case of every individual to whom it was intended to apply, and commends itself at once to every man's conscience in the sight of God. In the other case, the uninspired preacher sets out from an individual subject and endeavours to describe it in accordance with the teachings of God's word.

To this method there are two objections. In the first place, it provokes a just resentment, which effectually seals the heart, and even steels the conscience, against the truth which is really presented. Nothing more certainly protects men from the power of the truth than a sense of injustice or of any other moral defect in the mode of its administration. And in the case supposed, there is a ground for this resistance, in the actual departure of the preacher from the scriptural method of procedure, and his presumptuous exchange of what is there laid down by an infallible authority, for the precarious dictates of his own uninspired reason or experience. Forgetting that "the foolishness of God is wiser than men," we are too apt to endeavour to improve upon the truth as he has given it, in the hope of making it more searching and effective.

But in the next place, this hope is a vain one. All experience teaches that the consciences of men are most effectually reached, not by descriptions made expressly for them, in the exercise of a mere human wisdom, but by the presentation of more general truths, revealed in Scripture, and applied to the individual subject by the power of the Holy Spirit. It is a fact easily established, that while pulpit personalities most commonly rebound without effect, or any but a bad one, from the objects at which they were specifically aimed, the strongest impressions ever made upon the conscience are produced without a special or immediate reference to the person thus affected. A striking illustration of this statement is afforded by the fact, familiar to the readers of religious biography, that men have frequently supposed themselves to be the objects of a personal attack, when the person charged with making it was not so much as aware of their presence, or perhaps of their existence, or when the imaginary libel was delivered, without any change

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whatever, as prepared many months or even years before the date of the supposed assault. This is a general fact of great importance, both to the preachers and the hearers of the gospel, that the strongest effect upon the conscience is produced, not by invidious personalities, but by the clear and faithful exhibition of the truth as suited to whole classes or to men in general. Those who pique themselves upon the kind of "boldness" here condemned, are usually influenced by vanity, and sometimes by an envious malignity, sufficiently obvious to others, even when it seems unsuspected by themselves. A sense of honour, no less than of duty, ought to put the preacher, and especially the free-and-easy preacher, on his guard against this spurious παῤῥησία, which derives a character of spiteful meanness from the very security with which it can be practised; because what might justly be admired as manly in the fair fight of the legal or political arena, may be dastardly when shot forth as a Parthian if not a poisoned arrow from the pulpit, without any risk of chastisement or even refutation. By nothing, perhaps, more than by this, has the ministry been lowered in the eyes of an intelligent and high-minded laity; and in reference to nothing is the pulpit-prater more in need of the caustic but most wholesome charge, "Let no man despise thee." Titus ii. 15. The apostolic boldness or freedom of speech is as far removed from this invidious personality, as from violence of manner, singularity of language, paradoxical audacity of thought, or a morbid disposition to exaggerate, distort, or mutilate the system of divine truth, with a view to mere effect.

The fulness and minuteness of this negative statement will make it less important to enlarge upon the positive side of the same picture. We shall aim not so much at exactness of detail as at a clear presentation of a few leading elements which enter into the scriptural idea of apostolic boldness or freedom of speech.

The first is that of perspicuity or clearness, as opposed to all obscurity, arising either from excessive refinement and abstruseness of thought, or from rhetorical abuse of language. Lively figures are indeed more natural than abstract formulas, and where they serve to deepen or define the intellectual

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impression of the truth, contribute mightily to its effect. But where they only tend to darken or to dazzle, they are inconsistent with the apostolic openness and freedom of speech. This is frequently contrasted, in the Gospels, and particularly that of John, with speaking in enigmas or in parables. When our Lord, before setting out upon his last visit to Jerusalem, began to speak of his own sufferings in literal and explicit terms, the inspired historian says, "he spake that saying *openly*," (Mark viii. 32,)—παῤῥησίᾳ—the same word used so often to characterize the preaching of the first Apostles. After he reached the holy city, and was walking in Solomon's porch, "the Jews came round about him and said, 'how long dost thou make us to doubt (or hold us in suspense)? if thou be the Christ, tell us plainly," (John x. 24,)—παῤῥησίᾳ—that is, without enigmatical or figurative forms of speech. Again, when Jesus spoke of Lazarus as sleeping, his disciples thought that he had spoken of taking rest in sleep; wherefore, in order to correct their error, "Jesus said unto them plainly, Lazarus is dead," (John xi. 14,)—*plainly*—παῤῥησίᾳ—that is, simply and explicitly, in so many words. In another place, these two modes of speaking are expressly contrasted. "These things have I spoken unto you in parables; but the time cometh when I shall no more speak to you in parables, but shall tell you *plainly* of the Father" (John xvi. 25;)—still παῤῥησίᾳ. . . . . "I came forth from the Father and am come into the world; again I leave the world and go to the Father. His disciples said unto him, Lo, now thou speakest *plainly*, and speakest no parable (or proverb)." John xvi. 28, 29. Simplicity and clearness, as opposed to enigmatical obscurity, may therefore be presented as the first essential element of apostolic freedom, in reference to which Paul writes to the Corinthians, "Great is my boldness of speech (παῤῥησία) toward you"—2 Cor. vii. 11; and again, still more explicitly, "seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech (παῤῥησίᾳ), and not as Moses which put a veil over his face," &c. 2 Cor. iii. 12. In this he well deserves our imitation. The reasons which induced our Lord himself so often to wrap up the truth in partially disclosing it, can furnish no rule or example for his uninspired followers, whose business is to make known, not to hide. This

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remarkable difference between our ministry and that of Christ, was strongly set forth by himself when he said to his disciples, "what I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye on the house tops." Matt. x. 27. Where this plainness of speech is wanting, neither novelty of thought, nor eccentricity of language, nor audacity of manner can supply the want of apostolic liberty and boldness.

But this essential quality stands opposed, not only to rhetorical defects, but to a moral obliquity. Plainness of speech implies also freedom from disguise, duplicity, or cowardly suppression of the truth. As on the one hand it is said of Christ's last visit to Jerusalem, "no man spake openly of him, (παῤῥησίᾳ), for fear of the Jews," John vii. 13; so on the other hand, some of the people said, "is not this he, whom they seek to kill? but lo, he speaketh boldly, (παῤῥησίᾳ)," John vii. 25, 26, *i. e.* without fear of those to whom the truth must give offence. In like manner Paul calls the elders of Ephesus to witness his fidelity: "I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all, for I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God." Acts xx. 26, 27. What this was, we learn from his words in a previous part of the same discourse—"and how I kept back nothing that was profitable, but have showed you and have taught you, publicly and from house to house, testifying, both to the Jews and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. Acts xx. 20, 21. The boldness of the apostolic preaching was not more opposed to the distorted exhibition of some truths in undue prominence, than it was to the suppression of these same truths, or of any other, because humbling to the pride of the human understanding or the human heart.

But in addition to this fair and equal or proportionate disclosure of the whole truth as a system, there is still another kind or rather another exercise of candour and impartiality required. This is the faithful exhibition of the truth, not as a matter of mere speculation, but of practical concern and obligation, so that the appeal shall be made not only to the understanding and the sense of truth, but to the conscience and the sense of right. Where this is not done, but the truth is

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left in frigid contact with the memory and judgment, or in warm but inert contact with the fancy or the sensibilities, there may be strength and clearness, there may be brilliancy and beauty; but there is not apostolical παῤῥησία, plainness, boldness, or freedom of speech.

Again, it is essential to this character, that men should be constrained to view the truth, as connected not only with their obligations but their destiny—not only with their present standing in the sight of God, but with their everlasting state as suspended on his justice or his mercy. Here the pride of man revolts, and the insidious desire of pleasing men begs hard for some suppression or some softening of the odious truth. And this prayer is seconded by plausible appeals to the extravagant and dangerous excess to which some go in their description of the future state, and in their constant threatenings of hell-fire and damnation. But such errors can in no wise change the truth of God, or the duty of those who are commissioned to proclaim it. We are bound to practise the same wise reserve that is characteristic of the Scriptures in relation to this awful subject. We have no right to indulge a meretricious fancy, or to feed a morbid curiosity with wild imaginations of realities so fearful and unutterable, that the word of God affords only passing and imperfect glimpses of them. But if in avoiding this extreme, we rush into the other of allowing men to think that the effects of sin are limited to this life, and that the awful retributions of eternity have no reality, at least in reference to them, however loud, or paradoxical, or personal our statement of the truth may be, we do not, after all, speak the word of God with boldness.

The errors which we have described may spring from various sources; from defective views of truth in those who undertake to teach it—from their shallow experience in religion—from a false view of the end to be attained by preaching—or an error of judgment as to the best means of attaining it. But the same effects may also spring from outward causes, and of these we shall name one, both on account of its extensive influence, and as a means of bringing this whole subject home to ourselves, and to our readers, as a matter not of mere official and professional, but personal and universal interest.

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The cause in question is "respect of persons," or judicial partiality—a disposition to discriminate, in the application of the truth, between those who are perfectly alike in character and standing before God. Having already shut out an invidious personality, as altogether foreign from the boldness of the apostolic preaching, let us now guard against an opposite evil, by declaring that this boldness comprehends, as one of its essential elements, a willingness to speak the clearly revealed truth of God, with all its pungency and strength, before the face, and to the conscience of the wisest, richest, and most powerful, as well as of the proudest, most fastidious, and most sensitive of men, without the least desire to offend them, but without the slightest fear of their displeasure, if offence be unavoidable. The possibility of such an issue, after all, with its causes and effects, may be profitably pondered, in connection with the searching question put by Paul to the Galatians: "Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?" Gal. iv. 16.

The different grammatical constructions, which have been put, or may be put, upon this sentence, are without importance as to its essential meaning, or in reference to the use which we propose to make of it. If we choose to give it an affirmative form ("so that"—or "so then"—"I am become your enemy,") it is only a more pointed expression of the same idea now conveyed by the interrogation. So, too, it matters little whether we retain the word "because," or substitute a more exact translation of the participle—"speaking the truth to you." Even the latter represents the enmity supposed as having been provoked at the time, or in the act of telling them the truth, and therefore, by a natural implication, as the effect of his having done so. The same is true of the different senses which may be attached to the phrase "become your enemy." Whether "enemy" be passively explained as denoting the "object of your hatred," or taken in its proper active sense, but so that the whole phrase shall mean "regarded by you as an enemy"—the general import of the sentence will remain the same. It still implies the possibility of men's becoming enemies in consequence of the telling of the truth. How far this was really the case with those to whom the Apostle is here writing, we shall not stop to

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inquire; nor what specific declaration of the truth is here referred to, as the cause of this effect, whether real or supposed. It is sufficient for our purpose to regard Paul as asserting, or at least assuming, that the speaking of the truth may be a cause or an occasion of hostility; a fact which, even in its vaguest and most general form, may claim our serious attention and suggest important subjects of inquiry.

The very statement of this proposition must remind us of our Saviour's solemn and repeated declarations, that he came not to bring peace, but a sword, to kindle flames of discord among men, to be the author of division in communities and families, to set parents against their children, and children against their parents, so that a man's enemies should be those of his own household. These and other like expressions partake largely of a quality, by which our Lord's instructions were distinguished, and which cannot perhaps be better described than by the use of the word *paradox*, as properly denoting that which shocks men's prepossessions, and appears, at first sight, to do violence to essential and acknowledged principles. The paradoxes, by which some now seek to gain distinction, are the affectations of vanity or weakness, the abuses of a method, which is not without its uses in the hands of an infallible instructor, as appears from the example of our Lord himself, who often roused attention and excited to inquiry, by adopting that form of expression least adapted in itself to conciliate the prejudices of his hearers. And that this was done with a deliberate design, is clear from the unquestionable fact, that when his discourses of this kind were cavilled at, instead of explaining away the cause of the dissatisfaction, he enhanced it by the use of terms still stronger. A remarkable example of this usage is afforded by the long discourse recorded in the sixth of John, in which the figurative exhibition of himself as food to the believer is repeated and enforced, after every expression of surprise and incredulity, until it reaches what his hearers reckoned a revolting and incredible extreme, so that even some who had been known as his disciples, pronounced it "a hard saying," and walked no more with him. This is only one marked instance of a practice which may be described as characteristic of our Saviour's method of instruction, and to

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which we must be careful to pay due regard, when we attempt to understand or to explain his teachings. This is highly important, for example, in the cases just referred to, where he speaks of his appearance in the world as tending to confusion and discord among men. The attention is at first aroused and fixed by what appears to be a paradoxical description of this discord and confusion, as the legitimate designed effect of his appearance and the preaching of his gospel.

This, however, is so utterly at variance with his own explicit declarations elsewhere, as well as with the character and spirit of his doctrines, that it needs no long continued or profound reflection to convince us, that in all such cases he is speaking of himself and his religion, only as the innocent occasion of the evils mentioned, which are genuine fruits of human weakness and corruption. But this is very far from rendering the fact alleged less interesting and appalling. It is no alleviation of these feelings to be told, that although the gospel is a message of peace, and the Holy Spirit the Author of peace, and Christ himself the Prince of Peace, the proclamation of the truth and the extension of his kingdom has never failed to be accompanied by painful separations among men, as an incidental but invariable consequence, just as the pageantry of earthly triumphs is always overshadowed, to the eyes and hearts of some, by the sacrifice of life which purchased it. This indirect effect of Christ's appearance and the spread of his religion might be less affecting, if confined to those who never feel its power or assume its obligations. If it merely threw the elements of discord which abound in our apostate world into more antagonistic combinations, and excited into fury the revengeful passions which were only awaiting an occasion to display themselves, this could hardly have been thought more strange than the analogous effect produced upon the devils and the lost, by every fresh manifestation of God's power, holiness, and wisdom. If this is to constitute, throughout eternity, a principal ingredient in the cup of torment, it is natural enough that it should enter into the anticipated punishment of those who obstinately reject salvation, and continue true to the inspired description of our fallen race, as "hateful and hating one another." Titus iii. 3. But the case assumes a very different aspect, when we find the

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advent of the Saviour and the spread of his religion tending, not merely to exasperate the mutual hostilities of wicked men, but also to excite their enmity against his people. Even this, however, might be borne with patience, as a part of that necessary "persecution" to be suffered by "all that will live godly in Christ Jesus," and of that predicted "tribulation," through which "we must enter into the kingdom of God." But what shall we say to the continued operation of the same cause within that kingdom, to the fearful effect wrought upon the latent corruption, even of believers, not by the hatred of the world or the devil, but by the very truth in which is grounded their hope of salvation. In many cases where this effect becomes apparent, it is no doubt, wholly or in part, a proof of insincerity, impenitence, and unbelief; while in others it may only prove the remaining power of corruption over hearts in which it has already lost its paramount dominion. But between these cases it must often be difficult, if not impossible, for any human eye or judgment to discriminate. Nor is it necessary even to attempt it, for our present purpose. It will be sufficient to confine our view to those who "profess and call themselves Christians," and to the causes of hostility existing among these, without regard to any foreign opposition, or to any provocatives even of mutual hostility, except such as are connected with the speaking of the truth, either directly or by way of contrast.

For it may not be without its use to glance, in passing, at the enmities created or fomented by the violation or suppression, as well as by the utterance of the truth. In private life, even among those who bear the Christian name, hostility is frequently engendered by the neglect or violation of the truth, either with or without a direct malignant purpose. The grossest form of this offence is that of deliberate invention. Its more familiar forms are those of exaggeration or false colouring, the suppression of what must be known in order to a fair appreciation of the case, or the suggestion of what does not necessarily belong to it. Such practices may seem, indeed, entirely incompatible with all religious feeling or sound principle, and scarcely reconcilable with even the profession of Christianity. But let

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it be remembered that one of the most prevalent and operative errors in the church, from its foundation to the present day, is the error of those who imagine that the essence of religion lies in the hatred of evil, as an exercise altogether separate and distinct from the love and practice of good. Or rather such imagine that the one includes the other, and that there can be nothing better in itself, or in its tendencies, than bitter hostility to sin, as shown in its detection, condemnation, and punishment. The indulgence of this feeling, when controlled by human weakness and remaining corruption, can scarcely fail to seek its objects rather in our neighbours than ourselves, until at last we may be brought, by an insensible transition, to regard our own defects as in some sense made good by detecting and exposing the defects of others. Where religion takes this form, and breathes this spirit, it is perfectly conceivable that truth may be violated, more or less directly, without any conscious purpose to do wrong; nay, with the highest estimation of our own zeal for God and holy hatred of whatever does not wear our uniform or talk our dialect. For nothing is more common in such cases than to make resemblance to ourselves the authoritative standard of comparison and rule of judgment, by which others, without mercy, are to stand or fall. This inexorable law may even comprehend in its exactions constitutional peculiarities, or matters of mere accidental origin, endeared to us by habit, but no more a rule of right to others, than their singularities of temperament and of usage are to us. The existence of this inquisitorial and vindictive piety among our Saviour's first disciples, is apparent from the frequency and point of his attacks upon it, all of which may be summed up in that pregnant exhortation, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." Matt. vii. 1. Its continued existence ever since may be read in the history of inquisitors and persecutors, and might be read in that of makebates and busy-bodies, even in the church, and even among those who are true believers. For strong indeed must be the faith of those who, under this false view of their relation both to God and to their fellow-men, can steadfastly resist the perpetual temptation to discolour, to exaggerate, and even to invent, in the exercise of their self-constituted office as inquisitors and judges of their fellow-Christians. But even where this

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is successfully avoided, the same evil may result from the gratuitous, untimely, or ungenerous disclosure of the truth. The worst slander morally, because the most subtle and refined in its malignity, is that which insinuates its virus, not through the vehicle of fiction, but of fact.

It may be hard to draw the line between the commission of this sin and the performance of a sacred duty; but this only makes it the more necessary that it should be drawn, and aggravates the guilt of confounding things essentially diverse, in imitation of him who can transform himself into an angel of light. But the subject to which we have invited attention is not the effect of telling the truth *of* men but of telling it *to* them, and that not merely in reference to the trivial concerns of life, or to personal character and conduct, but in reference to the most momentous interests of the church and of eternity. He who is, in this sense, called to speak the truth, may thereby become the enemy of those to whom he speaks it; that is to say, he may be so regarded and treated by them, for that very reason. This applies not only to the preaching of the gospel, to the public and official exposition of the truth, but to every form of its defence or declaration, whether from the chair, the pulpit, or the press, in public debate or in private conversation. Whoever, in any of these ways, becomes a champion of the truth or an instrument of its diffusion, will sooner or later have occasion and a right to say to some of those whom he addresses: "Am I then become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

This effect may sometimes be ascribed to the neglect and inadvertence of the teacher, to his practical forgetfulness of Christ's command to his apostles, when originally sent forth: "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves." Matt. x. 16. The faith of some men in the truth and efficacy of the gospel is so great as to preclude, in their view, the necessity of all discretion. They cannot see, or do not estimate aright, the danger of misapprehension, even among those who are professed believers of the truth. They cast it forth, without regard to the precautionary measures which may be required to secure its full effect. Their fault is not that they desire or seek to give offence, but that they do not rather seek to avoid

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it; that they do not even recognize the duty of avoiding or the danger of exciting it. They simply let the thing alone, and pursue a course which would be wise and right if they were called to deal with sinless beings, or with Christians in the highest state of spiritual discipline and cultivation. No wonder that to such the effects of their instructions or their course on others, even those whom they believe to be sincere, is often the occasion of a painful surprise, under the influence of which they are ready to demand of some who once appeared to be their best friends—"Am I therefore become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

In other cases, the effect is owing, not to sheer neglect or inadvertence, but to want of skill in doing that which is seen to be expedient, or acknowledged to be binding. The necessity of so presenting truth as to avoid offence is fully recognized; but in attempting to apply the principle, it fails through ignorance of human nature, or a want of tact in the selection and employment of the necessary means of influencing men's convictions and their conduct, or the want of just discernment as to the effect of the means used. There is an honest purpose to speak the truth, and so to speak it as to win men to the love of it; nay, more, there is a faithful and laborious application of the means which seem best suited to promote this end; and yet instead of seeing it successfully accomplished, the expounder and defender of the truth is often mortified by seeing his instructions have precisely the effect which he was most solicitous to shun, and finds himself involuntarily saying to those whom he not only wished but expected to conciliate, "Am I then become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

In addition to these cases there is still another, where the same result is reached, but in a somewhat different way. There is no want either of a disposition to conciliate, or of intellectual capacity and skill to do it; but the end is defeated by infirmity of temper. He who speaks the truth may really desire that others should not only believe it, but receive it, in the love of it; and yet, because he is himself morose or captious, domineering or irascible, he cannot do the good he would. He cannot speak the truth without imparting to it something of his own dogmatical or acrimonious spirit. In this case there is less room

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for surprise or disappointment, since the man must be conscious of his failure even while engaged in the attempt. The same strength of mind, soundness of judgment, and extent of knowledge, that enable him to estimate the value of the end proposed, and would enable him to reach it but for the impediments in question, must disclose to him at every step how far he comes short of his purpose. He feels that he is not accomplishing even what he wishes, much less what he owes to God, to truth, and to his fellow-men. He feels, too, that he cannot plead the want of knowledge or the want of skill, in palliation of his failure; for at times he has these at command, and when obstructed by no moral causes, they perform their office. When they fail to do so, he needs no one to inform him that the failure springs from his infirmities of temper, from an unavoidable admixture of the truth, of what belongs to God with a foreign element, with something pertaining to himself, and partaking of his own corruption. Of all this he may be conscious even while engaged in the attempt, and cannot therefore be so easily surprised by the event as those who fail through inadvertence or through want of skill; for these may anticipate success until the moment that decides it to be hopeless. But though less surprised, he may be equally concerned, and even more so, since the very points in which he is supposed to be superior, imply a clearer apprehension and a higher estimate of that which like the others he has failed to accomplish. It is often, therefore, with a bitter sense of disappointment, rendered the more painful by a consciousness of culpable deficiency, that such are forced at last to say, in thought if not in word, to those whom they have laboured to convince and to instruct: "Am I become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

But different as these three cases are from one another in the proximate occasion of the failure which is common to them all, they are alike in this, that they all suppose the failure to conciliate or make the truth acceptable to be in opposition to the teacher's wishes and in disappointment of his hopes. In this respect they differ wholly from a fourth case which we now proceed to mention, and in which the same regret arises, not from inadvertence, want of skill, or infirmity of temper, but from a deliberate attempt to produce it under the guidance of

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fanatical delusion. That is to say, some men become the enemies of those to whom they speak the truth, because they purposely excite their enmity, or so present the truth that it cannot but excite it. This they do upon the principle that the truth must be odious to the unregenerate, and that it cannot therefore be supposed to have made its way into the mind at all, unless its presence there is proved by the production of this natural effect. They also justify their course by the example of our Lord himself, in that peculiar method of instruction which has been already mentioned, as apparently intended to shock the prejudices of his hearers. The truth and falsehood blended in this reasoning may be brought to light by simply stating, that the course in question would be altogether wise and right, if he who pursues it were the head, and not an humble member of the Church. The case of one who founds a new religion, and of one who is appointed to maintain it, or extend it, must be altogether different. When those who claim to follow Christ's example as to this point, can assert their possession of his power to distinguish between good and evil, they may safely follow his example rather than his positive command, but not till then. In the meantime, all attempts to excite the opposition of the human heart, as a desirable object in itself, or an essential means to some ulterior end, must continue to be branded as fanatical presumption.

Such are some of the ways in which men may, through their own deficiency or fault, become the enemies of those to whom they really and faithfully declare the truth. In reference to all these ways, the course of wisdom and of duty seems to be a plain one. In the first place, we have evidently no right to combine with the truth of God which we proclaim to others, any invention of our own, which tends to make it odious, even to the unregenerate. The same considerations, which evince that all additions to the truth must be corruptions, here apply with tenfold force, because the end we proposed is in itself a bad one. If we may not do evil that *good* may come, how much less that *evil* may! If he is accursed who adds any thing whatever to the word of God, what must await the man who adds to it what only tends to make it odious, and to close the hearts of men against it?

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In the next place, we have no right to exaggerate, or magnify, or make unduly prominent those features in the system of divine truth which experience has shown to be peculiarly offensive to the unrenewed heart. The reason is not, because human tastes are to be gratified at all costs and all hazards, but because God knows best how far it is desirable to shock the prepossessions of the minds to be enlightened, and has adjusted the proportions of the system of revealed truth accordingly, and any attempt to improve upon this method, as revealed in Scripture, is of course both impious and absurd. That relative position and degree of prominence which he has himself given to the several doctrines of religion, may be safely assumed to be the best, not only in itself, or in relation to the system of divine truth as a whole, but also as a means to the attainment of the highest practical or moral ends. And he who, on a contrary hypothesis, attempts to reconstruct or rearrange the system, so as to effect more good than the divine plan could produce, will learn hereafter, to his cost, if not to his undoing, that in this, as in all other cases where comparison is possible, "the foolishness of God is wiser than men." 1 Cor. i. 25.

In the third place, we have no right so to regulate the circumstances or the manner of presenting truth as to offend the prejudices, even of the wicked, much less of our brethren, any further than the nature of the truth itself may render unavoidable. This is important, as a distinct caution, because both the others may be scrupulously followed, and the same effect result from the neglect of this. A man may think he has discharged his conscience by avoiding all unauthorized additions to the truth, and all exaggeration or distortion of its parts; but if he so contrive the time, the place, the tone, the spirit of his teachings, as to call forth enmity which would not have been called forth by the exhibition of the very same truth in a different manner or in other circumstances, he has no right to appeal to the purity or orthodoxy of his doctrines, in justification of his method of propounding them, and still less right to say, as an expression of surprise or indignation at the indocility of those whom he has laboured to enlighten: "Am I then become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

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In all the cases which have now been mentioned, it is not the truth that ought to bear the blame of men's refusing to receive it. It cannot even be imputed wholly to the native opposition of the human heart, or the remaining power of corruption in believers; because others, subject to these same disabilities, have received the same truth gladly from the lips of other messengers, and it may have been a part of our vocation to facilitate the introduction of the truth into the minds of those who heard us, by the gentleness and wisdom of its presentation, instead of counteracting our own teachings by the heedlessness, unskilfulness, moroseness, or fanatical wildness of the mode in which they are dispensed. When all these errors have been faithfully avoided to the best of our ability, and the wisdom of our teaching bears a due proportion to the weight and truth of what we teach; if men still turn a deaf ear to our calls, and requite our efforts to instruct them, not with mere indifference or unbelief, but with malignant opposition, we may then, with some consistency and show of reason, take up Paul's pathetic yet severe expostulation: "Am I then become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

It may indeed seem that when all these precautions are observed, and all these errors shunned, there can be no occasion to adopt the apostolic form of speech. Surely they who *thus* tell the truth cannot incur enmity by telling it. But all experience shows that this is a precipitate conclusion. When all the avoidable occasions of offence have been avoided, there will still be something in the truth itself, or in the feelings of some towards it, which will make them look upon its champions and expounders as their enemies. That this should be the case with those who openly reject the truth might be expected, or at least observed without surprise in many cases. But the wonder is, that this effect is witnessed even among those who bear the name of Christ, and who profess attachment to the very doctrine, into which the offensive truth enters as an element, by virtue of a logical necessity. Even such may regard as enemies to themselves, and to the church or to the race of which they are self-constituted representatives, those who consistently maintain the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, against their own distortions, mutilations, and corrupt additions.

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The same fanatical delusion that betrays men into voluntary efforts to excite men's enmity against the truth which they dispense themselves, prepares them to assume, with very little provocation, an inimical relation to the unpalatable truth dispensed by others, whether positively or in opposition to their own false doctrines. In reference to such, and indeed to all who count the tellers of the truth as enemies, not on account of any error or defect in the mode of presentation, but because they hate the truth itself—if not in general, yet in some specific case—we need some further rule for our direction.

Such a rule obviously is, that we have no right to suppress the truth, or to withhold the counsel of God from those who ought to be acquainted with it. As to the time, place, and manner of declaring it, we are not only authorized, but bound, as we have seen, to exercise a sound discretion. But if in spite of all precaution, as to circumstances, manner, tone, and temper, men continue to revolt from what we cannot but regard as truth, and as such consider ourselves bound to utter, this residuary opposition must not be considered as affording any pretext or authority for holding back the truth, because it is unpalatable, either to the irreligious world, or to any party, sect, or faction in the church itself. And lastly, the same principle must be applied to any modification or disguise of truth, intended to conciliate opposition, whether practical or speculative, theological or moral, the undissembled spite of the philosopher, or the sanctimonious malice of the pharisee. Not a jot, not a tittle of divine truth must be sacrificed, in order to avoid the disagreeable necessity of saying, either to philosophers or pharisees: "Am I become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?"

How then is the teller of the truth to deal with this residuary enmity, which no precautions can evade, no gentleness conciliate? The answer is a brief one. *Let him bear it!* In one view of the matter, we might safely say, *defy it!* But this form of expression would be liable to misconstruction, and might be maliciously or ignorantly construed into something inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel. Another reason for preferring the first answer is, that bearing is, in such a case, the best mode of defiance, nay the only one effectual. All

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violence recoils upon itself; but he who joins the faithful, wise, and temperate assertion of the truth on moral and religious subjects, not excepting such as are the theme of angry and fanatical discussion, even on these "speaking the truth in love," with a meek but brave endurance of the filth with which he is bespattered from "the dark places of the earth," will more effectually shame and silence his assailants, than by any rancour of recrimination. *The most forbearing are by no means the least dreaded by ungenerous opponents.* To such a triumph the steadfast adherent of the truth may, in all humility aspire, if he can but "bear and forbear" when the cause of truth requires. And by the grace of God he can. By that grace, he can do far more. He can not only bear for himself, but, what is sometimes infinitely harder, he can bear for others. Even where it would be little to endure reproach in his own person, he may find it the severest trial of his faith and resolution, to behold the vision of the prophet realized—"the child behaving himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable" (Isaiah iii. 5)—the hoary head dragged in the mire by the hand of upstart petulance—the most venerable forms and faces wet with the spittle of calumnious self-righteousness. At such sights, even he who is callous in his own behalf may feel his blood begin to boil, and the more he gazes at the object, the more difficult it seems to check the rising of unhallowed anger, until God is pleased to do what seemed impossible, by lifting, as it were, a veil beyond the object present to the senses, and disclosing one till then invisible—the form of one arraigned before a judgment-seat, scourged, buffeted, and spit upon; denounced, reviled, abhorred, despised as a traitor, an impostor, a false teacher, a glutton and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. In that sight the other is forgotten, while those lips, inexorably sealed to his accusers, seem to say, in soothing accents, to the partners of his shame:—"the disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his Master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?" Matt. ix. 24, 25.

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SHORT NOTICES.

An Essay on the Encouragements and Discouragements of the Christian Ministry. By John M. Lowrie, Pastor of the Presbyterian church of Lancaster, Ohio. Cincinnati: 1851, pp. 61.

This little treatise is written in an animated and attractive style, and is adapted to be useful. It reviews successively the discouragements arising to a minister of the gospel from the work itself in which he is engaged, in its vastness, and the insensibility of those amongst whom he labours; those which arise from the inconsistencies or weaknesses of nominal or real Christians, his fellow-labourers in this cause, and those which spring from a sense of personal unfitness and shortcomings. Then over against these are set a variety of considerations of an opposite sort, drawn both from Scripture and experience, which are calculated to encourage the minister, and cheer him in his work.

1. *The Natural History of the Varieties of Man.* By Robert Gordon Latham, M. D., F. R. S., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, &c. &c. London: John Van Voorst, Pater Noster Row. 1850. pp. 574. 8vo.
2. *Man and his Migrations.* By R. G. Latham, M. D., F. R. S. New York: Charles B. Norton, 71 Chambers street. 1852.
3. *The English Language.* By Robert Gordon Latham, M. D., F. R. S., &c., late Professor of the English Language and Literature, University College, London. Third Edition, revised and greatly enlarged. London: Taylor, Walton & Maberly. 1850. pp. 609. 8vo.
4. *A Hand-Book of the English Language,* for the use of Students of the Universities and Higher Classes of Schools. By R. G. Latham, M. D., F. R. S. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. 1852.

Since the lamented death of Prichard, Dr. Latham has vindicated for himself the distinction of being *primus inter pares,* among the small but choice band of general ethnologists in England; and also among those devoted to minute and philosophical researches into the Comparative Philology and Grammar of the English Language, and its primitive tributaries and cognate languages and dialects.

Dr. Latham's medical training has qualified him abundantly for appreciating the anthropological aspects of ethnological questions, while his professional philological labours, in University College, London, have put him in full possession of the arguments from linguistic sources as bearing on the great questions of Ethnology. Like the other leading ethnologists,

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especially in the philological division, he is found on the side of the unity of the human race. In his larger work the author attempts a complete classification of the race, in its affiliations and relationships, in three comprehensive families,—the Mongolidæ, the Atlantidæ, and the Japetidæ. The first he subdivides into six divisions:—(A) The Altaic Mongolidæ, including, (1) The Seriform, or Chinese-Language nations, and (2) The Turanian stock, with branches running into Mongolia, Siberia, Tartary, Turkey, and stretching along the Arctic Ocean from Kamschatka to Norway. (B) The Dioscurian Mongolidæ, inhabiting the range of Mount Caucasus. (C) The Oceanic Mongolidæ, including the Malay, the Polynesian, and the Australian branches. (D) The Hyperborean Mongolidæ, chiefly on the Yenisey and Kolima Rivers and isolated spots on the Arctic coasts. (E) The Peninsular Mongolidæ, inhabiting the Peninsulas and Islands of North Eastern Asia; and (F) The American Mongolidæ, covering the entire Western Continent.

In the smaller and more popular work, "*Man and his Migrations*," originally prepared as a course of lectures in Liverpool, after discussing the elements of ethnological science, and the relative value of its several principles of classification and evidences of affiliation, the author takes up six starting points, as centres of distribution for the most distinct and widely separated families of the race; and then undertakes to trace back the line of migration from each of these points, chiefly by the aid of comparative philology, to the borders of Central Asia, where he finds them giving strong signs of blending into one primary form of speech. The points selected to start from, are (1) Terra del Fuego. (2) Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land.) (3) Easter Island, the farthest extremity of Polynesia. (4) The Cape of Good Hope, (Hottentot country.) (5) Lapland. (6) Ireland.

This, it will be seen, is a bold problem in the present state of the evidence; but the author wrestles with it like a hero: and we submit that the mere fact, that a man like Dr. Latham should undertake such a task, in the present almost incipient stage of the researches, is at least presumptive proof of its feasibility, when those researches are carried out a little more fully. We miss the evidence of Sanscrit scholarship in the author, which seems to hamper his movement over a part of his field, though he is perfectly familiar with the results of the great continental philologists: and in one of the most important links in his chain of affiliations, viz: the Ossetic and Irôn of the Caucasus,—we are very sure he will fail to command the assent of any one who has any personal acquaintance with the

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true structure of the Chinese, with which he is disposed to class them. But whatever reservations the reader may feel compelled to withhold from the general conclusions of the author, they will not affect seriously the strength of his convictions, that this argument foreshadows the approaching verdict of ethnological philology, in regard to the great fundamental question, of the original unity of the human race in origin as well as species.

With the subject of the two other works which we have placed at the head of this brief notice, Dr. Latham is still more familiarly and minutely acquainted. The larger one was completely rewritten in the second edition; and the third, which lies before us, comprehends the results of all the scholars who are labouring in the same interesting field, both in England and on the Continent, to the date of its publication, in 1850. The *Hand-Book of the English Language*, just reprinted in convenient form, presents the gathered fruits of years of laborious research, in a comparatively plain, unprofessional way. It brings the subject fully up to its present status, and is entitled, therefore, to precedence over, if indeed it does not supersede, most of the numerous works that have been pouring from the press on both sides of the Atlantic for ten or fifteen years. The author seems to be perfectly at home in the Anglo-Saxon, and to have a good comparative acquaintance with all the Continental cognate Gothic tongues, in both their principal branches —the Scandinavian and the Teutonic,—as well as with both the living subdivisions of the old Celtic.

The work is divided into six parts: the first discusses the general ethnological relations of the English language. Well aware of the complexities and uncertainties of the minute questions which are implicated in this discussion, he threads his way with commendable caution, and announces his results with becoming modesty. The second part, on the History and Analysis of the English Language, strikes us as admirably done, though not exhaustive for the want of more complete researches into some of the constituencies of the language. The philosophical discussions touching the causes of linguistic changes are cautious and safe; conducted in the light of facts carefully collected and clearly stated, rather than by a trenchant analytic, or *a priori* process.

The third part treats of sounds, letters, pronunciation, and spelling: with the included topics of euphony, permutation of letters, quantity, accent, and a historical sketch of the English alphabet.

The fourth part investigates both historically and philoso-

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phically the questions of Etymology, both in the limited and the extended sense in which that term is used. This is much the largest, and, grammatically speaking, much the most important portion of the book. The author brings into play his familiar acquaintance with the comparative philologists of the Continent; and thus gets illustrations of blind, abnormal forms from very unexpected quarters. The researches which throw light upon this branch of the subject, are going forward with such unwearied and efficient progress, that the work before us, though in our judgment the most advanced in its class, yet bears no appearance of being the last. The reader must be content to accept it gratefully as a help; probably erroneous more or less in many things, and certainly still incomplete in many; but fertile with suggestive views, and furnishing a wholesome stimulus to their development.

The three remaining parts on "Syntax," "Prosody," and "Dialects of the English Language," we have not yet had time to examine, except by a cursory glance over the chapters and the sections. The questions which belong to them respectively, are broadly met and fairly grappled with.

A book like this, and others that preceded it, gives us very mingled feelings. It is not to be disguised, that as a part of educational apparatus, it has come before its time. There are very few institutions, and very few pupils in this country, who are prepared to grapple with such a book. Though intended for the use of students, we have but few students who are competent to use it. As a means of mental discipline it would be invaluable; but how can it be applied? We want a grade of academic institutions, adapted to boys from fourteen to sixteen years of age, who have had good early opportunities of study, and are prepared at the former unripe age to enter the Freshman Class in our colleges: and then we want our Freshman Class to be what our present Junior is, at least in the grammars and literature of the Classic and the English tongues.

We ought, perhaps, to say, that the Hand-Book of Dr. Latham might, we think, be very much simplified. It would be a better school-book, if it were less technical and complex. The author's sympathies with the difficulties and perplexities of the young mind, we suspect are hardly strong enough to enable him to make a really good school-book.

Bible Dictionary; for the use of Bible Classes, Schools and Families. Prepared for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. Second Edition. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The second edition of an excellent book, prepared from the Presbyterian stand-point: and the only one, so far as we know,

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that does give a clear and succinct statement of the views held by the Presbyterian Church, in regard to a great variety of important topics in the religious education of the young.

Considerations for Young Men. By the Rev. J. B. Waterbury, D.D., Author of Advice to a Young Christian. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau Street, New York.

Who are the Happy? or Piety the only true and substantial Joy. By the Rev. J. B. Waterbury, D.D., Author of Advice to a Young Christian. American Tract Society, 150 Nassau Street, New York.

There is a raciness of style, and elasticity of spirit, and a sympathy with youthful buoyancy and hope, which, together, render Dr. Waterbury an unusually attractive and effective writer for the young; while, at the same time, there is an earnestness and wisdom in his counsels, which commend them to the thoughtful reader. We are sincerely glad to see books of such a character, among the original issues of a Society which has the public ear to such an extent.

A Comprehensive Lexicon of the Greek Language, adapted to the use of Colleges and Schools in the United States. By John Pickering, LL.D. Boston: Wilkins, Carter & Co., 1851.

The successive improvements in Greek Lexicography have been so essential and rapid, that we might almost say of them,

> ——"quodcunque suis mutatum finibus exit,
> Continuò hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante,"—*Lucretius*,

and the history of this Lexicon serves to mark the progress of classical learning which has taken place in this country. It appeared first in 1826 on the basis of the Greek and Latin Lexicon of Schrevelius, not as a mere translation, but accommodated to the then existing wants. So highly favourable was the reception it met with, and so rapid its sale, that in 1829 a new edition was demanded, and this was enriched by the addition of more than ten thousand entirely new articles, since the list of authors read in this country had proportionably extended. The next edition appeared in 1846, in preparing which he availed himself of the labours of Liddell and Scott, Dunbar, Rost and Palm, Passow and Pape. The edition of 1851 is a revision and correction of the one immediately preceding.

The superiority of this work over those of Schneider, Stephens, Schrevelius and Donnegan, consists in the better arrangement of the words, and the order of their meanings, as well as in the greater attention paid to the particles and prepositions. We have no occasion to join with Damm in the lamentation, "magna illa et indigesta moles primitivorum difficultatibus et tenebris suis deterrere magis quàm invitare discentem potest." And the long felt want of a chronological order in

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the significations is in a great measure satisfied. We refer for illustration to the prepositions. They express the relations of time and place, cause and effect, motion and rest, connection and opposition, or, as they are called by the schoolmen, the *Accidentia motûs et quietis, loci et temporis;* while the principal relations of things to one another are indicated by the three cases; "origin and possession by the Genitive, acquisition and communication by the Dative, and action by the Accusative." Each preposition, then, has an invariable, radical meaning when standing by itself, and so have the cases of the nouns. Place them in connection and the radical meaning of the preposition undergoes a modification; but still, amidst the variations, there is always a consistency, constituting one of the charms and beauties of the Greek tongue. Suppose, then, we find in a Lexicon twenty different meanings, with no apparent connection, not one expressing the radical idea, and only at the end of the list light upon it, and we have the defect of Donnegan's and the superiority of Pickering's Lexicon and others of the same class, in this respect. We take the word κατεσθιω, which, according to Donnegan, means "to devour, to eat up, *met.* to consume. *Th.* κατα, φαγω. Κατα with him signifies "against." How great must be the bewilderment felt by the Græculus tiro, when he attempts to trace the connection between "eating up" and "eating against." If he has sufficient perseverance to try the others after failing with this, he will find relief only in the 30th meaning, "down." How simple the transition by starting with this, the fundamental idea! Motion "down" must be stopped by the surface of the earth, and hence it implies completion, fulfilment. Thus "to eat down" is, after commencing at the top and going downwards, "to eat up, to consume."

Our limits not admitting of a more extended notice, we will only add that this Lexicon is really what it professes to be, adapted to the use of colleges and schools in the United States.

A Series of Tracts on the Doctrines, Order and Polity of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, embracing several on Practical Subjects. Vol. VII. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Another volume of the admirable series published by our Board, embracing the Tracts from No. 112 to 136 inclusive. We know of no better practical reading for ordinary Christian families.

Wesley, and Methodism. By Isaac Taylor. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff street. 1852, pp. 328. 12mo.

There are few more remarkable phenomena in the history of the Christian Church, than the rise, consolidation and power of

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Methodism. The order of ability, both philosophical and rhetorical, brought to the discussion of the subject, as well as the ecclesiastical stand-point of Mr. Taylor, are abundantly known to our readers.

A Reel in a Bottle, for Jack in the Doldrums; being the Adventures of Two of the King's Seamen in a Voyage to the Celestial Country. Edited from the Manuscripts of an old Salt. By the Rev. Henry T. Cheever, author of The Whale and his Captors, Life in the Sandwich Islands, &c. New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau street. 1852, pp. 355. 12mo.

A very good book, under a very odd, and to non-nautical readers, a very unintelligible, if not repulsive title. It is an allegory, conducted with a good degree of spirit, and full of edifying religious truth. The Doldrums is an *alias* for the equatorial latitudes, commonly, we think, called by American sailors, the "horse latitudes," between the Northern and Southern trade winds, where calms and baffling winds so commonly prevail, to the great trial of the patience of sea-farers, to say nothing of their material detriment. The analogy between the "doldrums" of nautical life and the baffling unprogressive periods of the spiritual life, is sufficiently obvious to suggest the ground-work on which the author rears his allegory.

Early Religious History of John Barr, written by himself, and left as a Legacy to his Grand Children. To which is added, A Sketch of his Character. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chestnut street. pp. 80. 18mo.

A very instructive little book; and a striking testimony to the preciousness and power of the great doctrines of salvation by grace.

A Key to the Book of Revelation, with an Appendix. By James M. Macdonald, Minister of the Presbyterian Church, Jamaica, L. I. Second Edition. New London: Colfax & Holt. pp. 210.

It is some time since this work reached a second edition. It has, however, but recently come into our hands. It has met with very great favor, due to its simplicity, clearness, and consistency. Mr. Macdonald divides the Book of Revelation into five parts. 1. The Introduction, chaps. i.—iii. 2. Jewish Persecutions and the destruction of that power, chaps. iv.—xi. 1—14. 3. Pagan Persecutions and the end of the Pagan persecuting power, chaps. xi. 15.—xiii. 10. 4. Papal Persecutions and Errors, and their end, chaps. xiii.—xix. 5. Latter Day Glory; Battle of Gog and Magog; Final Judgment; Heavenly State, chaps xx.—xxii.

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Thoughts on the Origin, Character and Interpretation of Scriptural Prophecy. In Seven Discourses. Delivered in the Chapel of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church; with Notes. By Samuel H. Turner, D. D., Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation of Scripture in the Seminary, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1852. pp. 219.

These discourses are judicious, clear and well written. They relate to the divine origin of prophecy: as increasing development and certainty; the different ways in which prophetic knowledge is communicated; prophetic vision, simile and figure; qualifications of the interpreter of prophecy. To these is added a discourse on the blessing of Japheth.

A Catechism of Scripture Doctrine and Practice, designed for Families and Sabbath schools, and for the oral instruction of coloured persons. By Charles C. Jones. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The third edition of this work appeared as long ago as 1843. The Board of Publication have this year added it to their list and published it with their sanction. It was originally prepared by the author for the religious instruction of Negroes, among whom he so long laboured with disinterested zeal and devotion. It is well adapted not only for its original purpose, but for a much wider field, as it is a comprehensive digest of scriptural truth, skilfully prepared and abundantly sustained by proof passages from the word of God.

Infant Baptism; including a series of Conversations on the subject and mode of Baptism, designed chiefly for the benefit of the young. By R. Douglass. Philadelphia: 1851.

This little work is for sale at the office of the "Christian Observer," No. 216 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, price 37½ cents. It appears to be written in an excellent spirit, and to present the usual arguments on the subjects to which it relates in a perspicuous manner.

Chapters on the Shorter Catechism: a Tale for the Instruction of the Young. By a Clergyman's Daughter. First American, from the second Edinburgh edition. Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 144 Chestnut street. 1852.

This is an ingeniously constructed work, and bids fair to be as popular in this country as it has proved to be in Scotland.

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LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The new edition of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana is not merely to be re-edited; almost all the volumes are to be re-written, and posted up to the present state of science. This delays the issue somewhat, but will render it the more valuable.

We notice the second enlarged edition of a recent work by Trench, entitled "On the Study of Words, five lectures, addressed to the pupils of the diocesan training school at Winchester." The design of the work will be indicated by the following extract:—"Not in books only, nor in oral discourse, but often also in words contemplated each one apart from the others and by itself, there are boundless stores of moral and historic truth, and no less of passion and imagination—lessons of infinite worth, if our attention is only awakened to their existence." Besides his "Parables" and "Miracles," "Hulsean Lectures" and "The Star and the Wise Men," Mr. Trench has published "Sacred Latin Poetry," "Commentary upon the Sermon on the Mount," mostly from Augustine, "An Essay on Augustine considered as an Interpreter of Scripture," "Elegiac Poems," "Justin Martyr and other Poems," "Poems from Eastern sources, Geneve and other Poems."

We also see among the late issues of the English press, a new revised edition of "McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary," "Analysis of Church Civilization, by De Vericour, of Queen's College, Cork," "Protestantism contrasted with Romanism, by the acknowledged and authentic teaching of each religion." An anonymous work, of apparent weight, edited by the Rev. J. E. Cox, of All Souls College, Oxford, Vicar of St. Helen's. "India in Greece, or Truth in Mythology, containing the Sources of the Hellenic Race, the Colonization of Egypt and Palestine, the Wars of the Grand Lama, and the Bud'histic Propaganda in Greece," by E. Pocock, dedicated to H. H. Wilson Boden, Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford.

At the suggestion of Prince Albert, a course of lectures, on the results of the Great Exhibition is in progress before the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. Six or eight of the lectures have already been published, among which are Professor Owen's on "Raw Materials from the Animal Kingdom;" Dr. Lyon Playfair's on "The Chemical principles in-

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volved in the manufactures of the Exhibition, as indicating the necessity of individual instruction;" and Professor Lindley's on "Substances used as Food."

J. W. Parker, London, has just published another of those priceless records of personal observation in the "Leaves from the Note Book of a Naturalist." By W. J. Broderip, F. R. S.

Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, advertise an "Atlas of General and Descriptive Geography, with a complete Index, and an elementary Atlas of Physical Geography."

We notice the republication of "Bancroft's History, Vol. 4," "Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli," and the works of Mitchell, Headly, and Mr. Lee.

Regal Rome, an introduction to Roman History, by F. W. Newman, Professor of Latin in University College, London.

Niebuhr's Lectures on Ancient History, comprising the History of the Asiatic Nations, the Egyptians, the Greeks, Carthagenians, and the Macedonians, translated by L. Schmitz.

Welsh Sketches (chiefly ecclesiastical) to the close of the twelfth century. London: James Darling.

Bagster's Analytical Lexicon to the Greek New Testament, "An alphabetical arrangement of every word found in the Greek text, in every form in which it appears: that is to say, every person, number, tense or mood of the verb, every case and number of nouns and pronouns that occurs, and is placed in its alphabetical order, fully explained by a grammatical analysis and referred to its root."

Frederika Bremer's Impressions of England in 1851, are now publishing in Sharpe's Magazine. Literature and Romance of Northern Europe; constituting a complete history of the Literature of Sweden, Norway and Iceland, with copious specimens of the most celebrated Histories, Romances, Popular Legends and Tales, Old Chivalrous Ballads, Tragic and Comic Dramas, National Songs, Novels, and Scenes from Life at the Present day," by William and Mary Howitt. The 3d volume of Gladstone's translation of Farini's History of the Roman States. The 9th and 10th volumes of Grote carry the History to Philip of Macedon. Great activity has prevailed during the past two or three years, among Continental Scholars in the departments of Asiatic Philology and Antiquities. The publication of the Veda has been commenced under the patronage of the East India Company, which Professor Wilson says is an epoch in the history, not only of the Religion of India, but of the whole world. The works of Cunningham and Massey on the Bhilsa topes, and Captain Gill on the Cave Temples, are mentioned as important contributions to Indian Archæology.

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From the India Press is announced the completion of Rajà Redha Kant Deb's voluminous Sanskrit Lexicon.

From the lithographic presses of the natives at Agra, Delhi, and other places, 110 distinct works upon Indian subjects have reached England in a twelvemonth. The Journal of the Indian Archipelago contains much valuable information about this part of the world.

History of the Church of England from the Revolution to the Last Acts of Convocation, 1688—1717, by Rev. William Palin, M. A.

Harmony of the Apocalypse, in a revised translation by Christopher Wordsworth, D. D., Canon of Westminster. The third edition also of a "Comparative View of the Churches of Rome and England, with an Appendix on Church Authority, the Character of Schism, and the Rock on which our Saviour said that he would build his Church," by Herbert Marsh, D.D., Lord Bishop of Peterborough.

Manual of Ecclesiastical History, Centuries 1st—12th, by the Rev. E. S. Foulkes, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. 1 vol. 12*s*.

2d. Edition revised and anlarged of Jelf's Greek Grammar. 2 vols. £1 10*s*.

GERMANY.

Another volume of Neander's Universal History of the Christian Religion and Church, has been published. This is the eleventh part of the entire work, and brings the history down from Boniface VIII. to the Council of Basle. It was prepared from Dr. Neander's papers by K. Fr. Theod. Schneider. pp. 805.

A Condensed Exegetical Manual to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, has been commenced by Prof. O. F. Fritzsche, of the University of Zurich, and Prof. W. Grimm, of the University of Jena. The first number, 8vo. pp. 222, has appeared, containing a Commentary on the Third Book of Esdras, the additions to Esther and Daniel, the Prayer of Manasseh, the Book of Baruch, and the Epistle of Jeremiah, by Fritzsche. The next is to contain Grimm on the Books of Maccabees; the third, Fritzsche on Tobit and Judith; the fourth, Grimm on Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Wisdom. It is issued from the same house, (Weidmann's, Leipzic), and in uniform style with the Manual to the Old Testiment by Hitzig and others, and the Manual to the New Testament by De Wette, to which it is

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intended in its method to correspond, and to which we may add, taking this number as a specimen, in its spirit and theological views it also corresponds.

The tenth number of the Condensed Exegetical Manual to the Old Testament has appeared, containing an Exposition of the Book of Daniel, by Hitzig.

D. A. Hilgenfeld, The Epistle to the Galatians translated and explained.

W. A. Van Hengel, Commentary on the 15th Chapter of Paul's first Epistle to to the Corinthians.

L. J. Rückert, Theology. Part II.

Fr. Duesterdieck, De rei propheticæ in V. T. quum universæ tum messianæ naturâ ethicâ.

C. Ramers, Origen's Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body.

The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, collated from thirty ancient Greek codices, by E. Tischendorf.

The Book of Enoch, in Ethiopic, from five codices, with various readings, by A. Dillmann.

Pistis Sophia. A Gnostic production, attributed to Valentinus, taken from a London Coptic manuscript and rendered into Latin, by M. G. Schwartze.

H. Ewald, Treatise on the Phenician views of the Creation of the World and the historical value of Sanchoniathon.

H. Brugsch, Book of Metempsychosis of the Ancient Egyptians, from two funeral papyri in hieratic characters, translated into Latin, with notes.

J. W. Wolf, Contributions to German Mythology. I. Gods and Goddesses.

H. R. Hagenbach, Leonhard Euler as an apologist of Christianity.

G. T. Grässe, Hand-book of Ancient Numismatics. No. 1, with three plates. To be completed in 18 or 20 numbers.

A. von Humboldt, Kosmos. Vol. III. Part 2.

We notice the 1st volume of Cicero's Orations, by G. Long, also English Synonyms, edited by R. Whately. The Countess Ida Hahn Hahn's "Journey from Babylon to Jerusalem," has elicited a great number of replies, one of the best of which has lately been put into an English dress. The activity of T. K. Arnold in the production of school books is astonishing. One of his last and most ingenious is "Spelling turned Etymology," in which by a series of progressive exercises, the pupil is made unconsciously master of all the radicals of the language. With all our boasted ingenuity and our long start, English school books are now beginning to be imported in considerable numbers.

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The Expository Lectures on 1st Peter, by Professor J. Brown, D. D., has reached a second edition.

There are published by the same author, "the Resurrection of Life, an Exposition of the Fifteenth Chapter of 1st Corinthians."

"Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ."

"An Exposition of our Lord's Intercessory Prayer, with a Discourse on the Relation of our Lord's Intercession to the Conversion of the World."

Alison the Historian has in preparation "A History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Re-establishment of Military Government in 1851." The best help to the study of Alison, is the Atlas to Alison's History of Europe, by A. Keith Johnston, F. R. S. E. Crown, 4to. £2 12*s*. 6*d*.

Among the publications and republications in this country, we note "The Memoirs and Writings of Hartly Coleridge," and "Eleven Weeks in Europe and what may be seen therein," Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. Abridged editions of Surrenne's and Adler's standard French and German Dictionaries. The last is a great convenience; it is well printed and bound, and as the abridging was done by the author with corrections and additions, it may claim to be, in some respects, a new work. Appletons, New York.

Lectures on the History of France, by Sir James Stephen, K. C. B., a manual prepared for the students of Cambridge University. Popular Account of the Discoveries at Nineveh, by Austen Henry Layard. Harpers.

Scribner announces "Hungary in 1851," with an Experience of the Austrian Police, by C. L. Brace, the able correspondent of the Tribune.

The Appletons have commenced a new series of books, among them is to be "The Life of Goldsmith," by John Forster, one of the first historical writers of the age.

"Arctic Searching Expedition; a Journal of a Boat Voyage through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea, in Search of the Discovery Ships under the command of Sir John Franklin. With an Appendix on the Physical Geography of North America." By Sir John Richardson, C. B., F. R. S.

"Memoirs of Sarah Margaret Fuller, Marchesa Ossoli," edited by Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Wm. H. Channing. "Though several more hands than these join to make the book, yet there is no lack of unity. For so marked was her character, and so predominant her influence over those with whom she came in contact, that they are almost all reduced to the same point of view, and give the same representation."

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Bancroft's long looked for 4th volume has just appeared. It is faithfully elaborated, but there is a good deal of display of style in certain parts.

"The Vestiges of Civilization," by a New York aspirant to the honours of Philosophy and History.

"Vegetable Physiology," by M. Edgeworth Lazarus"—Fowler and Wells—is one of the latest and most prurient offshoots of the Phrenological school. The headings of some of the chapters are curious—"Supreme Reason of Analogy," "Passional Mathematics," &c. The writer seems perfectly oblivious of the idea of morality, and appears to consider nature as one great *double entendre.*

"Sacred Streams; or The Ancient and Modern History of the Rivers of the Bible." Edited by George B. Cheever, D. D., embellished with 50 illustrations. Stringer & Townsend.

"Life and Labours of the Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D.," by his son, Samuel M. Worcester, D. D. Crocker & Brewster, Boston.

"The Epistle of James practically explained," translated from the German of Neander by Mrs. Conant. L. Colby, N. Y.

QUARTERLY SCIENTIFIC INTELLIGENCE.

Ozone.—A brief account of Professor Schönbein's ozone was given by Professor Faraday at a meeting of the Royal Society in June last. The subject is one of rare interest, in relation to the theories of the physical qualities of the particles of matter.

Ozone is produced when an electrical brush passes from a moist wooden point into the atmosphere, and, indeed, in almost every electrical discharge into the air; or when water is electralyzed, as in the case of a dilute solution of sulphuric acid or sulphate of zinc; or when phosphorus acts at common temperatures on a moist portion of the atmosphere. For the latter case, put into a clear two quart bottle a bit of phosphorus, about half an inch long, having its surface newly scraped, and pour in water enough to half cover the phosphorus. Close the mouth slightly to prevent the danger of an explosion. The formation of ozone will quickly occur, which may be known by the luminous appearance of the phosphorus, and by the ascent of a fountain-like column of smoke from it. In less than one

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minute the test will show the presence of ozone, and in five or six hours it will be comparatively abundant. Remove the phosphorus and wash out the acids. The ozone may be preserved by corking the bottle.

To prepare the test for ozone, take 1 part of pure iodide of potassium, 10 parts of starch, and 200 parts of water, and boil them together a few moments. This may be put on common writing paper with a brush; or, by dipping bibulous paper into the solution, we have Schönbein's ozometric test. The test when moistened turns blue instantly in the presence of ozone, or if exposed to a dry atmosphere, containing ozone, it becomes blue on being moistened, in consequence of the evolution of iodine.

By whichever method ozone is obtained it is identical. Its principal properties are as follows:—It is a gaseous body of a peculiar odor, which when concentrated resembles chlorine, but when dilute it cannot be distinguished from what is called the electric smell. It is irrespirable, producing catarrhal effects if inhaled with the air, and killing small animals. Like chlorine and bromine, and many per-oxyds, it is a powerful electromotive substance. It discharges vegetable colours with a chlorine-like energy. It acts powerfully on most metallic bodies, producing the highest degree of oxydation of which they are capable. It produces oxydizing effects in most organic compounds, causing a variety of chemical changes; thus guaiacum is turned blue by it. From what has been said, it would seem to be a most ready and powerful oxydizer, acting, in many cases, like Thenard's per-oxyd of hydrogen, or chlorine, or bromine.

With respect to the nature of this body, the two principal ideas are, that it is a compound of oxygen analogous to the per-oxyd of hydrogen, or that it is oxygen in an allotropic state; *i. e.* with the capability of immediate and ready action impressed upon it. When an ozoneized atmosphere is made as dry as possible, and sent through a red hot tube, the ozone disappears, being converted apparently into common oxygen gas, and no water or other result is produced. This agrees with the well known fact that heat prevents the formation of ozone, and also with the idea that ozone is only oxygen in an allotropic state.

Means of obtaining a Vacuum.—The Philosophical Magazine for February contains an account of an ingenious mode, devised by Dr. Thomas Andrews, of obtaining a vacuum in the receiver of an air pump, not less perfect than the Torricellian vacuum, which, though sufficiently perfect, is not generally available.

It is rare to find an air pump which will indicate a pressure

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of less than 0.1 inch of the manometer, but by the plan proposed the vacuum is *perfect* so far as it is indicated by the manometer. Into the receiver of an ordinary air pump, which is not required to exhaust further than to 0.3 or 0.5 of an inch, but which must be capable of retaining a vacuum, two shallow open vessels are placed, one above the other, as in the common experiment of freezing water by the cold produced by its evaporation, the lower one containing concentrated sulphuric acid, and the upper a concentrated solution of caustic potash. The precise proportions of these liquids is not important, provided that they are so adjusted that the acid is capable of completely desiccating the potash solution without being much reduced in strength, but at the same time that it does not expose so large a surface as completely to dry the potash in less than five or six hours. The pump is worked till the air in the receiver has an elastic force of 0.3 or 0.4 of an inch, and the stop-cock below the plate is then closed. A communication is now established between the tube for admitting air below the valves and a gas-holder containing carbonic acid prepared with care to exclude atmospheric air. After all the air has been removed from the connecting tubes by alternately exhausting and admitting carbonic acid, the stop-cock below the plate is opened, and the carbonic acid is allowed to pass into the receiver. The exhaustion is again quickly performed to the extent of half an inch or less. If a very perfect vacuum is required, this operation may be repeated. On leaving the apparatus to itself the carbonic acid which has displaced the residual air will be absorbed by the alkaline solution, and the aqueous vapour will afterwards be absorbed by the sulphuric acid.

Evidently the only limit to the completeness of the vacuum obtained in this way arises from the difficulty of obtaining carbonic acid perfectly pure from atmospheric air.

The number of asteroidal planets discovered between Mars and Jupiter is now so large that an improved symbolical notation has become necessary, and has been agreed upon by several European and American astronomers—viz: a circle enclosing the number of the planet in the order of its discovery. The number hitherto discovered is fifteen, of which five have been discovered since the beginning of the year 1850.

Reptiles in the Old Red Sandstone.—Considerable interest has been excited among geologists, by the announcement of the occurrence of the remains of two or more reptiles in the old red sandstone of Scotland, inasmuch as no vestiges of animals of a

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higher class than fishes has hitherto been found in that formation in any part of the earth. Silliman's Journal gives an abstract from the proceedings of the Geological Society of London, containing an account of foot-prints found at Cummingston, near Elgin, in every respect similar to those found in Triassic and other rocks, and which are ascribed by paleontologists to turtles or tortoises; and of an extraordinary fossil procured from the sandstone at Spynie. This fossil consists of the impression of a four-footed reptile, about six inches long, in a block of crystalline sandstone.

Dr. Mantell concludes, from a minute examination of the fossil, that the original was a peculiar type of air-breathing oviparous quadruped, presenting in its osteology certain characters that are found in the *Lacertians*, combined with others that occur in the *Batrachians*. It must have borne a general resemblance in physiognomy to an aquatic salamander, (lizard,) with a broad dorsal region, and longer limbs than the ordinary Tritons, fitted alike for progression on land and through water.

Prof. Le Conte, of the University of Georgia, has shown, (in an article in Silliman's Journal) that, contrary to the opinion of some eminent physiologists, the complete congelation of the juices of a plant does not necessarily destroy its vitality. He also suggests various causes which enable some plants to endure extreme cold.

Distribution of Marine Animals on the Coasts of Great Britain.—An interesting account of the sublittoral distribution of the marine invertebrata along the coasts of Great Britain, is given in the Report of Prof. Edward Forbes, on the Investigation of British Marine Zoology by means of the dredge.

British marine animals are distributed in depth in a series of zones or regions along the shores from high-water mark down to the lowest depths explored. The uppermost of these tracts lies between tide marks, and is called the *Littoral Zone*. Whatever be the extent of the rise and fall of the tide, this zone presents similar features wherever the ground affords security for the growth of marine plants and animals, and can be sub-divided into a series of corresponding sub-regions, each having its own characteristic animals and plants.

The common limpet, (*Patella vulgata*,) ranges through the entire zone, and is characteristic of it. The highest sub-region

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is constantly characterized by the presence of the periwinkle, *Littorina rudis*, along with the sea-weed *Fucus canaliculatus*.

The second sub-region is characterized by the common mussel, (*Mytilus edulis*,) and the sea-weed *Lichina*. The third is marked by the commonest kind of wrack or kelp, (*Fucus articulatus*,) and the largest periwinkle, *Littorina littorea*. The fourth sub-region is characterized by a new species of *Fucus*, (the *serratus*,) and by the *Littorina littoralis*.

The *Laminarian Zone* commences at the low-water mark, and extends to the depth of fifteen fathoms. Here the periwinkles becomes rare, or disappear; and the *Fuci* are replaced by the large sea-weeds, among which live peculiar forms of animals and lesser plants. The genus *Lacuna*, among shell-fish, is especially characteristic of this zone.

The *Coralline Zone* extends to the depth of fifty fathoms, and is so named from the plant-like zoophytes abounding in it. The majority of its inhabitants are predacious. Many of the larger fishes belong to it.

Below fifty fathoms is the *Region of deep-sea-corals*, so called because true corals, of considerable dimensions, are found in its depths. Its deepest recesses have not been examined.

Gregarious species are most common in the *Littoral Zone*.

The influence of light in colouring marine animals is illustrated by the fact, that some species (for example the *Venus striatula*,) which range through all the zones, are colourless when found at great depths, but conspicuously coloured when taken from moderate depths. Between sixty and eighty fathoms in the Scottish seas, dull white, dull red, yellow or brown are the prevailing hues; at the same time, however, the vividly painted animal of the coral *Caryophyllia* thrives at a depth of eighty fathoms.

Dust Showers.—An article in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal details the results of a microscopical examination by Dr. C. G. Ehrenberg, of specimens of dust which have fallen in showers at sea, and in the Southern parts of Europe, at various times from the year 1803 to 1846. In all the specimens, a considerable part was found to consist of the shells of fresh water and sand infusoria. There were a few species of marine origin, and a less number of vegetable. The whole number of species of organisms observed was three hundred and twenty.

Dr. H. Goadby has communicated to Silliman's Journal a beau-

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tiful way of making wet preparations for the microscope. The preserving cell, when completed, is composed of three pieces of plate-glass, cemented together, the middle one having a circular hole cut out of its central portion for the reception of the specimen and preserving fluid. This hole may be conveniently cut by means of a copper tube, properly set in a lathe, and fine emery or sand. The middle plate should be of such thickness that the preparation may be slightly pressed between the other two, so as to hold it in its place. The plates must be made perfectly clean, by means of sulphuric acid and potash, and dried with a muslin handkerchief. The middle plate and bottom are first cemented together. The cement which Dr. Goadby prefers is a marine glue, suggested by Dr. P. B. Goddard, of Philadelphia. It consists of caoutchouc dissolved in chloroform, by the aid of a gentle heat, to the consistence of a mucilaginous paste, with the addition of carefully selected tears of gum mastic until the mixture becomes sufficiently fluid to use with a brush. The cover should be of thin plate glass, cut a little smaller than the other plates.

The preserving fluid should be made to come into close contact with the sides of the preserving cell by means of a brush, or the preparation will be injured by the gradual appearance of small bubbles of air. The cell being completely filled with the fluid, and having as much poured upon it as can be made to remain there, is to be covered with the plate designed for that purpose, which should be previously wetted by rubbing it with a brush. The fluid is then to be carefully wiped from around the edges of the cover, and the cover cemented by successive coats of the cement before mentioned, applied around its edge.

American Optical Instruments.—Mr. Charles A. Spencer of Cannasota, New York, has constructed a microscope-object-glass in accordance with his new formula, which seems to indicate a decided improvement in the art. He has obtained an angle of aperture of 174½ degrees—considerably greater than was deemed possible up to the time of his discovery. The instrument resolves the markings of test objects in the most satisfactory manner.

Mr. John Lyman of Lenox, Massachusetts, has recently constructed a reflecting telescope, of 16 feet focus, and having an aperture of 9½ inches in the clear. The arrangement for observation is that of Herschell and Lord Rosse. The remarkably accurate figure of the speculum is evinced by the clearness with which it resolves the double stars, in instances when they

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are but $\frac{1}{2}''$ distant. Professor S. Alexander of the College of New Jersey, being present at a partial trial of the instrument at Albany, regarded its performance as highly satisfactory.

The Telegraph in Piedmont. — The London Mechanic's Magazine says that the electric telegraph is being extensively introduced into "that happy part of Italy which alone has maintained its free institutions against all attacks from within and without—namely Piedmont." The best methods have been adopted to combine economy of construction with efficiency of service. A line has been completed from Turin to Genoa. From Turin to Arquata the wires follow the railroad, but from the latter place to Genoa a chain of the Appenines intervenes, and it will be long before the road will be completed. M. Bonelli, Director of Electric Telegraphs, has, however, suspended the wires from mountain to mountain, at immense altitudes, riding over deep valleys and ravines without intermediate support. The poles are placed at the summits of the hills at distances of from 800 to 1300 yards. This line had been in successful operation through a great part of the winter. The French engineers have boasted of their successful adoption of long distances, but in their *chef d'œuvre* the greatest length of unsupported wire is 650 yards.

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THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

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No. III.

ART. I.—*Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. IV. (The papers of Lewis Morris, Governor of the Province of New Jersey, from 1738 to 1746.) George P. Putnam, New York, 1852, pp. 336.

WE announce with pleasure the appearance of another volume of the Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society. We welcome it, not only as a valuable contribution to the history of the State, but as an earnest of the diligence and success with which the Society is pursuing its useful labours. But before we proceed to notice the contents of the volume, we desire to say a few words in reference to the Society itself, and to what it has already accomplished.

In the month of February, 1845, a few gentlemen from different parts of the State, met together in the city of Trenton, and formed an association under the name of "The New Jersey Historical Society." Its objects were declared to be, "to discover, procure, and preserve, whatever relates to any department of the history of New Jersey, natural, civil, literary and ecclesiastical." It commenced operations without funds, without patronage of any kind; relying for support, solely, upon the annual dues of its members, and the voluntary contributions of those who felt an interest in the cause. The

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field of labour upon which it was about to enter, was one which had been in a great measure unexplored, and in which, therefore, almost everything remained to be done. The State of New Jersey had been singularly inattentive to the preservation of its early memorials, and colonial records; and the materials for its history, still in existence, were rapidly passing away.

But notwithstanding these feeble beginnings, and although the Society has now been in operation but little more than seven years, we venture to affirm, that no association of a similar kind, in this country at least, has ever done so much, within the same period of time. There are upwards of three hundred regular members connected with the Society, and residents of the State; besides a large number of honorary and corresponding members. The foundation has been laid of a noble library, which already numbers some fourteen hundred volumes, many of them rare and valuable; in addition to which, there is a numerous collection of pamphlets and manuscripts, which have thus been rescued from destruction, and preserved for the use of the future historian. Five volumes of the transactions of the Society, and a portion of the sixth, have been published; and they are full of interesting matter. They contain the proceedings of the Society, extracts from its correspondence, and papers read and addresses delivered at its meetings. Many of these papers have not only a high historical value, but as literary performances, possess much merit.

There have also been published, at the expense of the Society, a series of volumes entitled, "Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society;" which, whether we consider the value of their contents, or the handsome style in which they are put forth, reflect the highest credit upon the association. The first of these volumes was published in 1846, and contains a history of East Jersey under the Proprietary Government, by William A. Whitehead. It is an interesting and well written narrative of events, connected with the first settlement of the Province, and its progress down to the surrender of the government to the crown, in 1702—drawn principally from original sources. The author, Mr. Whitehead, has for many years devoted much of his time and attention to the history of

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New Jersey, and it is to the good fortune of the Society, in securing his valuable services as its Corresponding Secretary, that a large share of its success is owing. The volume is enriched by an Appendix, containing "The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey, in America," by George Scot, of Pittochie, reprinted from the original edition, published at Edinburgh, in 1685. This work was written at the request of the Scotch proprietaries of New Jersey, in order to induce their countrymen to emigrate to the Province; and it is probably to the influence which it exerted, that we are indebted for a most valuable portion of our original settlers—men whose virtue had been "refined by adversity," and whose piety had been "invigorated by patriotism." Only four copies of the original edition are known to exist—two in Europe, and two in America. One is in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh; another in the Gottingen Collection; the third in Harvard College Library; and the fourth in the possession of Mr. John A. King, of Long Island. This reprint of a book, at once so rare and curious, and so closely connected with the early history of the State, was therefore most appropriate and seasonable.

The second volume of the collections of the Society was published in 1847, and contains the life of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, Major-General in the army of the United States during the Revolution, with selections from his correspondence by his grandson, William Alexander Duer. Lord Stirling—a title due to him by courtesy only, but by which he was generally called—was the senior officer of the revolutionary army from New Jersey, and was for many years intimately connected with the affairs of the colony. Hence the propriety of his life and correspondence forming one of the publications of the Society.

The third volume was published in 1849, and is entitled, "The Provincial Courts of New Jersey, with Sketches of the Bench and Bar," by Richard S. Field. To this is annexed the Commission and Instructions to Lord Cornbury, the first Royal Governor, which may be considered as the Constitution of the colony of New Jersey; showing the manner in which the government was organized, and the courts of justice constituted

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prior to 1776. The fourth volume, which has just been issued from the press, is the one which stands at the head of this article, and which it is our purpose to notice more particularly.

But, perhaps the most valuable contribution which has been made to the stock of materials for a history of the State, is the Analytical Index of New Jersey Colonial Documents, which has just been compiled under the auspices of the Society. It had long been known that there were in the State Paper Office in London many valuable documents pertaining to the early history of New Jersey. In 1847, detailed information was obtained through Mr. John R. Broadhead, Secretary of Legation at the Court of St. James, of the nature and extent of these documents. It was ascertained that there were in the English Archives no less than fifty-five volumes, the contents of which referred exclusively to the affairs of New Jersey; besides many valuable papers scattered through a large number of other volumes. To obtain an abstract of these documents, became at once an object of earnest desire on the part of the Society. But this would necessarily involve much labour and expense; and it was thought that the resources of the Society were entirely too limited to justify it in undertaking a work of such magnitude. It was, therefore, resolved to make application to the Legislature of New Jersey for pecuniary aid in the prosecution of the enterprise; and it was confidently hoped that this assistance would be cheerfully rendered, inasmuch as among these documents were the lost Minutes of the Provincial Council and Assembly, the recovery of which had long been an object of solicitude to the State. But although the subject was pressed upon the attention of the Legislature, year after year, by executive recommendations, and by favourable reports of committees, both of the Senate and Assembly, yet no appropriation was ever made for the purpose.

The Society was thus reduced to the necessity of falling back upon its own unaided efforts, or of relinquishing, for the present, all hope of obtaining access to these rich treasures. A subscription was therefore set on foot among its members, for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, the necessary funds; and, through the zeal and liberality of a few individuals—among whom, we feel bound more particularly to mention the

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name of the Honourable James G. King—an amount was secured which was deemed sufficient to warrant the undertaking. It was placed in the hands of a committee, of which Mr. King was the chairman; and through their unwearied exertions, the work has been happily accomplished. The individual employed for the purpose of making the necessary selection and arrangement of the Index, was Henry Stevens, Esq., who happened, very fortunately, at the time, to have taken up his residence in London, with the view of collecting materials for his projected bibliographical work; and to the discrimination, taste, and good judgment shown by him in the performance of the task, too much praise cannot be awarded.

The work consists of nine volumes, beautifully executed, in quarto cases, covered with blue morocco, and furnished with locks and keys. Each volume consists of two hundred manuscript cards, thus making eighteen hundred in all; and every card contains an abstract of some document relating to New Jersey in the Queen's State Paper Office. The cards are arranged chronologically, and each case has the first and last date lettered on the back. A reference is given to the particular place where each document is to be found, together with its date, and the number of *folios* of which it consists. A *folio*, as estimated in the State Paper Office, comprises seventy-two words; and the price of copying being regulated, by law, at fourpence per folio, the exact cost of obtaining copies of any of these documents may be readily ascertained.

In order to render the work still more complete, Mr. Stevens is engaged in the preparation of a supplementary volume, to which he proposes adding a preface, and also a list of all the printed books and parts of books, illustrative of New Jersey history. As soon as this is received, it is the intention of the Society to have the whole work printed and published; and, as we have adverted to the refusal of the Legislature, in the first instance, to aid in the enterprise, it is but right to mention, that at their late session, an appropriation of five hundred dollars was made for the purpose of purchasing such a number of copies as will amount to that sum. We look upon this as a pledge that they will not hereafter regard with indifference an Association that is really doing so much for the honour of the

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State, and contributing so largely to its fair fame. Had the Society done nothing else than secure the completion of this Index of Colonial Documents, it would have entitled itself to the lasting gratitude of the people of New Jersey.

But it is time to give some account of the volume, the appearance of which has called forth these remarks. It consists of the correspondence and official despatches of Lewis Morris, the first Governor of New Jersey, as a separate colony; to which is prefixed a brief, but interesting biographical memoir, from the pen of William A. Whitehead, Esq. The papers which form the basis of the volume, were presented to the Society some years since by Lieutenant Boggs, of the United States Navy, a descendant of Governor Morris; and the Rev. Dr. Davidson, of New Brunswick; and they comprise, among other things, a letter-book, in the handwriting of the Governor, containing copies of his despatches from 1739 to 1746. They are therefore original documents, and with two or three exceptions, have never before been in print; and they relate to an interesting period in the colonial history of New Jersey. It is our purpose to refer to a few particulars in the life of Governor Morris, and to give some extracts from the correspondence.

No name figures more conspicuously in the early annals of New Jersey and New York, than that of Morris. For more than a century, individuals of this family exercised a controlling influence in the political affairs of both Provinces. Richard Morris, the father of Lewis, had been an officer in Cromwell's army, and upon the restoration of Charles II., was compelled to seek a refuge in foreign lands. He went first to the West Indies, and then to New York, where he obtained a grant of more than three thousand acres of land, near Harlem, about ten miles from the city. Upon this domain, which was invested with manorial privileges, he seated himself; bestowing upon it the name of Morrisania, which it still bears. Here Lewis Morris was born, in 1671. Before he was a year old, he had the misfortune to lose both of his parents; and was thus left a friendless orphan in a strange land. The Provincial Government appointed guardians, to take care of his person and property; but his uncle coming soon afterwards to America,

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assumed the guardianship of him, and made him heir to his fortune.

In addition to the manor of Morrisania, upon which he resided, his uncle became the proprietor of a very large tract of land in Monmouth county, New Jersey, which he called Tinturn—after an estate which had belonged to the family in Monmouthshire, Wales—and the remembrance of which was still further perpetuated, by the name given to the county of Monmouth.

Lewis Morris was a wild and wayward youth. Upon one occasion, having given some offence to his uncle, and fearing his resentment, he strolled away into Virginia, and thence to Jamaica, in the West Indies, where, to support himself, "he set up for a scrivener." After spending some years in this "vagabond" life, he returned to his uncle, who received the "young prodigal" with open arms; and to cure him of his wandering propensities, brought about his marriage with a daughter of James Graham, the Attorney General of New York—a lady of sense and refinement, with whom he lived for nearly fifty-five years, in a state of much connubial happiness. Another of the youthful freaks recorded of him, was played off upon his tutor, one Hugh Coppathwaite, a "Quaker zealot." Concealing himself among the branches of a tree, he called upon Hugh, by name, and commanded him to go and preach the gospel among the Mohawks. The credulous enthusiast took it for a miraculous call, and was on the point of setting out upon his mission, when the trick was discovered. But marriage, and the cares of public life—upon which Mr. Morris entered at an early age—soon sobered him.

He took up his residence in Monmouth county, and, notwithstanding his youth, at once exercised much influence in the province. In 1692, when but twenty-two years of age, we find him acting as one of the Judges of the Court of Common Right, the Supreme Court of East Jersey, under the Proprietary Government. He had also a seat in the Council while Andrew Hamilton was Governor. In 1698, when Jeremiah Basse claimed the Government, in virtue of an appointment by a portion of the proprietaries, Mr. Morris openly disputed his authority, and refused obedience to the legal tribu-

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nals; in consequence of which, he was fined and imprisoned. Upon the overthrow of Basse's authority, and the return of Hamilton in 1700, Morris was appointed President of the Council.

It was at this period that he prepared a Memorial upon the State of Religion in the Provinces of East and West Jersey, addressed to the Bishop of London—the first document we have from his pen, in the volume before us—and quite a characteristic production. A sad picture is given of the state of morals and religion in New Jersey at that time—a picture which we cannot but think is somewhat overdrawn. In East Jersey, the population of which he estimates at eight thousand, the great mass of the people are represented as being of no religion at all. Drinking, and fighting, and running of races on the Sabbath day are said to be practices "much in use all the Province over." "The youth of the whole Province are very debauched, and very ignorant, and the Sabbath seems there to be set apart for rioting and drunkenness." In Perth Amboy, the "capital city," he says, "We have made a shift to patch up the old ruinous house, and make a church of it, and *when all the churchmen of the Province are got together, we make up about twelve communicants.*" In West Jersey, matters are described as not being much better. "The Quakers in that Province," he observes, "are the men of the best rank and estates; the rest of the people, generally speaking, are a *hotch-potch* of all religions; the Quakers have several meeting-houses dispersed up and down that Province, and I believe none of the other persuasions have any. They have a very debauched youth in that Province, and very ignorant." He concludes by suggesting some measures which he thought might "conduce to the bringing over to the Church, of the people in the colonies. The first was, that no one should be sent as Governor to any of the plantations, but a "firm churchman;" and, if possible, none but churchmen to be in the Council and Magistracy. Another suggestion was, that for a certain period of time, no one should be admitted to any great benefice in England, who would not oblige himself to preach three years *gratis* in America. "By this means," he adds, "we shall have the greatest and best men, and, in human pro-

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bability, such men must, in a short time, make wonderful progress in the conversion of those countries." The first suggestion, so far at least as Governors were concerned, seems to have been generally acted upon; but the last, we suspect, did not meet with much favour. The idea of preaching "three years *gratis* in America," would have caused some *wry* faces among the candidates for church livings in those days.

Mr. Morris took an active part in the negotiations which led to the surrender of the proprietary Government to the Crown, in 1702. Having obtained the consent of all the proprietors in the Province, he embarked for England, in order to secure the co-operation of those residing there. As a reward for his services, it was at first intended to give him the government of New Jersey; but this design was abandoned, when it was resolved to place New York and New Jersey under the same governor. To have conferred a post of so much honour and profit upon a native American, would have been a departure from the policy which was pursued by the mother country towards her colonies. For America, as it was truly said, "was the *hospital* of Great Britain, for its decayed members of Parliament, and abandoned courtiers." The individual, chosen to be the first royal Governor of New York and New Jersey, was Lord Cornbury, a son of the Earl of Clarendon, and cousin to Queen Anne. Whatever else he may have been deficient in, he was thought at least to possess one qualification which Mr. Morris had deemed so important for colonial governors. He professed to be a very "firm churchman," and evinced his zeal, by the contempt and indignity with which he treated all who dissented from the establishment, but more especially the Quakers.

In the instructions to Lord Cornbury, Mr. Morris was named as one of the Council; but he soon signalized himself by a resolute resistance to the arbitrary measures of the Governor. For this, he incurred the ire of that functionary, by whom, in 1704, he was suspended; and although reinstated by order of the Queen, yet before the end of the year, he was suspended again. Towards the close of Cornbury's administration, he became a member of the Assembly, and at once assumed the lead of the popular party in that body. He was

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the author of that famous remonstrance to Lord Cornbury, the history of which forms so interesting and amusing a chapter in the colonial annals of New Jersey. During the short-lived administration of Lord Lovelace, Mr. Morris was again a member of Council.

In 1710, Robert Hunter, the friend and correspondent of Addison and Swift, was appointed Governor, and then Mr. Morris appears to have withdrawn in a great measure from New Jersey, and to have taken a more active part in the affairs of New York. He was for several years a member of the Assembly in that Province, and was the chief adviser, and the ablest supporter of Governor Hunter. In 1714, he was appointed Chief Justice of New York, which office he continued to fill until 1733, when he was removed by Governor Cosby, to whom he had given offence, by a judicial opinion delivered by him in the Supreme Court. He again became a member of the Assembly for the county of Westchester, and such was his popularity at this period, that upon his visiting the capital, salutes were fired, a procession formed, and a grand entertainment given to him at the public expense.

In 1734, Mr. Morris again visited England, having been selected by the opponents of Governor Cosby, to lay their grievances before the King—a mission upon which his own private griefs led him to embark with much alacrity. We are furnished with a number of extracts from letters, written by him while in England, to James Alexander, the father of Lord Stirling. He gives us the impressions made upon his mind, by the way in which the affairs of the colonies were administered at that time. Under date of February 24th, 1734—35, he writes thus:

"We talk in America of applications to parliaments. Alas! my friend, parliaments are parliaments everywhere—here, as well as with us. We admire the heavenly bodies which glitter at a distance; but should we be removed into Jupiter or Saturn, perhaps we should find it composed of as dark materials as our own earth. We have a parliament and ministry, some of whom, I am apt to believe, know that there are plantations and governors—but not quite so well as we do; like the frogs in the fable, the mad pranks of a plantation-governor are sport

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to them, though death to us; and they seem less concerned in our contests, than we are at those between crows and king-birds." Governors, he goes on to say, are called "the King's representatives," and when, by repeated acts of avarice, cruelty, and injustice, those whom they have injured are driven to complain, this is termed, "flying in the face of Government." "And who," he asks, "is equal to the task of procuring redress? Changing the man is far from an adequate remedy, if the thing remains the same; and we had as well keep an ill, artless Governor we know, as to change him for one equally ill, with more art, that we do not know." Mr. Morris, it is evident, was a very acute observer, and he certainly wrote with no little point. But he was soon himself to be one of these same "plantation-governors," and the "King's representative;" and to furnish in his own person, one of the most striking illustrations of the truth of these observations.

The question of a separate Governor for New Jersey, was one that had been frequently agitated. The idea of being under the same government with New York, had always been distasteful to the people of New Jersey. Being the larger and more populous Province, and possessing the attractions of a gay city, New York became the permanent residence of the Governor, and its affairs his chief concern. His visits to New Jersey were brief and infrequent, and its interests were apt to be regarded by him as matters of secondary consideration. Upon the death of Governor Cosby in 1736, and the return of Mr. Morris, the subject was taken up in earnest, and memorials to the Crown were prepared and sent forward by the Council members of Assembly, grand juries, and individuals throughout the Province, praying for the appointment of a separate Governor. The influence which Mr. Morris had acquired in England, and the friends he had made there, enabled him to second these efforts, and, at the same time, to secure the office for himself. Accordingly, in the month of February, 1738, he received a commission, appointing him Governor of New Jersey alone, and on the 29th of August following, he published his commission at Amboy, and entered upon the discharge of his official duties.

Great was the joy diffused by this event throughout the Pro-

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vince. The people of New Jersey were now about to have—what they had so long coveted—a Governor, exclusively their own—who would take up his residence among them, and devote himself wholly to their affairs. Nor could any individual have been selected for the office more entirely acceptable to them. He had been long and favourably known to them. They remembered, with gratitude, his bold and fearless assertion of the rights of the Assembly, against the arbitrary encroachments of Lord Cornbury. Unlike most royal governors, Mr. Morris was not a needy adventurer, sent to the colonies to mend his shattered fortune, and having no tie of interest or feeling to bind him to those whom he was to govern. He was a man of property—a large landed proprietor in New Jersey—a native too of the country, and imbued with those feelings of local patriotism, which were thought to be the surest pledge for fidelity to its interests. He had not indeed the charm of youth; for he was nearly seventy years old. But his constitution was unbroken—his health was unimpaired—and age, it might be hoped, had but matured his judgment, and ripened his experience, and quenched the fires of unhallowed ambition. What a happy, and peaceful, and contented lot, then must have been that of New Jersey under his benignant sway! Alas! we may say, as Mr. Morris did of parliaments, governors are governors everywhere. He was, with the exception perhaps of Cornbury, the most unpopular Governor that ever ruled over the province; his whole career was one uninterrupted scene of strife and contention with the representatives of the people; and after his death, his widow was a bootless suppliant to the Assembly, for the arrears of salary long withheld from him.

Those who desire to know how, and why this was so, must consult the volume before us; for, it is to this period of Mr. Morris's life, that the valuable papers contained in it principally relate. Here we have the correspondence of Governor Morris, with the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, who superintended American affairs—with the Duke of Newcastle, one of the Secretaries of State, who had charge of the Colonial Department—with his friends, both at home and abroad; detailing all the measures of his administration—

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recounting all his disputes with the Assembly—and giving at great length, the reasons for his conduct. These documents furnish ample materials for a history of the colony, during the period embraced by them; and at the same time, they enable us to do justice to the character of Governor Morris, and to rescue his memory from a portion of the obloquy which it has been customary to heap upon it.

In referring to the controversies which took place between royal governors and colonial assemblies, we are perhaps too much in the habit of looking only at one side of the question; of taking it for granted that the assemblies were always right, and the governors always wrong; and that while the motives of the former were uniformly pure and patriotic, those of the latter were, as uniformly, corrupt and mercenary. But, admitting this to have been the general rule, there were undoubtedly exceptions to it; and in the case of Governor Morris and the New Jersey Assembly, no one, we think, can rise from the perusal of these papers, without coming to the conclusion, that to say the least, there were faults upon both sides. But our limits will not allow us even to state, much less to discuss, all the points in dispute between them; for, in truth, they very rarely had the good fortune to agree in any thing. The questions too, however important they may have been deemed at the time, have long since lost their interest. All that we think it necessary to do therefore, is to suggest some considerations, which may serve to account for these irreconcilable differences of opinion, without imputing any bad motives, and, indeed, without casting very serious blame on either side.

Governor Morris was certainly not blessed with a very amiable disposition; he was irritable, and impatient of contradiction; very tenacious of his opinions, and fond, to excess, of disputation; he prided himself upon his skill and experience in political affairs; and expected from his Assemblies a degree of deference and submission which they were by no means willing to yield. He had to do with men, who, however honest and virtuous they may have been, were stiff and impracticable in many of their notions; who would not brook dictation, and were not very fond of submitting to authority of any kind; who had a sufficiently high opinion of their own rights, and

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were ever ready to maintain them; who were very apt to suspect all their Governors of a design to plunder and oppress them; who "snuffed the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze;" and who were wont to deal out their supplies with a most sparing hand, and not always in the most gracious manner. With such elements of discord at work, it is little to be wondered at, that harmony should not have been the result.

But, besides all this, it must be allowed that the position of a royal Governor, at the time we are speaking of, was at best, a most difficult and embarrassing one. In the first place, he was made entirely dependent upon the colonial Assemblies for his salary. They not only regulated the amount he was to receive, but they had it in their power to withhold from him all support whatever; a power which they did not hesitate to exercise whenever he failed to comply with their wishes. Then, he was perpetually fettered by instructions, from the Lords of Trade, and the Secretary of State; instructions, which were often absurd and impracticable, and founded upon an utter ignorance of the wants and dispositions of the colonists. The extent of this ignorance is almost incredible. For four and twenty years, that is, from 1724 to 1748, the Duke of Newcastle was minister for British America; yet so little did he know of the continent which he had in charge, that it used to be said of him, that he addressed letters to "the Island of New England," and could not tell but that Jamaica was in the Mediterranean. These instructions, for the most part, it was quite impossible to carry out, and yet, the effort to do so always made the Governor odious in the eyes of the Assembly. He was often compelled to recommend measures, which he had no power to enforce, and of which he did not himself approve; and to withhold his assent from laws which he might deem wholesome and necessary, but which contravened the policy of the mother country. To please the ministry, and at the same time make himself acceptable to the people of the colony, was out of the question. He must either violate his instructions, or offend the Assembly.

Thus, we find Governor Hunter—who was really a well disposed man, but who had great difficulty with his Assemblies in New York—in one of his letters to Swift, giving vent to his

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feelings in such strains as these: "Here is the finest air to live upon in the universe,; and if our trees and birds could speak, and our Assembly-men be silent, the finest conversation too. The soil bears all things, but not for me; for according to the custom of the country, the Sachems are the poorest of the people—Sancho Panza was indeed but a type of me—I am used like a dog—I have spent three years in such torment and vexation, that nothing in life can ever make amends for it." And Governor Belcher, the immediate successor of Governor Morris—who adopted as a rule for his administration, the most entire submission to the wishes of the Assembly, when they did not run counter to his express instructions—was constrained to say: "I have to steer between Scylla and Charybdis; to please the King's ministers at home, and a touchy people here; to luff for one and bear away for another."

In the disputes then which took place between Governor Morris and the Assembly, and which marred the whole course of his administration, while much, no doubt, is to be set down to the score of infirmity of temper, much is also to be ascribed to the false and unnatural position in which they stood towards each other. But perhaps we, at the present day, ought not to find fault with the system, or rather the entire want of system, which prevailed in the affairs of the colonies during the first half of the last century; for its very errors had a tendency to foster that sense of independence, and to form those habits of self-government, which had their fruits in the Revolution. Those however, who governed in the colonies at that time, had a right to complain, and did complain of it. The letters from Governor Morris, to the Lords of Trade and the Secretary of State, are laden with these complaints. Thus we find him writing to the Lords of Trade in 1744:

"The too great and unwarrantable encroachments of Assemblies in more than one of the Northern plantations, seem to make it necessary that a stop some way or other should be put to them, and they reduced to such proper and legal bounds, as is consistent with his Majestie's prerogative and their dependence; to prevent a growing evil which, if time gives more strength to, may be difficult to cure; and that all his Majestie's Governors may be so far made independent of them, as that

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they may freely assent or dissent to bills proposed by them, or by the Council and them jointly, as his Majestie impowers them to do, without the hazard of *starving* for not complying with proposals or demands they think unreasonable, or are forbidden to comply with."—pp. 225, 226.

And in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, written about the same time, after recounting his difficulties with the Assembly, he proceeds thus:

"Upon this I dissolved them, and the government is at present without any support, and not unlikely to continue so, unless the Council and myself assent to all bills the Assembly propose to be enacted into laws; that being a condition *sine qua non* upon which the government is to have any support, though the bills they propose for that end should, in the opinion of the Council or Governor, be inconvenient or unnecessary, destructive of his Majestie's prerogative, dangerous to the British commerce and our own, tending to cast off their dependence on the Crown, or such as the Governor by instructions from his Majestie is forbidden to assent unto. This being the condition at present of this Province, and perhaps of some others of the Plantations, I humbly submit it to his Majestie's consideration, how proper it is that any of his Governors should be under the hard necessity of assenting to all the bills the Assembly require to be made into laws, or starving, and not without hopes, that some method will be taken to check attempts of this kind before they grow to too great a head, and acquire strength by time. I intend to meet a new Assembly this spring, and try a third time whether they can be prevailed on to do any thing for the defence of the Province; though I have but small hopes of success, either with respect to the putting our militia upon such a footing as will make them useful for our defence; or to prevail on them to agree to support the government, unless, as they formerly proposed, previous to their doing so, both the Council and myself assent that such bills as they send up shall be passed into laws; which, by the grace of God, I shall not do inconsistent with my station, and contrary to the trust his majesty has reposed in me: and I believe the Council will not: so that it is not unlikely that all the officers of the government will remain without a support, and the Province in a defenceless

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condition, exposed to enemies, unless his Majestie or a British Parliament interpose and change the present situation of things."—p. 228.

But all these complaints were unavailing. The Lords of Trade approved entirely of the conduct of the Governor; exhorted him to persevere in refusing his assent to all obnoxious bills; and lamented and condemned the doings of the Assembly. But the idea of suggesting a remedy for the evils incident to such a state of things, never seems for one moment to have been seriously entertained by them. What indeed could have been expected from a minister so imbecile and inefficient as the Duke of Newcastle? He would neither do one thing, nor the other; discontinue his instructions, nor provide an independent fund for the support of his governors. He would not permit the Governor to comply with the wishes of the Assembly; and yet he made him dependent on them for support. The consequence was, they were kept in a state of constant irritation towards each other. The Governor was provoked at the Assembly for withholding his supplies; and the Assembly were provoked at the Governor for withholding his assent to their bills. As we have before intimated, we cannot regret that all this was so. These disputes with their royal Governor, these collisions with the "King's Representative," were but preparing the colony for that more serious contest, upon which it was soon to enter with royalty itself. But still it ought to be taken into the account, when estimating the conduct and character of Governor Morris.

In one respect, the Governor was clearly in the wrong. The first Assembly that he met made a provision for his support, with which he ought to have been entirely satisfied. They voted him a salary of one thousand pounds *per annum*, for three years; sixty pounds a year for his house-rent; and a gratuity of five hundred pounds, for his services in procuring a separate government. The salary was double the amount that had usually been given to former governors. It was considerably more than the Governor of New Jersey now receives. But, instead of thanking them for it, he very ungraciously told them, that he accepted it, only as an earnest of what they were expected to do; and in a letter to the Lords of Trade, he in-

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dulges in such language as this:—"The Assembly have, with much ado, been prevailed with to support the government for three years, and would have me and everybody else believe that they have in this case done wonders: . . . but I persuade myself that your Lordships will be of opinion with me, that this wonderful support is wonderfully small, and not agreable to the addresses to his Majestie, or sufficient to answer the end that should be intended by it. The Governor's £1000 per annum, in what they call proclamation money, (which is their paper bills) is about £550 sterling, which may perhaps with frugal management discharge the necessary expenses of a family, but will not much exceed. They would persuade me to believe, that the smallness of the provision made for me is a mark of their affection and esteem, and that a larger sum, and such as would be thought suitable to the station, might tempt some man of more interest to obtain the government. You see, my lords, that they want not their crafts: but one of them (a weaver by trade) speaking, among his partisans, of the officers of the government, seems to me to have given the true reason, not only of the conduct of this Assembly, but of most others to the eastward of us, viz: Let us keep the dogs poor, and we'll make them do what we please."—p. 49.

But if the Governor was unreasonable in this instance, it must be admitted, that the Assembly at last gave him some cause to complain of their want of liberality. There were several measures, which they had very much at heart, and which they were anxious to have passed into laws. Some of these the Governor disapproved of, because he thought they would be injurious to the interests of the colony; and in reference to others, he felt constrained by his instructions to withhold his assent from them. He therefore refused to sign the bills. He had a perfect right to do so. He was a co-ordinate and independent branch of the legislature, and no more accountable for his conduct as such, to the Assembly, than they were to him. Nay, more, he could not, without violating the trust reposed in him, consent to measures, which his instructions forbade him to sanction. And yet, because he would not do so, the Assembly first reduced his salary one half, and then declined making any provision whatever for his support, or

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even the payment of his house-rent. They were resolved to *starve* him into submission. Now, here we think they were wrong. This power of refusing supplies, which they unquestionably possessed, was never designed to be exercised on ordinary occasions, and upon a mere difference of opinion with their governors, but should have been reserved for extreme cases, and where some serious blow was aimed at their rights and liberties. However, the Governor was inflexible; and thus, session after session passed away, without any thing being done; and Assembly after Assembly was dissolved, without any progress being made in the work of legislation.

As the disputes between them grew warmer, the messages of the Governor became more violent, and the addresses of the Assembly less respectful. The House, it is true, kept their temper much better than the Governor, but their language was, on that account perhaps, not the less provoking. Upon one occasion, he did not hesitate to call them idiots; and in reply, they confessed that the Assemblies generally had been composed of farmers and ploughmen, from whom could hardly be expected such courtly addresses, as "men of more polite education, and perhaps less sincerity, might be capable of." But, they added, "we have liberty by our constitution to act freely and speak freely, while we do it with decency and good manners. . . . We are of a nation favoured for its liberty. With liberty, knowledge will increase; and although but a small portion of it may fall to our share, with that we are as happy as we are content, and by it we are taught, that we are as fit to use our own understandings in the conducting our human affairs, as they are, whose reasoning we cannot be convinced is better than our own."

Upon another occasion, the House insinuated that the Governor acted under evil advice; and observed, that his conduct would put the inquisitive part of mankind in mind of the remark in Proverbs, chap. xxix. and 12th verse: "If a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked." In answer to this part of their address, the Governor says: "The inquisitive and ingenious part of mankind are always capable of making suitable remarks upon what occurs to their observation, but that doth not give the members of your House, (who are by

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no means entitled to that character) a right to make use of Scripture to abuse their superiors. . . . . In a late address from your House, they call themselves 'ploughmen;' to such, language of this kind may not be disagreeable; and from such, remarks of this kind are not unexpected, as being most most suitable to men of such characters. But the wise son of Sirach is far from reckoning such among the inquisitive part of mankind; or men supposed capable of knowing what the inquisitive part of mankind would do, in the 38th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, the 25th, 26th and 33d verses."

"How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks? He giveth his mind to make furrows; and is diligent to give the kine fodder. They shall not be sought for in public council, nor sit high in the congregation; they shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment; they cannot declare justice and judgment; and they shall not be found where parables are spoken."

But let us for a moment turn from these unpleasant scenes, to those parts of the correspondence which exhibit the Governor in a more amiable aspect. Here is a picture of his domestic life, taken from a letter addressed to his daughter, Mrs. Norris, in 1744. Her husband—a son of Admiral Sir John Norris—had died a few years before, and she had left London to reside in the country.

"You have made a choice that I much approve of; the country, in my opinion, being much preferable to that noisy, stinking, and very expensive town, London; and I hope your farming will not only prove a delightful and healthy amusement, but of benefit to you, at least will not be a loss. This depends much not only upon having some skill in affairs of that nature yourself, but in having good and faithful servants, (which are rare to be met with so nigh London) and employing few of them. I am in some sort in your condition, being in a place of Col. Thomas's, about half a mile from Trenton, for which I give £60 per annum. It is a very healthy, and a pleasant place. We have all had our health very well since our being here; as for your mother's illness, that would have happened anywhere.

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Our house is good, and not one chimney in it smokes; and we live much more private here than in Morrisania. We have two cows, which affords us milk, cream, and butter, during the summer; and I intend to get two more, and try what I can do for the winter. I have not yet got into plowing and sowing, having but little ground, and that but ordinary, and much out of order; but shall try a little at it when I get it into something better fence, which I am doing. Your mother amuses herself with a brood of turkeys, fowls, and ducks, which she has about her, and now and then some one of her children comes to see her. Mrs. Graham is now here with her youngest son, a fine, healthy, good-humoured boy. Isabell Hooper is also here, who seems to be a discreet, good-humoured girl; and Peggy is also with us, who has had a touch of the fever and ague, which has for some time left. She is very positive, abhors the barke, and being or pretending to be a sort of a doctress, will be her own physician. Your brother Robin* is at Tinton, and with a little experience of his own, by the help of Jethro Tull, and some other books of husbandry, sets up for a connoisseur in farming, grows fond of it, and practises with tolerable success. Your brother Lewis has been very ill of the jaundice, but is recovered, and I am told is now pretty well; is in the Assembly [of New York] and has been of great service to Mr. Clinton. He has two sons at the college at New Haven, Lewis† and Staats. Richard I educate, and he is also there at the grammar school, and I am told is a promising youth; his daughter Molly, married to young Laurence, has a daughter, and is called a very good housewife, and a very discreet young woman. I suppose that from Robin, or some of your sisters, you will learn the state of the rest of the family; so I will return to your mother, who now sits reading in the window, it being the 3d of June, and her birth day, just entered on the 72d year of her age, . . . and is in good health now."

In another letter to his daughter, Mrs. Norris, written during the same year, he recurs to his troubles with the Assembly.

"Your mother is sometimes very ill . . . . the last attack

* Robert Hunter Morris, Chief Justice of New Jersey.
† A signer of the Declaration of Independence.

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she had was in September, which we all feared would carry her off, but since she has been very easie. . . . She has been my constant companion in my chamber, which I have been forced to keep for nigh two months, and keep it still. I was taken ill in August last, in my journey to Amboy to meet the Assembly, occasioned, as I judged, by eating some oysters out of season. This kept me two or three days at Mr. Antill's, but I got so far over it as to meet the Assembly at Amboy; and at their desire, upon their fair promises, adjourned them to Burlington. [He gives a further account of his ailments, from which, however, he was relieved by the help of *flip*, which was recommended by Governor Clinton, as what proved beneficial to Count Kempthorne, and he was thus in a pretty fair way of recovery.] But having all the while to do with an ignorant, perverse, and obstinate Assembly, who, notwithstanding their fair promises, came predetermined to do nothing, I was forced to dissolve them; and being obliged on that occasion to go down stairs, got a most violent cold and cough, which held me long, and reduced me to skin and bones; but I got over that, and have for some time past eat with a pretty good appetite, and have recovered some flesh and strength. . . . Your mother is my affectionate and constant nurse, and it is well for me that she is able to endure it. She is in good health, and looks fresh and well. She cannot sit down to write, but desires to be affectionately remembered to you, and is always glad to hear that you are well; and she cannot be more so than I am and shall be, when I hear of your health. I hope this will find Sir John and his lady in good health, in the midst of these troublesome and turbulent times. If I have time, I will write to him by this conveyance. Your brother Robin is at York. Both your brothers and sisters are well, and continue dutiful and affectionate to their parents. I intend to recommend this to the care of Mr. Saint, and with it, shall send a representation made to me by the Council, and I hope you will take care that he is at no expense for postage. By this representation you'll guess at the state of our affairs. I shall meet, if my health permits, a new Assembly this spring; but if they continue the resolution of the past, not to support the government, unless their terms are complied with, of making £40,000 current in

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bills of credit, the government is like to continue without support, and I must be forced to remove to Tinton, and live as well as I can, unless the ministry interpose to reduce them to their duty. This they may do, and I think it their interest to do."

We had marked for insertion a number of other extracts from private letters, but we have already exceeded our limits, and we must bring this article to a close. We cannot, however, deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing a letter from Governor Morris to Peter Collinson, of London, both because the sentiments which it expresses are so creditable to his feelings, and because it serves as a favourable specimen of his epistolary style. Peter Collinson was a distinguished member of the Society of Friends, and the correspondent of many eminent men, both in Europe and America. He had written to Governor Morris, recommending to his notice John Bartram, the celebrated American botanist.

"To Peter Collinson, Merchant in London.

Trenton, May 24th, 1742.

Good Sir—I thank you for the favour of yours of March 10th, 1741—2. I wish it was as much in my power, as it is in my inclination, to do so much for poor Bartram as he deserves. The man is really a good man, and considering the little opportunities he has had of information, has made a wonderful progress in the knowledge and discovery of plants. I wonder how he has been able to do so much, with the small encouragement he has received in a country where he has little to depend on for his bread but the labour of his hands. He scruples no paynes, nor declines the most toylsome journies through wildernesses and o'er most unpassable mountains, for the making discoveries that may prove beneficial to the present and future ages, and merits greater rewards than he gets. There was a subscription for him, in which I promised him £5 per annum, during my continuance in the government, but I have not heard what is come of it. If things proceed as you tell me they have begun, perhaps my small pittance may not be of long continuance to the good man: but I being something of an enthusiast, believe that God governs the world with

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wisdom, and that all the dispensations of his providence are for the best, however harsh they may seem to us, which makes me pretty easie. I have given no cause of complaint against me, nor are those I govern inclined to make any, but are perfectly quiet, and think themselves the most easie and happy people of any Colony in North America. I am almost inclined to think there are some periods of general madness: it seems evidently to have been so in Europe and a great part of Asia. What wonderful changes and revolutions have been in the course of a few years, and who is it in the most exalted station can call himself secure. Our friend Sir Charles [Sir Charles Wager, first Lord of the Admiralty] is no stranger to the course of this world, and as I take him to be a good man, the peace of mind which he possesses will make it calme within whatever stormes are without, and afford him a pleasure which those who want that peace are strangers to. If he is removed, I wish his successor, whoever he be, may for the good of the nation discharge that important trust as well as he has done. I can't help grieving with more than common emotions, when a brave and good man falls a victim to popular fury; but that God who stills the raging of the sea, can abate the madness of the people, and direct it to such purposes as will be most conducive to the public good. I shall be obliged to you, if you'll make the tender of my gratefull regards acceptable to him and his good lady. I sincerely wish his prosperity, and would contribute to it if I could: his being in adversity I believe would be a grief to all good men; I am sure it would give much concern to, sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

LEWIS MORRIS."

Governor Morris died on the 21st of May, 1746, and his remains were deposited in the family vault at Morrisania, where they now repose. Mr. Sparks, in his life of Governor Morris, observes, that eccentricity in the constitution and wording of wills would seem to have been a hereditary foible in the family. The following are extracts from the will of Governor Morris: "I would be buried in a plain coffin of black walnut, cedar, or mahogany, without covering or lining with cloth, or any other

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material of linen, woollen, or silk; my age and the time of my death may be put upon it, in such manner as my executors shall think fit: I forbid any rings or scarfs to be given at my funeral, or any man to be paid for preaching a funeral sermon over me. Those who survive me will commend or blame my conduct in life as they think fit, and I am not for paying of any man for doing of either: but if any man, whether Churchman or Dissenter, in or not in priest's orders, is inclined to say anything on that occasion, he may, if my executors think fit to admit him to do it. I would not have any mourning worn for me by any of my descendants; for I shall die in a good old age, and when the Divine Providence calls me hence; I die when I should die, and no relation of mine ought to mourn because I do so; but may perhaps mourn to pay the shop-keeper for his goods, should they comply with what I think the common folly of such an expense."

This caution about the expenses of his funeral, was not without reason; for it appears, from a diary kept by his son, Lewis Morris, that there were expended at the funeral of his father, besides other things, nearly a quarter cask of wine, about two gallons of rum, a barrel of cider, and two barrels of beer.

And here we take our leave of Governor Morris, and the pleasant volume which introduces him to our acquaintance. His character may be summed up in a few words. With all his faults and eccentricities, he was a man of honour and integrity; he was not fond of money, and the estate that he left behind him, he had inherited; his hands were never soiled by a bribe; he recommended no arbitrary measures; nor was his administration stained by a single act of cruelty or injustice. The Province owed much to his early patriotism and abilities; and while it is true, that New Jersey had few royal governors less popular than he, it is also true, that she had few whose motives were more pure and whose intentions were more honest.

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ART. II.—*Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe.* By Alexander Von Humboldt. Henry G. Bohn, London.

IN the first volume of the "Cosmos," Humboldt has delineated the material world, as it presents itself to the reason of man. We shall here attempt to delineate it, as it presents itself to his imagination. We propose, therefore, to enlarge the view of science—to bring within it, the æsthetical constitution of the material world—to show, that the field of beauty is a field of science, and that reason can walk amidst its fair scenes, and teach imagination lessons in its own province, that will shed over it a new glory. The poet with his lyre, the painter with his pencil, the geologist with his hammer, and the chemist with his crucible, may sit down together in the same scene of nature, and listen to the teachings of science.

For a long time, science confined its view to the mechanical and chemical relations and the mineral forms of matter. And when it took into view the animals and the plants which inhabit the earth, it was merely to examine their respective structures, and to inquire into their laws of life, in order to bring them under zoological and botanical classifications. It never for a moment took a *cosmical view* of nature, in which all created things are considered as connected together by their respective functions, into one vast and complex economy.

But as comparative physical geography grew into a science, and began to consider the forms and the relative situations of the different parts of the earth, and the influence which these forms and these relative situations exert upon all organized beings, and particularly upon man, the view of science was enlarged, and all the arrangements of nature came to be considered as conditions for the existence and the education of man. Thenceforth, physical nature began to be viewed in its relations to the history and the destinies of man. It was seen that physical influences are instruments by which man is educated; and that the peculiar configurations and situations of the continents have exerted, and were designed to exert an influence upon the successive development of human societies. And when geology began to lift the veil from the historical

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mysteries of the work of creation, and to show how the earth at each progressive stage of its formation had been adapted to the then created plants and animals, and how, through a long succession of transformations, it had been elaborately prepared as an abode for man, and a theatre for human societies, the cosmical aspect of nature became a fixed view in science. And Humboldt presented it to the world in the "Cosmos."

Toward this grand consummation all discoverers had been, for ages, unconsciously working together, under the guidance of that unity which belongs to physical truth. And, at last, they came out of their respective labyrinths of nature, and met together at the common goal of knowledge, where the truths discovered by each were seen affiliated in the unity of science. Enlightened by each other's discoveries, they stood upon the common altitude of knowledge, and beheld the cosmical glories spread out before them.

Science, therefore, now views the world as a place fitted to educate man for a more exalted sphere of existence. It takes into consideration all the influences which physical nature, either in its recondite formations, or in its mere sensuous aspects, can exert over his intellect and his feelings.

But still up to this time, science has dwelt upon the utilitarian bearings of the subject. It has considered how the forms and the relative situations of the continents, and the peculiar features of each country have influenced the commercial and the general material interests of man. It has also considered, to some extent, the influence which these have exerted upon the political institutions and the opinions of men, in regard to those great questions of human destiny which no nation is too barbarous not to consider, and none too enlightened not to feel the difficulty of their solution.

But a still further view is now dawning upon the eye of science —a view that gilds the horizon with brighter tints than any which have preceded it. The æsthetic view of nature is rising before that cold eye, which heretofore looked at nothing but what belonged to the domain of reason. Sublimity and beauty, no longer confined to poetry and art, stand revealed to the contemplation of science. The physical inquirer, no longer content to trace the cold laws of matter, lets his eyes rest upon the

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green meadows and the still waters, and catching something of the inspiration of the muse, breathes into science the spirit of poetry.

In the scientific delineation of the physical features of the universe, in the first volume of the Cosmos, Humboldt does not exhibit especially its æsthetic constitution; but at the beginning of the second volume, he considers its æsthetic effects, by showing how in all ages its various aspects have influenced the feelings and the imaginations of the different races of men. He says: "The main results of observation which, stripped of all the extraneous charms of fancy, belong to the purely objective domain of a scientific delineation of nature, have been considered in the former part of this work, in the mutually connected relations, by which they constitute one sole picture of the universe. It now, therefore, remains for us to consider the impressions reflected by the external senses on the feelings, and on the poetic imagination of mankind. . . . . I have been induced to pursue this course, from the idea, that in order to comprehend nature in all its vast sublimity, it would be necessary to present it under a two-fold aspect, first objectively as an actual phenomenon, and next subjectively as it is reflected in the feelings of mankind."

In presenting a picture of the universe, Humboldt could not but feel the necessity of exhibiting it, not only in its relations to the intellect of man, but also in its relations to his feelings. Yet in order to do this scientifically, he should, in presenting it "objectively as an actual phenomenon," have delineated its æsthetic constitution; and then afterwards, considered its actual æsthetic effects upon the imaginations of the different races of men. As it is, his delineation cannot be considered a complete picture of the universe; because the very idea of a picture implies æsthetic delineation. And it was this that Humboldt seems to have been particularly desirous of accomplishing: he wished to present a picture to the imagination.

With these remarks upon the present state of science relative to the subject which we are examining, we will now proceed to exhibit, in the succinct way which our limits compel us to ob-

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serve, the scenic aspect of the material world, and to consider its æsthetic constitution.

The scenic aspect of the material world is constituted of the earth, the water and the sky. When we look at the world as a picture, these are the contrasts which make up the pictorial harmony. In delineating this picture, it will be necessary to consider the earth, the water, and the sky, separately.

First, then, of the sky! In no part of creation is it more manifest, that beauty has been added to utility for the sole purpose of pleasing man. We have seen a cloud like a vast ribbon platted of orange and crimson, and purple, stretching, at sunset, along the tops of mountains, with an azure plain glittering above it. We have seen the horizon hung in curtains of gold and crimson, while the zenith was changing from colour to colour. Now, why does nature present such scenes? For all the essential purposes of utility, it is only necessary that the sky should, once in every few days, present a murky rain-cloud to water the earth, and now and then, a thin vapoury one for the morning and evening mists. And why does the rainbow appear, for a moment, beautiful amidst the storm, and then vanish away? Certainly, these things are not done to impart any wholesome influence to the air, or fructifying power to the rains. It is to present images of beauty to the eye of man. There is not a moment of the day, that the sky is not shifting from scene to scene, and presenting picture after picture of the most exquisite dissolving views.

And all this various beauty of the sky is wrought by the most ingenious contrivance, out of the simplest elements. The pure atmospheric air, which constitutes the simple blue of the open sky; the aqueous vapour, white like steam, which ever floats in the air; and the light of the sun, are the elements out of which all the scenes of the sky are constantly formed. The sun paints the vapour in all the hues of the rainbow. Sometimes a single ray of light is seen threading its solitary way along the sky, through their fleecy clouds. At other times, from the zenith to the horizon, all is in constant transition of colour—passing from gold into orange, from orange into rose, from rose into purple, and from purple into blue. The three

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primary colours are painting everywhere with equal and unceasing hand the universal vapour.

And the vapour itself, simple as it is, assumes every form. Sometimes it roams in fleecy flocks, shepherded by nature. Sometimes a mighty warrior rides in his chariot along the horizon. At other times, ceasing to mimic the animal kingdom, it mocks the earth. Long chains of tall white mountains gird the horizon, while the noon-day sun pours down upon them floods of light, reflected from peak to peak. As evening approaches, the winds smite upon the summits of these mountains, and they melt into rain. And these mountains transcend in bulk the mountains of the earth. They are far huger, and far higher. Valleys of changing atmosphere extend for leagues between them. Vast ravines torn by local tempests into peaks of rolling storms, rushing up into the heavens thousands of feet in a moment, sweep through the enormous masses, that are boiling with the angry fury of volcanoes.

And look at the thunder-cloud, as it comes, dark, dismal, and portentous, muttering, bellowing, and breathing fire! Man quails before it. The boldest sinner begins to pray. It sweeps over us, pours out its floods, hurls its lightnings, and leaves behind it, in the distant horizon, beyond which it has passed on its journey of terror, the mild rainbow, to assure man that God still smiles upon his creatures.

And at night, who has not felt the transcendent glory of the moon and the stars, amidst the clear firmament? And who has not seen the vast mountains of cloud, behind which the sun went down, torn at night by the winds, and swept like straw from the sky? These, all these, and thousands of others are the ever-varying pictures which the sky is constantly exhibiting to the contemplation of man.

Now let us turn to the water, and see the beauty with which it is invested! The ocean, the rivers, the lakes, the streams and the fountains, constitute this portion of the cosmic scenery.

The ocean boundless, and fathomless, awakens within us ideas of the infinite, whether it lies in comparative repose, or fretted by the winds, it rages, storms, and writhes, a chaos of passions without end or purpose, sleepless and inexhaustible. The rivers, lakes, streams and fountains are a part of the

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scenery of the earth, and therefore, must be considered with it. The rivers are seen winding their light through the valleys, and pouring their thunders down the cataracts. The lakes are seen reposing between the mountains and the hills. The streams are seen flowing through the green meadows and brightening in the foam of the torrent. And the fountains spouting in newness of life from the sequestered grottoes, give music to the ear, delight to the eye, and peace to the heart.

The water, too, is the mirror of nature. The whole sky is mirrored in the ocean, in all the changefulness and beauty which we have beheld in the clouds. And the rivers, the lakes, the streams and the fountains mirror the mountains and hills, the trees and the flowers. And who has not seen the moon-beam sleeping in the stream, like soft music in the human heart?

But it is the earth that is the centre of the cosmic scenery. The sky and the water, with all their glories, do but blend with the æsthetic aspects of the earth. We shall therefore enter into a fuller examination of the earth, as the chief subject in the investigation of the æsthetic constitution of the material world.

We must not, in the investigation, look at the earth with the calculating eye of the geographer, but with the imaginative sympathy of the poet and the painter. We must not consider it as merely dead, passive matter, with no power to act upon our minds and our hearts. But we must consider the mountains and the plains, the hills and the valleys as having each and all, distinct and specific expressions speaking to us continually. The mountains express power, the plains express repose; and the hills and the valleys are intermediate between these, expressing every variety and degree of motion and of rest. The volcano pouring floods of fire down its burning sides, has certainly a different expression from the rounded hill with its silent, sylvan, solitude; and both of these, from the valleys and the plains, reposing in sunshine and shade.

This is the fundamental principle of terrestrial scenery which gives character to the pictorial aspects of the earth: *The hills give animation, the lowlands repose.*

With this truth before our minds, let us cast our eyes over

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the earth, and survey its great features of mountains and plains, of hills and valleys.

The mountains may be divided into the central and the inferior ranges. The central are seen through all the great divisions of the earth, vast, towering and multitudinous, lifting up their peaks thousands upon thousands of feet into the sky, amidst eternal snows and universal desolation. On the lower peaks, sleep tempests and thunder, and the avalanche and the other giants of terror. These mountains constitute an important part of the habitation of man. They belong to the region of the wild and the imaginary. They speak to the mind, of the terrible, the infinite, the sublime. But still, as we shall presently see, they are connected with the entire terrestrial economy, and are agents by which both utility and beauty are spread over the earth.

How different are the inferior ranges of mountains, though still harmonizing with the central ranges! Their gentler slopes, their woods, their shrubbery, their streams, their fountains, all speak of life, and of gentler influences. The mind can compass them. The heart can repose in the sentiments which they awaken. Romance, and legends, and poetry dwell in their haunts.

But the plains and the valleys are felt, at once, to be the proper home of man. The repose which they express is congenial to the calm and the quiet which are necessary to his existence. There is his work done. The labours of the field, the skill of the arts, the meditations of the philosopher, the imaginings of the poet, and all that constitute the doings of man, whether in matter or spirit, are performed amidst the repose of the plains and the valleys. Here a softer vegetation and a more luxuriant, clothes the earth. The fruit-tree bearing fruit, and the flowers painted in beauty, dwell appropriately in this calm retreat. And the winding streams, brightening in the light of the sun, flow peacefully through the landscape.

And all this various beauty, spread over the sky, the water and the earth, is greatly augmented by giving to the earth its different seasons. These seasons too enter into the whole plan of the creation. They were designed from the beginning. During the earlier stages of the earth's formation, if we admit

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the theories of modern geology, they did not exist owing to the intense heat of the internal fires. It is in the lias formation, quite a late stage in the progress of creation, that the first decided indications of a change of seasons appear. The alternations of summer-heat and winter-cold are distinctly marked in the annual rings of the lignites which are found in this formation; whereas in the earlier lignites, either no annual rings appear at all, or the markings are very faint. Prior to this period, the atmosphere had been so heated by the internal fires of the earth, that winter had not taken his place amongst the seasons. Thermal oceans, and thermal rivers bathed and washed the earth, over which hung a warm, moist, stagnant atmosphere, that produced the luxuriant vegetation which was afterwards submerged beneath the waters and mud, and converted into the coal which now enriches the world by the uses of fuel and of power. In the present condition of the earth, the atmosphere is chiefly dependent upon the action of the rays of the sun for its heat; and the three great zones of temperature, the torrid, the temperate and the frozen, and the alternations of seasons, are owing to the spherical form of the earth, which causes an unequal distribution of the sun's rays over its surface. It is manifest then, that the earth was so formed with reference to the heat of its atmosphere, that the great zones of temperature and the alternations of seasons should take place when man appeared upon the theatre of existence.

Now, mark, how much this contributes to the variety and the beauty of the earth. The winds which sweep over the earth in every possible direction, are owing to the unequal distribution of heat. The causes which introduced winter among the seasons, introduced also the cold of the polar regions; and by means of these, produced the winds. The winds are the agents by which the waters of the ocean are distributed over the earth. The burning heat of the sun smites upon the face of the waters, and they rise into the atmosphere in the form of vapour; and thus clouds are formed in all that changeful beauty which we have so inadequately depicted. The winds carry these clouds over the earth, and they become the ministers of snow, of rain, of mist, and of shade. In winter they

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throw off their sparkling robes of snow, and their glittering necklaces of icicles upon the earth, and upon the trees, and clothe them in a silvery glory. In summer, they pour the rains from their bosoms, and shake the mists and the dew from their hair, to give life to the vegetation so full of beauty.

All the fountains and streams and rivers which constitute so much of the beauty of the landscape, are due to the winds which carry the waters of the sea upon the mountains and the high lands, and pour them out, to flow down upon the plains and the valleys. Loaded with vapours, the winds come in contact with elevated mountains, and thereby forced to ascend along their sides, are uplifted into the cold regions of the atmosphere; the air cooling, loses its capacity for holding the same quantity of vapours, and they form into clouds, trail along the sides of the mountains until they descend in rains. Without this ministry of the winds, there would not be a fresh-water fountain or stream upon the face of the earth. Neither would the dewdrop ever hang in the ear of the little flower.

The great mountain ranges which have been upheaved from the very centre of the earth, are thus the condensers, placed by the hand of the Creator along the continents, to rob the winds of their vapours, to serve as reservoirs for the rain-waters, and to distribute them over the plains and valleys. They are thus connected, in the most intimate manner with the æsthetic constitution of the earth. From their sides flow numberless rivers and streams, carrying life and beauty over every plain and valley.

The more we look into the structure of the earth, the more clearly does it appear, that every thing has been done with reference to its æsthetic aspects. The foundation of the beauty of the terrestrial scenery, is the peculiar forms of the naked ground considered as divested of all vegetation. The ground is to the vegetation, what the human form is to the drapery. The vegetation, the water and even the clouds, are modified in their aspects by the hilly or level surfaces of the earth, just as the folds of the dress are by the human form. Now the beauty of an object depends more upon its form than any thing else. And it is an acknowledged principle, that all forms of beauty are composed exclusively of

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curved lines. Let us see then, whether the Creator has framed the earth according to this principle.

The fundamental forces of nature, and the properties of the matter upon which they act, are so adjusted and balanced, that they universally bring out curve lines in the surface of the earth. Look where we may over the earth, and we see its surface curving in every possible direction, delighting us by the various undulations. The mighty forces upheaving from beneath act upon a superincumbent mass which is constituted in all its materials, so as to form the various surfaces which we everywhere behold. The primary rocks are of such a nature and are so placed at the base of the mass, that when upheaved, their cleavage is such that they split into vast mountain ranges of a pyramidal or wedge form. In this way the central ranges of mountains are formed with but few curved lines. They are abrupt and sublime. But the inferior mountains which are full of curves, undulating in countless directions, are formed of rocks that split and break in such a manner, when acted upon by the upheaving forces, as to produce the peculiar undulating surfaces of these mountains. And the weather and all the external agencies conspire to produce curve lines in the surfaces of the mountains and hills. The very laws by which the waters descend, produce undulating surfaces in the earth. The gradual acceleration of velocity, by which streams descend the sides of mountains and hills, increases their power of erosion, at such a rate as to produce a curvature in the slope which cannot get beyond a certain degree of steepness, before landslips of rocks and earth take place; and thus fill up the precipice, so that the whole line of curvature gradually increasing to the maximum steepness of which the peculiar formation is capable, decreases until it is lost and blended in the level plain below.

The winds, blowing over the earth, have the tendency to form every thing, which they can mould, into curve lines. The fresh deep snow-drift, for example, has curve lines of exquisite changefulness and perfection, which with its smooth pale surface and its light and shade of such variety and fine finish, constitute it an object of surpassing beauty. And the snows that hang in sweeping festoons from the peaks of mountains are modified in their curves by the winds. The waves too are

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driven in curves to the shore; and so are the clouds along the sky. And the rivers and streams run in meandering curves; owing to the irregular undulating surface of the earth, and to the different kinds of material of which it is formed.

When, too, we examine into the structure of the vegetables which clothe the earth, we find that curve lines are the law of their organization. It is the received doctrine of physiologists that all vegetable growth originates in cells. The normal shape of these cells is globular; and some botanists maintain, that the whole development of the vegetable from these cells is in spiral forms. As soon as the cell is developed to a certain degree, there is a layer deposited upon it in the shape of a spiral band. This spiral tendency is manifested throughout the whole growth of vegetables. The arrangement of the stems and leaves around the axis of a plant is often spiral. If a line be drawn around a well grown tree of many species from the base of one limb to that of another, it will be found that the line joining the bases of the limbs together, will form an elongated spiral up to the top. The spiral tendency is also manifested in those running plants or vines, which so often form beautiful belts of flowers around the bodies of trees.

The curve line is also manifested in the round and tapering trunks and limbs of trees and other vegetables; and the universal termination of the whole mass of the limbs of trees is in symmetrical curves. The limbs always bear among themselves such a ratio of length as to describe with their extremities a symmetrical curve constant for each species. Each limb starts from the trunk with just so much wood, as, allowing for constant ramification, will enable it to reach the terminal line; or if it should start with too little, it will proceed without ramifying till within a distance where it may divide so as to reach the common outline. If, on the contrary, it start with too much, it will ramify quickly and often; so that under any circumstances the limbs will form a symmetrical curve with their extremities. Look where we may throughout nature, and we see every species of tree with a curved outline; and each species, with a curve peculiar to itself, some round like a globe, others tapering like a cone, and still more, with lines intermediate between these.

But there is in the growth of plants a still more striking

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evidence of design to exhibit beauty. It is the received doctrine amongst botanists, that plants are composed of only stems and leaves. The flower is considered merely a transformed leaf-bud. When we examine the structure of a flower, we find, first of all a cup composed evidently of leaves, called sepals, which are commonly of a green colour. Within these sepals, we have other leaves called petals, alternating with the sepals. Then we have the stamens, which are metamorphosed petals, and which sometimes become petals. And the centre is the pistil and the seed organs. Now, it is certain that all the parts of the flower thus examined are, in structure, found to be mere leaves. They are formed upon precisely the same model. And it sometimes happens, as we have often seen exemplified in the rose, that the flower, by some interfering cause, is so influenced as to be prevented from ever passing into the floral state, but remains in the foliar state, a mere assemblage of green leaves in the form of a rose. Now this shows that the fundamental tendency of a plant is merely to produce the stem and the leaves, but that the Creator has so modified this tendency as to produce flowers also. Nature steps aside, as it were, by a preordained plan, from her ordinary work, to exhibit a form of peculiar beauty. After she has formed the stock and the leaf, by a still higher mystery of art, she forms the flower and crowns the plant with the diadem of beauty.

No matter how profoundly we look into the cosmical constitution, we see the union of beauty with utility. There is no fact which exemplifies this in a more striking manner, than the relation of the earth to the sun. The sun hangs like a vast central lamp in the heavens, imparting life and beauty to the earth. By the magnetic, and diamagnetic, and other physical forces which it calls into action in the dark recesses of the earth, the process of crystallization is roused into action amidst inert matter fashioning it into the various forms of crystallogeny, from the coarsest rock to the purest gem. And the same processes which form the vast fields of coal are sublimed in their action, until the black bitumen is formed into the sparkling diamond, and beauty springs up in its divinest lustre from the womb of utility.

Passing from inorganic to organic nature, the sun's

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power in dispensing utility and beauty is still more strikingly manifested. The same rays of light which give life to the plant, paint it in all its exquisite hues. The organic and phyto-chemical processes which the sun's rays set in motion, form the plant, and the surfaces of the leaves of the flowers are so constituted, that they divide the rays of light, and reflect either one or more, as the flower is intended to be white or yellow, or blue, or red, or any shade of colour; or when it is to be variegated, the surface of each leaf of the flower is varied in its constitution, so as to reflect its appropriate colour, or different parts of the same leaf, different colours, showing the most minute adaptation to the rays which paint the flowers in various hues. Within the tropics, where the sun pours its most dazzling floods of light, vegetation grows the most luxuriantly, and blooms in the greatest splendour. From the equator to the poles, vegetation shades off in a chromatic scale of less and less splendour, and shows less and less of vitality, until it dies away in darkness and cold, out of the reach of the sun's rays.

The same rays of heat and light which gild the ocean and the rivers in the smiles of myriads of dazzling ripples, cause the waters to rise in vapours to fructify the earth, and to sprinkle the dew-drops on the green lawns, and the rich shrubbery.

And even at night, the sun gives beauty to the earth. By its reflected light, the moon is shown to us in all its different phases and positions, animating the scenery of the sky, and shedding its silver light over mountains, and hills, and valleys, and oceans. Utility and beauty thus flow together from the same great central fountain of the cosmical constitution.

The revelations of geology teach us, that in the progressive geological periods, the earth was more and more adorned. A higher and a higher glory was revealed at each stage in the wonderous work. At first, the earth was naked and bald. No drapery of plants clothed it. Then, a low order of vegetation, flowerless and fruitless, covered it. And from stage to stage the vegetation became more and more diversified, until it assumed all that majesty and grace, fulness of form and brilliancy,

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and variety of colouring which we now everywhere behold. It was not till the last stage in creation that the apple, the peach, the cherry, the pear, and all the other richly blooming fruit trees were planted on the earth. The flowers and the fruits were given together. The earth was now finished in all its floral beauty.

> "The Queen of the spring, as she passed down the vale,
> Left her robe on the tree, and her breath on the gale."

During the whole progress of the work the present earth, with all its various aspects, was the model by which the divine architect was working. When the Creator first caused the earth to rise in islets above the vast ocean of primal existence, he had long before even then purposed its various aspects. The formations which then lay thousands of feet beneath the sea, were intended to be upheaved, to form the mountains and plains, and hills and valleys, and thereby also to produce the various soils which give birth to the diversified vegetation, which now carpets the world. "The level marshes and rich meadows of the tertiary, the rounded swells and short pastures of the chalk, the square built cliffs and cloven dells of the lower limestone, the soaring peaks and ridgy precipices of the primaries," are all connected by a chain of thought, which runs down through all the geological strata, to the primary condition of chaos, combining the whole into one prospective calculation of matter, and of forces and effects. No eye, but that of God, saw the divine model by which he was working. And the grand work, as it progressed, was perhaps seen by no eye until it was finished, a shining star in the galaxy of worlds. And if we are permitted to dip the pen of science into the light of revelation, what eye has seen that glorious model of the apocalyptic vision, to which this earth is to be conformed by the divine architect, for the final abode of the just man made perfect? And even that glorious work, with its surpassing beauty, will be connected by unity of design, with the first conception that created the chaos of which this earth is formed.

But then it is not merely as an artist performing a perfect work, that the Creator has fashioned the world. He has fashioned it as a benevolent parent, preparing an abode for his children, where both their physical and spiritual natures are

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provided for. He has, therefore, provided for their physical enjoyments, by the rich harvests of autumn; and for their spiritual delights, by the beauties of spring. The trees, before they bear their rich fruits, are clothed in their dresses of blossoms. Thus utility and beauty are inseparably bound together in the creation. They were designed in the same plan, and were executed by the same means. They are mingled together on every mountain and hill, and in every plain and valley. The same mighty forces by which the mountains and hills were upheaved and substituted in the cosmic scenery, with all their picturesque beauty, for the dead level plains, also brought up all the treasures of the mine and the quarry, so that the poet and the painter, the miner and the quarrier, must meet together on the same spot, the one to dig out the material treasures from the sides of the mountains, the other to behold the exquisite beauty of the landscape. So that nature scatters abroad with one and the same hand, physical and spiritual gifts. Utility and beauty are strung together throughout all nature, on the same thread of creative thought. Beauty, therefore, is not a superficial and accidental thing, but springs from the very constitution of the earth. It was wrought into creation through every geological period. And by one harmonious design, it progressed with the whole work, and bloomed most lovely under the last finishing touch of creative art.

We see, that the Creator, from the very foundations of the earth, laid it in beauty as well as in utility, and that he embraced both in the same prospective calculation, and wrought them out by the same means. The Creator not only designed from the beginning that the present state of things should be adorned in beauty, but, as if to show us that beauty is a law of divine thought, and that he never works but with the taste of an artist, in those dark geological periods which the age of man never beheld, the fossils which are found embedded in the upheaved rocks, are wrought with exquisite artistic skill. The bucklers of many of the huge fish which swam those dismal seas are carved with a taste and a skill that Achilles might have coveted for his martial shield. Now, all this beauty, the brute fishes and reptiles and birds and beasts, who were the sole monarchs of the earth and seas, could not perceive. But as it

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was part of the plan of creation, that all these periods of the earth's formation, with their fossil contents, should be revealed to the searching curiosity of man, thereby to develope his intellect and his moral powers, the beauty of the workmanship was intended for his artistic eye, as well as to carry out for its own sake the exquisite conception of the divine Architect.

There is a high spiritual purpose in all this elaborate design to bring before the mind of man scenes of beauty. It is done, not only to delight, but also to refine and ennoble him. Sympathy with beauty sublimes the heart, and elevates it beyond all selfish considerations. The artist, penetrated by its divine influence, devotes his pencil, his chisel, or his lyre to the production of works which will transfuse into the hearts of others the same pure sentiments which animate his own bosom, with no other aim than to bind others with the same sweet spell which links him to the beautiful. With the same motive and the same aim we may suppose, without irreverence, the great Artist to have worked in exhibiting in the world such exquisite scenes of beauty. It was all done for its own intrinsic excellence, and its refining influence on man. The path of beauty leads up towards holiness. Of all natural influences which sway the heart for good, there is none so potent as beauty.

> "Before every man the world of beauty,
> Like a great artist, standeth night and day
> With patient hand, re-touching in the heart
> God's defaced image."

We have now shown by what an elaborate and exquisite machinery and art the beauty of the world has been wrought out. There is a perfect harmony of means working through myriads of ages to accomplish this great end in the creation. And the very same agencies which wrought out the utility, also wrought out the beauty. With the same hand utility and beauty are dispensed. The seeds which produce the fruits, also produce the flower. Both were embraced in the same prospective calculation. The beauty was, in truth, the crowning excellence, the flower of the work. It was that which was especially designed to awaken the finer conceptions of the human soul, and make it conscious of its divinity.

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ART. III.—*An Exposition of some of the Laws of the Latin Grammar.* By Gessner Harrison, M. D., Prof. of Ancient Languages in the University of Virginia. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street, 1852.

LATIN is not studied in our schools merely that the learner may acquire the language, but rather, and chiefly, that by learning language he may discipline his mind—that by a clear insight into the laws of language, he may train his intellectual powers, and by thus becoming cognizant of the relations of words, he may have correct conceptions of the relations of things. But this end can neither be obtained by reading author after author, nor by what is generally termed mere *drilling* in all the forms of the accidence, and all the rules of syntax. Both of these, that is, an ability to read based on a thorough acquaintance with the grammar, are truly essential, but existing in the mind without due combination they bear almost the same relation to true culture, which chlorine and sodium bear to salt. Our modern educators are well aware of this, and their best efforts constantly tend towards supplying the means for that necessary mediation. Dr. Harrison's duodecimo of nearly 300 pages, very closely printed, is a valuable contribution to the shelf of every teacher of Latin. It is really what he terms it, "An *Exposition* of *some* of the Laws of the Latin Grammar." It is not a complete system like what we have in this line in Greek, (Crosby's Grammar,) but the subjects he treats of will certainly open to many a reader an entirely new view into the connection of certain grammatical phenomena. In the preliminary chapter he states the objects of etymological inquiries, giving at the same time a concise view of the changes a word may undergo both as to meaning and form; which introduces a statement concerning the powers of the letters and the laws of their interchange. Chapter I. defines Grammar and the parts of speech which he states to be three, Nouns, Verbs, and Particles. Chapter II. gives a general view of the declensions to which he premises according to his plan an exposition of the powers of the cases. The *genitive* is "that case by which is marked specifically that one, among several possible classes, to which a more general term is to be confined." The *dative* is the sign of the

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object "toward which an action tends." The *accusative* "marks the object actually reached." The *ablative* principally denotes "position in space." The chapter closes with a general outline of the doctrine concerning prepositions. Chapter III. treats of the Adjective in all its relations. Omitting the numerals, the author passes in chapter IV. to the Pronoun, a subject confessedly difficult, but in which Dr. Harrison deserves the thanks of the reader for the lucid manner in which he treats some really abstruse topics. The way too, in which all the pronominal Adverbs, such as *ibi*, *ubi*, *inde*, *adeo*, *ideo*, *interim*, *illinc*, *donec*, etc. etc., their derivatives, compounds and correlatives, are discussed, is highly satisfactory. *Ut* receives a treatment analogous to Horne Tooke's of *that*, but certainly a more successful one. Connected with this is a beautiful development of the meanings and uses of *quum*, which is regarded "as the accusative form masculine of the relative *qui*." Chapter V. treats of the Verb in all its various aspects, including, of course, the doctrine of the moods; and here the author has fully shown that he is no sciolist. Many a a one who has in vain been seeking for an explanation of the subjunctive, will find a flood of light thrown upon its labyrinthine course, in the pages of this treatise. The *subjunctive*, he thinks, is rather negative in its nature; as far as the speaker's affirmation is concerned, it is a matter merely assumed. This view the learned author carries out with sufficient fulness and with great clearness. The question how then the result or effect of an action can be expressed by *ut* and the subjunctive, he answers by saying, that to the Roman mind the effect of an action appeared *under all circumstances* as something incapable of being positively affirmed; for instance (if we understand the doctrine aright) when we see a pistol fired at a man who instantly falls weltering in his blood, and expires, we affirm positively that the pistol-shot killed him, whilst the Roman would yet think it possible that the man died of apoplexy. Conditional sentences, too, are managed admirably, though the phraseology suffers somewhat (as in fact throughout the the whole) from the endeavour to combine comprehensiveness with brevity.

There can be no doubt that the author is thoroughly conver-

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sant with his subject, and well read in the latest literature on it, and has furnished an amount of material (hitherto inaccessible to the mere English reader,) which we should have been greatly gratified to see used in the erection of a systematic structure by the same able hand. As they are, a teacher may find suggestions of the greatest value in every chapter. In the parts relating to etymology, and the accidence, we obtain mostly the well-digested views of Bopp and Pott, without, of course, observing any inclination in the author towards *jurare in verba magistri;* the latter may also be said in regard to the syntactical portions where we meet with Ramshorn, Hartung, Bernhardy and others, without their diffusiveness. It is but occasionally that we would differ from the author.

On page 3, he says, that "in the multiplied forms which constitute a family of words, whether found in the same or in different languages, a certain part very commonly consisting of a single syllable, remains, in every important feature, the same." Now, while this is true to a great extent, yet in the unqualified manner in which it is presented, together with the fact that the opposite truth is nowhere touched upon, it is very liable to lead the inquirer astray, and into that mistake which has been such a great cause of fruitless labour, viz: to think that words utterly different, in every letter perhaps, could not belong to the same family. We would only mention the well-known instances: Lat. *oculus*, Modern Gr. *μάτι*, Eng. *eye*, which are lexically and etymologically identical; or Lat. *boves*, Eng. *kine;* Lat. *anas*, Eng. *drake;* French *jour*, German *tag;* Fr. *âne*, Pol. *osiel*, etc.—Among the writers on the cases, there were always two opposite opinions; the one, that the original force of the cases had always reference to sensible relations, mostly to position in space; the other that the primary import was ideal. Since Haase, a third opinion has met with favourable reception, viz: that in the original formation of language, there existed a union between the sensible and the ideal which is now lost to us, and in this we have to seek the primitive meaning of the cases. We are somewhat at a loss which of these principles we shall say Dr. Harrison's is. In the genitive, he evidently belongs to the second class, whilst in the other cases, we should think he favours the first

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view; but we are certainly not prepared to say that this mode of procedure is not as good as many others that have been adopted. Still, we believe this part of the subject has received a somewhat step-motherly treatment, compared with the rest. On page 81, occurs a statement, against which we should like to defend Krüger, who is one of our favourites. It seems to us, he does not say "that the ablative expresses only accidental and transitory qualities," but that it expresses what *may be* accidental and transitory. We cannot call the expression *accidental* very felicitous, but, in fact, he corrects it immediately afterward, by saying that the genitive designates the object as it *is*, the ablative as it *appears*. In this connection we missed an explanation, and even the mention of the fact, that though we can say *oppidum maximæ auctoritatis* in Latin, and *a man of authority, a boy of talent*, in English, we cannot use either the genitive or ablative of quality without an attribute; likewise wanting is an explanation of *interest*, though *refert* is fully explained, yet so that this latter explanation will not apply to *interest*.

As it strikes us, none of the explanations given of the dative will be applicable to the dative of the agent with the passive voice. Our author recognizes the twofold nature of the ablative as indicating not only position, but also departure; yet contrary to the well-founded judgment of Bopp (Comp. Gr. §. 183,) he makes the former the more prominent and really, as it appears, the primary signification; this, of course, can lead to no great clearness in the particular applications. We shall instance but one. The *abl. comparationis* is explained as defining the *circumstances in which* exists the quality as expressed by the comparative. Now to which of the three ablatives in the sentence—*Tanto Pompeius superioribus ducibus* præstantior fuit *gloria*, quanto Cæsar omnibus præstitit—will this definition apply? and how are they to be distinguished? For every one of them seems to express a 'circumstance' with reference to the comparative. Besides, comparative philology which evidently forms the basis of the work before us, teaches us differently: the Arabic, the Hebrew, the Provençal, the old French, to some extent also the modern French, the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Italian, the Polish

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use after the comparative in such cases prepositions signifiying *departure;* and the Greek which our author uses in support of his explanation, may, of course, with equal facility be used on the opposite side of the question, as the idea of *departure*, as its original meaning, may be vindicated for it without great difficulty. The *comparative* degree is defined as that state of the adjective which marks a quality as existing in a *higher* degree in its proper object than IT *does in another*. Now when Nepos says: *Obscuriora sunt Datamis gesta pleraque*, he certainly does not mean to say that Datames' history is less known than the other histories of which *the same quality* can be predicated. The treatment of this subject in the grammars in vogue has never been able yet to satisfy us; for it is only there that we find the comparison, *magnus, major, maximus;* in common life we generally hear, *small*, greater, greatest. Adjectives whose stem ends in *l* or *r* are said to form their superlative by doubling that letter and adding *imus;* that may be true as regards those in *r;* of those in *l* it is not, with the exception of but six or perhaps seven. There is one point which has struck us as exceedingly strange, to say the least; but our limits will barely permit us to touch upon it. Dr. Harrison calls the well-known change of the gerund into the gerundive construction a mere euphonic, and not a grammatical change; a sort of "mutual attraction to obtain a uniformity of sound." "The gerund undergoes no change in signification, and ought not to be called by a different name." We were almost going to call this a hallucination. Nothing we thought could be more obvious than the constant tendency of the Latin language to change the active construction into the passive, which goes so far as to produce even a passive voice of the verb *to go*, and the like. If we should admit this new principle to be true, why should we stop at the gerund? Then *post Christum natum* would only be a euphonic variation, not a grammatical change of *post natum Christi*. *Ab urbe condita*, would *really* stand for *ab urbis conditu*. Did ever such an idea enter a Roman's mind? Would it not be preposterous to think that when we translate *Vercingetorix convocatis suis clientibus facile eos incendit* by 'V. having called together his etc.,' this latter was the Roman mode of conception? Moreover, the

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gerund is a verbal noun, therefore abstract; hence we should have in *omnibus hibernis oppugnandis* the *plural of an abstract* noun! And what is to be understood by "uniformity of sound?" Is reducendæ plebis more uniform than reducendi plebem? We may almost opine that the author supposes what is commonly considered the true doctrine to have arisen from such "ambiguous" cases as may occur after verbs like *curare, dare, sumere, relinquere* and others. Now take a right bad case: *Imperator militibus oppidum diripiendum dedit.* Supposing even we were at a loss whether to render this by "he gave them the town to be plundered," or "he gave them the to-be-plundered town," or "he permitted them the plundering (of) the town;" supposing even this ambiguity exist, it may yet be asked whether the sense of these readings differs so widely, and whether there can be any ambiguity in *spes capiundorum castrorum*; and then, the usage of a writer and the position of the words in the sentence will almost uniformly tell whether a word is the gerund or gerundive. Really, we must be permitted to hold to the old opinion.

Only a word as to the Tenses. A view of these will be incomplete as long as we are dependent upon the Germans for our philology; for they are trammeled by the imperfections of their own verb. If Latin is taught through the medium of the English language, we must examine the latter carefully before we use it as our tool.—Dr. Harrison states that besides the qualifications of the verb as to time, there are those of "completedness or incompletedness." But may there not be a *third;* say when neither completedness nor incompletedness is to be expressed, when the expression of an action as occurring in time is to be left *indefinite* otherwise? The name *Aorist* should cause us to suspect something like this. He states further that "*scribebam* signifies 'I wrote;'" we doubt this; the Latin Imperf. Ind. can never be translated by this tense in English, except in the expressions *putabam, credebam, videbar*, and the like; where, however, the English departs from its usual accuracy for the sake of euphony: for every one that speaks English is most careful to distinguish between 'I was writing' and 'I wrote;' so with 'I am writing' and 'I write;' yet on p. 197, Dr. Harrison throws the last two together in English, while on p.

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203., he is careful to distinguish between *sit loquens* and *loquatur*. In fact, the English verb will be found on examination to be richer in tenses than that of most other languages; for besides the *three* qualifications within that of time, there will be found a fourth which denotes something *more than completed* (*plus quam perfectum*) action merely; we should then have twelve tenses in the Indicative mood. But this is not the place to discuss them; and we will merely subjoin a tabular view of them:

	Present	*Past*	*Future*
Aorist	I walk	I walked	I shall walk
Imperfect	I am walking	I was walking	I shall be walking
Perfect	I have walked	I had walked	I shall have walked
Pluperfect	I have been walking	I had been walking	I shall have been walking

Every one that uses the English language (we need not even say, accurately) knows that he cannot employ any one of these twelve tenses for any one of the rest, without changing the meaning. If now the Latin verb be compared with this, it will be found that the Present, the Pluperfect and the Future are each translated by two English tenses (the defect here is clearly on the part of the Latin), the imperfect by the English Past Imperfect alone, so that there remain three for the Latin Perfect. This Perfect, then, when equivalent to the Greek Aorist in its proper tense, is translated by the English Past Aorist (the term Perfect Aorist in one of our Latin text-books, is an utter absurdity), and when equivalent to the Greek Perfect, by the English Present Perfect and Present Pluperfect. That these latter have nothing whatever to do with past time, may easily be tested by endeavouring to say: "I have walked *yesterday*."

As is usual with these publishers, the typography of this book is highly accurate. We could not discover the reason, however, why Greek words are not given in Greek characters; sometimes the latter is added for explanation, as it seems, and that mostly without accents. There are hardly more than a dozen accents in the whole book, and quite a number of these are incorrect.

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ART. IV.—1. *Ueber die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java, nebst einer Einleitung ueber die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwickelung des menschengeschlechts.* Von Wilhelm von Humboldt. Berlin, Gedruckt in der Druckerei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1836, 4to. 3 vols.

2. *Der Ursprung der Sprache, im Zusammenhange mit den letzten Fragen alles Wissens.* Von H. Steinthal, Dr., Privatdocenten für Sprachwissenschaft an der Universität zu Berlin. Berlin, 1851.

ONE of the strangest phenomena in the sphere of modern science, is the fact that more and more converging as are the lines of the philological argument towards confirming the truth that all languages have a common centre, so the speculations in regard to which was this centre are becoming less; but at the same time the interest in the inquiries concerning the *Origin of Language* is increasing at a rapid ratio. Connected as this question is with philology and psychology, and even with the very foundation of the whole subject of metaphysics, it must have a claim upon the attention of every observer of the progress of science, not easily equalled. Is language of divine, or of human origin? If of human origin, is it a product of man's physical or animal, or of his intellectual nature? Is it a discovery, or is it an invention? Or is it necessitated by instinct? If of divine origin, was it given to man, a perfect gift, or was he taught it as children are now taught to speak? Such are some of the questions propounded by those who have agitated this subject. Divines of the last century would limit the modes by which man could obtain language to one of three: *Invention, Instinct, Instruction.* Now, if by instinct is meant something belonging to the nature of man as such, the mere loss of hearing, then, would not account for the loss of speech in deaf-mutes; on the other hand, Casper Hauser had no language, though he was possessed of every "instinct" of a human being. But moreover, in what man does, he cannot be said to be actuated by instinct, as the spider when she draws her concentric polygons, or the bee when she constructs her artificial cells. Man is free; the spider and the bee *cannot* act

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otherwise, but it would not be so correct to say of man, that he is forced to speak by his very nature. Dr. Lieber, speaking of the unmodified and frequently inarticulate utterances of Laura Bridgman, the blind deaf-mute, says:* "While I am writing these words, a tuneful mocking-bird is pouring out its melodious song before my window. Rich and strong, and mellow, as is the ever varying music of this sprightliest of all songsters of the forest, compared to the feeble and untuned sounds which Laura utters in her isolated state, yet her sounds are symbols of far greater import. She, even without hearing her own sounds, and with the crudest organs of utterance, yet has arisen to the great idea of the word, she wills to designate by sound. In her a mind is struggling to manifest itself and to commune with mind, revealing a part of those elements which our Maker has ordained as the means to insure the development of humanity."

As to invention, we need only quote the words of the same able writer: "Had God left it to the invention of man, before he could know to what amount of utility, enjoyment, refinement, affection, elevation, thought, and devotion, his phonetic communion, and its representative in writing, would lead, man could never have attained to the prizes of language and literature." Besides, if the speculations of W. von Humboldt and others, which we shall presently glance at, are at all based on truth, then invention and reason presuppose language, and can as little be conceived separate from it, as arithmetic from numbers.

Then there remains instruction. Should this have been such as man might have received from the sounds in nature, or those produced by animals? The onomatopees prove that he was certainly guided to some extent in the choice of his sounds by those produced in natural objects. But these sounds are not yet *words*, or else we might converse with a parrot. It must therefore have been *divine* instruction which imparted language to man. And this, it should seem, ought to be the most prevalent opinion, and there is but little doubt that as far as revelation is acknowledged, this has been the most general belief. The only objection made (if it can be called such), is, that it appears to

* On the Vocal Sounds of Laura Bridgman, a paper which is full of the most valuable suggestions on this subject.

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be much less derogatory to the dignity of God (and man also, we might add, for this is certainly an ingredient in the train of thought of those objectors) to suppose that, if man was to have speech, God created him capable of making, forming, inventing it for himself, than to think that man is only a creature like other creatures, but endowed by God with both reason and speech.

The question then, closely analyzed, is reduced to this form: Is language of human, or of divine origin? The affirmative to either of these two seems to be the only answer possible, unless we admit that it may be *a union of the human and divine.*

But a hasty glance at the history of this inquiry may bring the subject clearer before our minds.

If we are not at liberty to seek for an express declaration in regard to this in sacred writ, then it would appear that the notion of the divine origin of language is at least as old as the version of Onkelos, who renders the words, Gen. ii. 7, "and man became a living soul" by "and man became a speaking spirit;" whilst we might perhaps, with a great degree of verisimilitude, say that the opposite opinion is as old as paganism. In fact, we have but few data to determine the matter; we know, however, that since Pythagoras, every philosophical system among the Greeks, those originators of almost every question in metaphysics, tried itself at the solution of this question. It might be expected *a priori* that among them with whom language was but the instrument used in the art of the sophist and dialectician, it could go for no more than the invention of man, and the dispute with them was only whether it was *conventional* (θέσει) or *natural* (φύσει). The advocates of the former would maintain that there was no force or power belonging to words as such, that they had no value, except such as was agreed upon they should have, some arbitrary value, like paper-money, or the letters in algebra; that they might mean one thing, or the very opposite, just as men fixed it; or, as Diodorus has it, "that men at first lived like beasts in woods and caves, forming only strange and uncouth noises, until their fears caused them to associate together; and that upon growing acquainted with each other, they came to correspond about things, first by *signs*,

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then to make *names* for them, and in time, to frame and perfect a *language*."

> Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
> Mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
> Unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
> Pugnabant armis, quae post fabricaverat usus,
> Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
> Nominaque invenere.*

The other party maintained that there was an internal truth in words and language; that they were produced in accordance with some image of the object designated that was conceived in the mind; that the outward sound or sign bore a natural, unalterable relation to the thought; that language was, least of all, an intimation of something heard, but rather a representation of something seen by the eye of the mind.† Of course, these opinions would receive different tinges and hues from the peculiar systems of philosophy, that would advocate the one or the other. But the opinion of a divine origin of language does not appear to have found acceptance among the Greeks, unless we except Plato; and we will briefly state why he should be excepted. In his Cratylus, we are supposed to possess his views on language. The two conflicting opinions are introduced as the interlocutors Hermogenes and Cratylus. The former reasons from the analogy presented by proper names being applied to certain persons, although the meaning of such names would not always be applicable to such persons respectively, that all the words of a language are merely names arbitrarily applied to certain objects, (§. 1.) The opposite doctrine is stated to be that sounds and letters have a certain significancy in themselves, and that this determines the choice of them for the designation of certain ideas (§§. 92, 93.) And what does Socrates say? This question is, perhaps, not easily answered. The common opinion is: "*Socrates in Cratyli sententiam* magis *inclinare* videtur." But why *magis?* why *videtur?* This apparent uncertainty is owing to that etymological part of this Cratylus. Schleiermacher styles it "the cross of the translator;" it is more, it is the cross of the reader, and, most of all, the cross of the eulogizer of Plato.

* Hor. Sat. I. 3.

† Compare *Schleiermacher's* Introduction to *Plato's Cratylus.*

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How in the world could he commit such puerilities? Can he really have considered these derivations and compositions as being based on truth? Could it never have occurred to him that he was writing the most egregious nonsense? A long series of the most miserable puns that can ever be concocted, from the mouth of the same grave poet-philosopher, who was ever insisting upon the necessity of knowing how little we knew. Such a violence as these poor innocent words are treated with, root and inflexion, vowel and consonant, all is hashed up, and perishes in the general melee. And then he says, he has been amazed all the while at his own wisdom. This has always been a sore point with commentators, and various, of course, have been the modes by which they endeavoured to save the honour of their favourite writer. The most plausible, certainly, is to assume that it is a burlesque on the school of Heraclitus, and especially on the writings of one Antisthenes, who appears to have treated of the use of words.* Now, amid all this concealed irony, there is one passage where he becomes openly sarcastic. Socrates, in opposing the notion of Hermogenes, himself acknowledges the ridiculousness of establishing his own, or rather Cratylus' view of the internal truth of the primitive words, by showing the significancy of sounds and letters in the manner which he is about to adopt. But, says he, there is no other method of doing it, unless we imitate the dramatists, whom their *deus ex machina* must aid when they find it impossible to bring the plot to a rational *denouement*, and say that *language is of divine origin*. (§ 90.) If then, the view of the polemic design of this dialogue be correct, this sudden flash of a smile over the solemn countenance of such quiet and subdued sarcasm, should cause us to suspect that, at this moment, we saw the author's true face.† Besides, if such an idea, so foreign to the Grecian mode of thinking, once entered the mind of Plato, "with all the lofty grandeur of his sublime spirit," with his archetypal ideas and his *anamnesis*, it is not at all likely that he should have dismissed it again, without further consideration. On the contrary, we may presume that the Cratylus was designed to show

* *Schleiermacher*, l. c.

† Comp. Knickerbocker's New York, p. 69, *et passim*.

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the untenable nature of both the φύσει and the θέσει theories, so as to leave no other refuge but that hinted at by him, if, indeed, he did not think the whole subject beyond human ken.

In the whole period, from the commencement of the Christian era to the second half of the last century, this subject appears to have been so little a matter of discussion, that some modern writers *assume* the prevailing opinion to have been the divine origin, and that *Suessmilch* only endeavoured to explain the fact philosophically,* with the same facility as others *assume* that the human origin was the general belief, and that it was not till then that the divine origin was advocated.†

In the great writers during this long time, we find this subject either wholly passed over, or barely touched upon, and that for the most part incidentally. Bacon thought that speech was an *art* which "must come by hearing and learning."‡ Locke believed that man needed language not as man, but as a sociable creature, and that he was endowed, not only with the faculty of speech, but with language itself.§ Brian Walton, in his *Biblicus Apparatus*, which forms the first volume of his Polyglott, published in 1658, has a somewhat lengthy discussion on the subject, which, however, does not touch the root of the matter. He advocates the divine origin of language, and yet he says: *Cur ex hominum instituto tacito vel expresso, lingua aliqua integra oriri non possit, plane non perspicio.* So that he appears to have maintained that the first language was of divine origin, and the others human inventions.

The modern discussion on the subject did not commence until *John Peter Suessmilch*, a theologian and member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, published his *Endeavour to Prove that the First Language originated not with Man, but with the Creator alone.*‖ He argues that God must be the immediate author of language—from its order, beauty, and perfect adaptation to the wants of man; to invent or construct an instrument of such excellency presupposed a highly

* *Eichhorn's* Geschichte der Litteratur, Vol. V.

† *Steinthal*, p. 2.

‡ Works, vol. III., p. 53.

§ Essay concerning the Human Understanding. B. III., c. 1., sect. i.

‖ Versuch eines Beweises, dass die erste Sprache ihren Ursprung nicht von Menschen, sondern allein vom Schöpfer erhalten. Berlin, 1766—8.

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by a physical assimilation, so the sensations are changed into thoughts and conceptions by a mental assimilation. On the other hand, the process of thought again calls forth the action of the organs of speech (without any further mediation or instrumentality,) and so thoughts and conceptions are again embodied in sounds—the thinking spirit becomes corporeal in language. Thus, language proceeds *necessarily* from the nature of man as a thinking being: man *speaks* because he *thinks*. As man, therefore, is a union of spirit and body, so are the word and language the union of an *immaterial* element—conception and thought—and a *material* element—sound.

This, in fact, anticipates in some measure what we shall find to be the view of WILLIAM VON HUMBOLDT, the brother of the illustrious author of *Kosmos*, in the philosophical study of language, the brightest star among the scholars of Germany. In the scientific investigation of the subject there has certainly none been equal to him in power of concentration, in profundity of research, in excellency of judgment, in extent of learning, in acuteness of penetration, in subtle perception of real difficulties, in poetic glow of fancy, and in depth and delicacy of feeling. Endowed with an intellect towering far above his kind, with a knowledge of more languages than was ever gained by any single man, having travelled extensively, in uninterrupted literary correspondence with the greatest linguists of the age, he composed his last and greatest work *On the Kawi Language in the Island of Java, with an Introduction on the Difference of Structure observable in Human Language, and its Influence on the Intellectual Development of the Race.*

In this work, the author sets out with the inquiries to which he says a precise and entirely definite answer would be very difficult, whether the whole civilization of the Indian Archipelago is of Indian origin; and whether the elements of the languages found there, warrant the conclusion that there were connections existing between the Sanscrit and the Malay families, even in a time which, as he says, must precede all literature, and the last and most refined development of a language. The difficulty experienced in these ethnographical and linguistic investigations consists in separating from one another the *various* external influences that must have operated upon the Malay-Polynesian

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family. Three distinct families of languages are in close proximity with them, the Semitic, through Arabia, the Sanscrit, through India, and the Chinese. The influence of India he thinks the oldest and most prominent. For the purpose of discussing the subject in its most comprehensive, as well as in its truest aspect, he selects the Kawi language, which in its bloom exhibits the period of most intimate union of Indian and Polynesian culture.

In the first volume he shows the impossibility of fixing any historical dates as to the commencement of the connection between India and Java, on account of a peculiar method of denoting numbers by words, the origin of which he ascribes to the metrical composition of their records, but which is not reliable, for various reasons. He argues therefore from the general impression which he receives from the legends, customs, manners, and the language of the people, that the influence of India is very ancient. He shows, however, that even before Islam had penetrated thither, both Brahmanism and Buddhism had received foreign admixtures. On p. 251, he finds occasion to observe that, as in the Tagala language, in the island of Luçon, the word *Bathala* denotes the supreme God, or the Deity in general, if the original signification of the word was ever connected with it, then the idea of the descent of a divine being had penetrated even thus far.

The second volume treats of the grammatical structure of the Kawi language, as developed in the epic poem, *Brata Yuddha*, and at the same time compares it constantly with all the other languages of the Malay family, and of the South-sea Islands, as far as they are known.

In the third volume he defines the character of each of these idioms more distinctly, especially those of Madagascar, the Tonga Islands, Tahiti, New Zealand, and the Tagala. The state and condition of the inhabitants of these islands, their laws, their religions, their observances, he traces back, though but in isolated phenomena, to the firm ground of the Sanscrit family.

But it is in the Introduction that the author appears to have poured out his very soul. Its professed object is to show that as the division of the human race into *nations* and *tribes* and

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the difference of their *languages* and *dialects* stand in immediate connection, so they are at the same time together dependent upon a third, higher phenomenon, and that is *the power of the human intellect as producing* ever new and frequently progressive forms. It is easy to see that by showing the mode of this dependence, the author will at the same time explain that connection, in as far as it can be penetrated by human search and comprehended by human intellect. According to our author, to find how the *mind of man* reveals itself in time and space, in degree and kind, is the highest object of all intellectual effort, the real and sole problem of history. Thus his actual endeavour is to aid philology by means of history on the one hand, and on the other, history by means of philology. He begins therefore, with an examination of the principal factors in the intellectual development of the race, first by regarding the mode of this development as it is promoted by culture and civilization, but also by some external and extraordinary, partly inexplicable, immaterial agency; then by considering the somewhat more tangible agency of a joint influence of individuals and nations. This leads him to the subject of language as one of the chief instruments of that process of development. Then he points out the path which philology must pursue in order to gain its proper object. At this point he enters into a profound discussion of the nature and constitution of language as consisting of articulate sounds, and the changes which the latter undergo on account of their intimate connection with the notions which they represent, as well as on account of the relations which they are used to designate. Having thus endeavoured to *define* language in its most general features, he begins (p. cxx.) to direct his attention to particulars, such as the *form* of *words* individually, and also as to their *affinities*. He finds three distinguishing characteristics of languages, *Isolation*, *Inflection* and *Agglutination;* these are the methods which the different languages employ to give a grammatical form to their logical categories; this forms the unity of the sentence. The unity of the word is affected by the *pause*, *change of letters* and *accent* (p. cli.) These characteristics furnish the means of classifying languages. In §§. 20—24, he shows by an inductive process, from the Indo-Euro-

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pean, the Semitic, American, and Monosyllabic anguages, that a language possesses capacity for development, perfectibility and influence on the character of a nation in proportion to its *synthetic* power (p. cclxv,) which is the creative act of the mind, by which the inward thought is so *united* to the outward sound, that this union produces a third element "in which the distinctive nature of both disappears."

The almost constant endeavour of the author to explain the inexplicable, or that, the explanation of which had never been attempted before, or in which human ingenuity had utterly failed—joined to his innate candour, and freedom from *wilful* obscurity, leads him to observe, on various occasions in the course of his investigation, that there are instances of *progress* in the process of development going on in the human race, which can only be reached, because an extraordinary power is unexpectedly exerted in that direction, cases where all explanation ceases and a *foreign agency* must be *assumed* in place of it. Nay more, all advancement in the department of mind can only proceed from an inward power, and accordingly it has always a hidden and inexplicable, because spontaneous, cause. Now, when this inward power exerts its creative agency so suddenly and so powerfully, that the previous course in itself could in no way have led to the result apparent, the *possibility* of an explanation is, of course, at once precluded. As an example he adduces in one place (p. xxxiii.) the different structure of the Chinese and the Sanscrit. A gradual progress from the one to the other he thinks is not inconceivable. But if one really *feels* the nature of language in general, and of these two in particular, if the investigator reaches that point where the idea and the sound become one, he will discover the self-acting, creative principle of their different organisms. Then the possibility of the gradual development of the one from the other will be given up, and the idea of regarding them as steps in the formation of a perfect language must *remain* an idea. To this question he reverts in the conclusion of this extraordinary production of the human intellect, but in a different form. That is, he does not ask whether polysyllabic languages are but the development of monosyllabic ones, but whether languages now polysyllabic were not originally monosyllabic. We believe he

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gives an affirmative answer, although we must confess he is not very clear on the subject. There appears to be something analogous, though not similar, in this part of the discussion, to Mozart's state of mind (which musicians say they can still trace) in the composition of the overture of Don Giovanni.

Humboldt's conception of the nature of language must be called highly original. With Becker, as we have seen, language is still the offspring of the union of sound and thought, at best it is on a level with the latter; and Humboldt frequently declares it as the same: yet in another aspect he will call it "spirit," "power," "the absoluteness [essence?] of thought," as Aristotle calls the soul the ἐντελέχεια of the body; in other words, as he himself says, "the soul of the soul." It is the organ of being aside from its external manifestations; it is being itself in a state of obtaining a knowledge of itself, and at the same time an outward activity: or more specific—the power of the human mind is ever active, language is one of the manifestations of this activity. In other words, it may be regarded as the *endeavour* to gain an existence in reality for the idea of the *perfection of language.* It is not a *production* simply, but rather a birth; though as to its office, it is the sign of objects and means of communication; yet its nature and origin can only be perceived by contemplating the influence it exerts upon the mind from which it springs itself. It is not a thing ready, at rest, but considered as to its real nature, it is something *passing, transitory.* It is not a work (*ergon,*) but an activity (*energeia.*) Its true definition, therefore, is, the ever-repeated *labour of the mind* to enable *articulate sound* to express *thought.* Strictly this is the definition of *speaking* rather than of *speech;* but the totality of the action is what constitutes speech essentially. From this it cannot be inferred that thinking and speaking are identical, as little as are the ideas lily and rose; but language and mind are identical in the same way as lily and flower. (Of course, this has nothing in common with Condillac's or Horne Tooke's notion, that our reason is the gradual result of language.) Although, however, speaking and speech are identical, yet the latter is different from that *which is spoken,* for it is the totality of what is produced in this. A language in its whole extent contains every-

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thing that has been changed by it into sound; but as the matter of thought and the infinity of its combinations can never be exhausted, the same must be the case with what language is to designate or combine. Language consists, therefore, not only of the elements already formed, but also and especially of methods of combining the work of the mind, which work has both path and form prescribed by language. The elements already formed and fixed do indeed constitute in a certain sense a dead mass; but this mass again carries within itself the living germ of a never-ending destiny. At every single point, therefore, and in every single epoch, language, just as nature herself, appears to man, in opposition to everything previously known or thought by him, as an inexhaustible mine in which his mind can still discover things hitherto unknown to him, and his feelings can still be impressed in a manner not felt before; and whenever a truly novel and great genius wields this wondrous weapon, the phenomenon appears in reality. (p. lxxvii. sq.) And thus, full, rich, and copious as is the stream of language in its flow down the course of time, so must its full tide reach as far as our eye can follow it up towards its source; for it would not be correct to think that *language at first* possessed but few words: such a view arises from those utterly erroneous assumptions that language was called forth by the necessity of mutual *assistance*, and that man was then in a so-called state of nature. Man is not so needy, and, merely for assistance, inarticulate sounds would have sufficed. Even the languages of what are generally called *savages*—who, of course, ought to be nearer that "state of nature"—show everywhere a copiousness and variety of expression which far exceeds their immediate necessities. Words spring from the breast spontaneously, without need and without labour, and there has perhaps not been a wandering horde in the desert who have not had their songs: "For man, as to his animal nature, is a singing creature, which, however, connects thoughts with its tones." (p. lxxv.) For man to *speak* is an *inward necessity*, not one merely outward, merely existing for the maintenance of general intercourse, but one lying in his very nature, with a view to his development, and to his gaining a knowledge of his relation to the world.

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Thus, instead of refuting the opinion that *man* made language, Humboldt maintains that it was not *made* at all, but that it bursts forth from the breast of man, as necessarily, and as easily as her warbling notes from that of the nightingale. The agencies supposed to precede and call forth the formation of language, such as society, culture, and civilization, are so far from being its cause, that they owe themselves their existence to the same energy by which it is produced. Java, for instance, evidently received a higher civilization and culture from India, and both in an eminent degree; yet, not only did the language of Java not change its imperfect form, but it deprived even the noble Sanscrit of its form in order to press it into the mould of its modes of conception. Besides, language and civilization do not always bear the same relation to one another. Peru was certainly the most civilized country of America, yet its language was by no means superior to any of the Western Continent; the Mexican, for instance, is far superior to it. It would be equally far from the truth to say that the character of a nation had no influence upon the character of its language, for then there could be but *one*, and not many languages. Their diversity, indeed, is owing to the fact that the endeavour whereby the power of speech granted to *man* breaks forth, is more or less successful as it is either favoured or impeded by the mental powers given to *nations*. It is therefore not a mere play upon words, when "language is represented as having its source in itself, divinely free and acting independently, but the languages as serving and dependent upon the nations to whom they belong." But at the same time, "individual variety within the bounds of general agreement is so wonderful in the domain of language, that it may be said with equal correctness, that the whole human race have but one language, and that each man has one for himself." (Compare above, the note on p. 422.)

The real gist of the matter, then, to inclose it in a nutshell, appears to be this: If language is divine, whence arises the diversity of languages? (Or must we assume a continued act of creation?) On the other hand, if it is human, whence this astonishing unity of principle, both as to the logic and grammar of the various tongues? The reader may have already gath-

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ered the solution of the difficulty from what has been said; we shall have to add but little more. Humboldt does not keep himself on historical ground merely, viewing the origin of language as something past, but inquires of physiology in regard to the ever recurring formation of speech in each individual.

What we see in *children*, he remarks, when they *learn to speak*, does not consist in a close measuring off of words, laying them up in the memory, and imitating them with the lips, but it is rather a growing of the faculty of speech by age and practice. What is heard does more than merely communicate itself; it fits the soul for a more ready understanding of what has not been heard up to that time; it makes clear what had been heard long ago, but not understood, and increases the desire and the ability of appropriating to the memory more and more of what is heard, and of letting less pass by as mere sound. As a proof of this theory of development in the faculty of speech, in opposition to a mere mechanical learning to speak, he adduces the fact that as the principal faculties in man have assigned to them a certain period in his life for their development, so all children, in the greatest variety of circumstances, speak and understand at an age which is nearly the same everywhere and at all times, and which is circumscribed by a very limited period. To the objection arising from the fact that a child which is brought under the influence of a different language from that of its parents, before it is able to speak, developes its faculty of speech in that new language, he answers, that in such cases it has not been observed with sufficient accuracy how difficult it was to overcome the original inclination, and that after all, in the niceties of the language, that primary bent always remained unconquered. Moreover, in as much as man is the same everywhere, the unity was by no means destroyed, and the development of the faculty could proceed with the aid of any individual; it needs some external impulse, and it will be analogous to that impulse, especially as all human languages are one. "Language, then, cannot be taught; properly speaking, it can only be awakened in the mind."

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Schiller's dilemma,—

Warum kann der lebendige Geist dem Geist nicht erscheinen?
Spricht *die Seele, so spricht ach! schon die Seele nicht mehr;*

if he does not remove it, he does at least not shrink from encountering it: language is the forming organ of *thought*. The *activity of the intellect*, altogether spiritual, altogether internal, and leaving, as it were, no trace behind, is represented externally in speech by *sound*, and becomes thus perceptible to the senses. This activity, then, and language, are one and indivisible; but it lies, at the same time, under the necessity of constituting a *connection* with sound; else the thought cannot become clear, the perception cannot become an idea. The inseparable connection of *thought*, the *organs of speech*, and the *ear*, with language, is fixed unalterably by the original, inexplicable arrangement of the human system. But the agreement of sound and thought is also clearly apparent. As the thought, like a flash of lightning, collects the whole power of perception into a single point, and excludes everything contemporaneous, so the sound is heard in abrupt precision and unity; as the thought seizes all the feelings, so the sound possesses a penetrating, thrilling power over the nerves. (p. lxvi.) But our author is always keen in perceiving *what* the point is where inquiry must strive to *cut* a Gordian knot, or cease entirely. In regard to the most important as well as the most refined philological investigation, he finds the difficulty frequently to consist in the fact, that something flowing from the language as a whole cannot be represented with a satisfactory fulness, or defined by lines distinctly marked, although it may be felt in the clearest and most convincing manner. The characteristic form of each of the different languages is connected with *every single one of its elements*, even the most insignificant and inconsiderable; every one of these, again, is determined by that form in some manner, however inexplicable each instance may be. On the other hand, it is scarcely possible to discover points of which it could be maintained that this form depended on them individually. If, therefore, any given language be investigated, there may be found much which might have been different without the form of the

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language being altered in the least; and in order to perceive the latter by itself, we are always directed to the *language as a whole.* But here the very reverse takes place immediately. The most decided individuality presents itself clearly, and makes itself most distinctly felt. Language, in this respect, can be compared, with the least degree of incorrectness, to the various *human countenances.* The individuality is there undeniably, resemblances are recognized, but no measuring, and no description of the different parts singly, or in their connection, can give a distinct idea of the peculiarity of any single countenance. This peculiarity adheres to it as a whole, and depends also on the impression upon the individual beholder; whence it is certainly true that each face appears different to each person. The same must be the case with language in whatever shape it is taken up, as it is ever "the immaterial emanation of an individual national life." However much in it there may be which can be fixed and solidified, singled out and dissected, there is always something which remains unknown, and just this which escapes the touch is that in which the unity and the spirit of the living organism is contained. A thorough examination of languages leads, therefore, to a toilsome investigation, which often must enter into their minutest elements; but it is precisely these little things upon which depends the impression which these languages in their totality produce; and nothing is so incompatible with the true study of them as to seek in them only what is grand, superior, and permanent. Every grammatical subtilty must be searched into, words must be dissected into their elements, and almost reduced to atoms, if every judgment concerning them is not to be liable to error. But *comparative philology* is not confined to such minutiæ, though these form the mosaic floor upon which it erects its imposing and magnificent temples; for though its immediate object be the discovery of the various modes in which numberless nations solve the problem of the formation of language, proposed to them as *men*, yet it would lose all higher interest, unless it seek out and touch the very point at which the language of a nation joins the formation of the *national mind.* In a word, then, as language is the *endeavour* to realize its own ideal of perfection, to follow up and to represent this

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endeavour is the business of the philologist in its last and simplest resolution.

To sum up the inquiry: We have seen how with Humboldt on the one hand, speech and speaking are identical, and on the other, how the origin of language is involved in its nature. To explain the latter, therefore, is to point out the former. This he has done, and has therefore accomplished what neither history unaided, nor empty hypotheses could effect. From an investigation of our own nature, from a descent into the depths of our own minds, he returns with the pearl sought; for, maintains he, as language arises in us, so it originated in the first man.

And is this the settlement of the question? Men have not only generally acquiesced in Humboldt's views, but they have adopted them. Nay more, multitudes of writers have taken up one or the other of his ideas, given them a new shape, or dressed them in a new garb, and paraded them in books and pamphlets, in addresses and dissertations. One late phase of the German mind is to endeavour to make the higher walks of science somewhat more popular, and the books "for the People," and "for the Million," and "for the dear German Nation," &c., have become quite numerous.

We select one of these "philosophy" books, to present these views in the popular, or, we should perhaps say more correctly, in the amateur dress; that is, not in the academic gown. Thus—Language, to be brief, is the mediator of sensations; it furthers, increases, expands the faculty and the operation of thinking. As it contains articulate sounds as signs and designations of all sensations, of every thing felt and conceived, internal and external, for every object and individual, their qualities, etc., it must be regarded as a collection and storehouse of all that is conceivable. It may be compared to money. As this represents a certain amount and is the means of trade and commerce, so language is the means of the exchange of thought. But as money considered as metal, has some intrinsic value aside from that which it represents, on account of its solidity, malleability, cohesion, divisibility, lustre, etc., so language is adapted to its purpose by similar qualities, its euphony, its rhythm, its poesy and prose, its music, its assonance, its rhymes, its facility of

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being communicated, and its durability. Thought and speech together are, as it were, a national bank. It contains, in the treasuries of science deposited in it, the intellectual life of the nation. The words are its bank-notes. Without this deposit they would be mere sound, worthless paper. When words are spoken, thoughts exchanged by means of language, this is done in the belief that the words represent some real capital. The origin of language, both as to time and space, lies far back in infinity. Its source cannot be pointed out. It is as old as the human race. We can trace its growth and development, but the genesis of the first germ will ever remain a mystery.—Animals have no language; still they exchange [what—is not said.] For instance: when ants crawl across a narrow path, whenever two meet, they strike their heads together, etc.—The result is, feeling, perception and thought become solid (so to speak); they take a body to themselves; this body is articulate language.*—Of this mixture of wheat and chaff, the above fair specimen may suffice.

But a small space is left us for the notice of the second book at the head of our article. Dr. Steinthal is *privatim docens* in the department of linguistics at the University of Berlin. To the world of letters he has become known by some few small treatises on subjects within his department. In 1848 he published *William von Humboldt's Philosophy of Language and the Philosophy of Hegel*,† in which he endeavours to show the untenable nature of the dialectic method of Hegel from the fact that it must ultimately land in the *genetic*‡ mode of reasoning which had been adopted by W. von Humboldt, whose philosophy he at the same time analyzes, both as to its principles and its objects, defending the latter against the Hegelian system.—In 1850 he published *The Classification of Languages represented as the Development of the Idea of Language*,‖ which contains a critique of all preceding classifications and of

* Philosophie eines Dilettanten von *Friedrich Ludwig Bührlen*. Stuttgart, 1847.

† Die Sprachwissenchaft Wilhelm von Humboldt's und die Hegelsche Philosophie.

‡ We retain the term, merely observing that it denotes the objective, inductive method as distinguished from the purely subjective, *a priori* argument.

‖ Die Classification der Sprachen dargestellt als die Entwickelung der Sprachidee, pp. 91.

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linguistics generally. He then propounds a new theory of the nature of language, and divides the languages of the earth into thirteen classes, after a method analogous to the prevalent systems of botany and zoology. The treatise contains many strictures on W. von Humboldt.—To be published this year is a dissertation which has received the prize from the National Institute in Paris, which gives a *comparative view of the Susu, Mandingo, Bambara and Vei languages,** basing an examination of the psychological organization of these tribes on a comparison of the sounds of their languages.†

Steinthal calls Humboldt the Descartes of language; but he himself wishes to be regarded as his Spinoza. Of the latter we know that he drew forth from the Cartesian principles their ultimate results; we have seen like instances often enough. In our days we have seen what are called Coleridge's disciples, and we have seen what is termed the left side of the Hegelians. We see those devoted disciples take their honoured master upon their shoulders and carry him in triumph—perhaps to places where the reverend sage has not the least desire to go.—"But they keep the same direction towards which the face of the master was turned." They may at first, but a slight impediment which their master would perhaps have overcome, will easily turn them aside. Moreover, frequently what is called "drawing forth from certain principles their ultimate results", is only carrying them to dangerous lengths and illegitimate extremes. We should sometimes be suspicious of these Spinozas. It must be confessed, language in the hands of some is what Bacon calls the etymology of his day—*materia quasi cerea;* comments may be made upon an author's words utterly at variance with his sentiments. An author may live to be as old as Methuselah, and might never arrive at those "ultimate results," but as soon as he sleeps that

μάλα μαχρὸν, ἀτίρμονα, νήγρετον ὕπνον,

some grateful pupil may endeavour to continue his master's life, and perhaps make free with his opinions, for νεκρὸς οὐ δάκνει. There is no doubt, it is the fruit which reveals the quality of

§ Vergleichende Darstellung eines afrikanischen Sprachstammes, nach seiner phonetischen und psychologischen Seite.

† Dr. Steinthal is also the editor of *Schwartze's* Coptic Grammar.

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the tree; the value or worthlessness of principles frequently is not known until their results appear, and the principles a man discovers may be destined to live longer than he. There is no doubt that this propagation and inheritance of principles has done much good and averted much harm. But are there not notorious instances where a man's expressions have been egregiously perverted and his sentiments caricatured? We do not say positively that this applies to Dr. Steinthal, but when a man *sets up* for a Spinoza, our prepossession, we must acknowledge, is not, and perhaps should not be, in his favour. We should like, however, to give him a fair hearing, but fear he has been crowded out; we must be as brief as possible. We would remark, nevertheless, that if what we understand Dr. Steinthal to say on p. 24, and elsewhere* are the legitimate results of Humboldt's principles, we solemnly repudiate them; and although Dr. Steinthal takes pains to show that he is no Hegelian, we would humbly suggest that he is no better. But we will be passive.

He points out the analogy between Descartes and Humboldt: 1, Descartes said, *Cogito ergo sum:* Humboldt said, Man speaks, because he thinks. 2, In the "dualism" of both. With Descartes, body and soul were two different substances, both created by God. Absolutely diverse, God mediates between them, who, as a *tertium quid*, remains external with reference to them. With Humboldt, mind and language stand somewhat in the same relation as soul and body, which originate in a common source. This common source of mind and language Humboldt makes the real essence of the human mind. So far, says Steinthal, language would be of human origin. But, as the inscrutable essence of the human mind can only be in God, Humboldt is inconsistent in maintaining the human origin, unless he assumes the creative power of God to be exerted and operative continually, "a Cartesian *systema assistentiæ.*" Humboldt declares this whole matter to be incomprehensible by man. Steinthal proceeds therefore to explain the inexplicable, and flatters himself "to do this in a manner which he trusts Humboldt would certainly have approved of," because he follows his example. He does this by asserting the *identity of*

* His style is rather ambitious, but by no means lucid or elegant.

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*the human and the divine spirit.** —— —— The reason, he says, that Humboldt did not give this easy explanation is that he did not dare to do so, because it would be conceiving of God otherwise than as absolute and infinite. And as Dr. Steinthal thinks it of no use to shrink from conclusions, he does give it. Thus he escapes the union of the human and divine as being the origin of language, and makes it altogether human. Humboldt said, as we have seen above, that language is a birth; Steinthal says it is the *birth-place* of human spirit. With him, then, to explain the origin of language is *merely* to explain the origin of spirit.

This is no more than a nude statement of Dr. Steinthal's view—a view in which freedom gives place to psychological necessity, where man's spirit is absorbed in the Divine Spirit, or rather where God becomes synonymous with the human mind. We fear that such a system would be too much honoured even by that name which its author seems to crave for it himself—*Spinozism;* for in that philosophy, though God is a *necessary* being, he is at least free from all constraint. For ourselves, we can but say with Lessing, *Legimus aliqua, ne legantur.*

So much is certain from Scripture that language is not the fruit of a slow process—that it is not a human invention gradually perfected—man is represented as *immediately* capable of conversing with his Maker. We have not the slightest intimations that his terms were crude or inappropriate; and if we believe that he was created after the image of God, "in *knowledge*, righteousness, and holiness," it is certainly reasonable to suppose, to say the least, that he was endowed not only with the faculty of speech, but with language itself. God brought the animals to Adam, "*to see what he would call them.*" This,

* How far, or even whether, this differs from *Hegel's* results, at least, the reader may find by comparing *Hegel's* Rel. Phil. vol. II, his "explication" of the Trinity, especially p. 238.—It cannot be denied however, that the absence of a personal God from *Humboldt's* philosophy does open the door to pantheism in some shape or other. Modern German theology, too, is doubtless on a track which must lead to the *βάθη τοῦ Σατανᾶ*, if the tendency of *Schleiermacher* be followed "to remove the *dualism* of the finite and the infinite," and to establish the *essential* identity of the divine and human. (Comp. *Dorner's* Entwickelungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi, p. 340, p. 487 sq.; *Delitzsch's* Biblisch-prophetische Theologie, p. 216.)

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doubtless, intimates the close union between *thought* and *word*. Those unfortunate beings even, whose eyes, ears, and lips are closed, whose souls dwell within their clay tabernacle, without the use of those glorious avenues to the outward world which other men enjoy—even they have some *sounds* for the different objects of their—what we are loth to call—sensation. "I was lately looking at a negro who was occupied in feeding young mocking-birds by the hand. 'Would they eat worms?' I asked. The negro replied: 'Surely not: they are too young; *they would not know what to call them.*'—A singular commentary, almost touching, in its simplicity, on the passage in Genesis to which allusion has been made." *

Perhaps the only lawful question in the matter would be: *How* does man speak? Is language an organic production of man's nature, as Becker maintains, or is it a wholly immaterial, "spiritual emanation of an individual national life," as Humboldt holds, or is it neither? But even these inquiries may have the appearance of subtleties;

> "For wonderful indeed are all God's works,
> Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all
> Had in remembrance always with delight;
> But what created mind can comprehend
> Their number, or the wisdom infinite
> That brought them forth, but *hid their causes deep.*"

ART. V.—*Austria in* 1848-49.—*Being a history of the late political movements in Vienna, Milan, Venice, and Prague; with details of the campaigns of Lombardy and Novara; a full account of the revolution in Hungary; and historical sketches of the Austrian Government and the Provinces of the Empire.* By William H. Stiles, late Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at the Court of Vienna. With portraits of the Emperor, Metternich, Radetsky, Jellacic and Kossuth. 2 vols. 8vo. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1852.

THE series of startling events which have occurred within the last few years upon the Continent of Europe, and the important part enacted by the Austrian Empire in the great po-

* Dr. Lieber, l. c.

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litical drama which has so powerfully agitated the civilized world, impart a peculiar interest to any work, likely to afford authentic information in relation to some of the most important occurrences of modern times. The author of the work under notice, was the representative of the American Government, at the court of Vienna, during the period of which we have spoken, and was a witness of the rise, progress, and final catastrophe of the revolution. Availing himself of the means afforded by his position, he has collected materials from all sources, to illustrate the history of the times. Having access to official documents, some of which were only to be found in the imperial archives, he has by this means, and by personal observation, been enabled to present a most interesting, and we have no reason to doubt, faithful picture of the eventful struggle in Vienna, Milan, Venice, and Prague, as well as full details of the campaigns in Lombardy, Piedmont, and Hungary.

In order that his readers may understand the causes, and appreciate the facts, of the recent political convulsions in Austria, the author has given a preliminary account of the condition of the empire prior to the revolution, the races which inhabit the provinces now composing Austria, and the manner in which they became subject to the sway of a common sovereign. This portion of the work, though comparatively dry, is highly instructive, and we have followed the author with great interest as he traced the progress of the empire from the period when she was first known by her present name, and when, as Mr. Webster says in his famous letter to Chevalier Hulseman, she was "but as a patch on the earth's surface," and her whole territory was that lying between the rivers Raab and Enns; through the lapse of centuries, during which she has acquired either by conquest, election, succession or marriage, and annexed to herself, sixteen great states, besides numerous small principalities, inhabited by four of the seven different races of Europe, among whom are spoken twelve distinct languages, to her present position of strength and power, when she occupies a territory of two hundred and fifty six thousand square miles, containing a population of thirty eight millions of inhabitants.

The early chapters of this work give an account of the progress of absolutism in Europe, and the manner in which it has

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been maintained—the internal administration of the Austrian empire—the system of education, which, though gratuitous, is compulsory, and monopolized by the government, and from which everything is carefully excluded which might possibly tend to freedom of thought, or produce a feeling adverse to royal prerogative—the censorship of the press, through which all publications are purged of such dangerous expressions as "popular rights," "popular opinion," "public spirit," and "nationality." The corrections thus made are in some cases highly amusing. In a work having no reference to Austria, the expression "heroic champions" was changed to "brave soldiers," and "a band of youthful heroes who flocked around the glorious standard of their country" became "a considerable number of young men who voluntarily enlisted themselves for the public service." The effect of this censorship has been fatal to the literature of Austria, which possesses no character, and hardly a name. The system of espionage, and the examination of letters, are also much relied upon by the government. The government has also a powerful check upon the acts and conduct of the people in the confessional, as the Jesuit priests are uniformly the instruments of the state; and the people being required to confess at stated intervals, every important disclosure is at once conveyed to the ear of power. The government being thus in possession of the secret thoughts of the whole population, it is easy to anticipate any popular commotion; and an immense standing army is maintained, which stands always ready to crush insurrection in the bud, and suppress revolt wherever it may venture to raise its head. It is not to be wondered at, that under such a system the people should have become restive and impatient. No revolutionary sentiments were disseminated through the press, but the people were not without the means of information. The facilities for modern travel had multiplied the number of travellers at least a hundred fold, and liberal ideas and free opinions were propagated more successfully by this means, than they could possibly have been through the Austrian press. When, therefore, the news of "the French Revolution of 1848 fell like a bomb amid the states and kingdoms of the continent," the people were not unprepared for the intelligence, and the Magyar, the Czeck,

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the Pole, and the Lombard, were heard to speak, each in their several tongues, the language of independence.

The great diplomatist of the continent, wily and vigilant beyond all his compeers, and possessed of an instinct and sagacity not often encountered, foresaw at once the impending storm, and promptly made his preparations for its outbreak. "For a while he trusted that the deluge of democracy which he had long foreseen, could be stayed during the term of his natural life; but latterly even this hope deserted him," and after scanning the clouds which lowered over the political horizon, he exclaimed, "I am no prophet, and I know not what will happen; but I am an old practitioner, and I know how to discriminate between curable and fatal diseases. This one is fatal: here we hold as long as we can; but I despair of the issue." The secret of the great power exercised by this extraordinary man, has often been a subject of speculation. The man who for years controlled absolutely the Austrian government—who restored her finances, reconstructed her army, and once more infused national vigour into an exhausted and fallen country—who signed the Convention of Fontainbleau with Napoleon, and the first and second peace of Paris—who presided at every congress of the allied powers, from that at Vienna to the closing scene at Verona, and who had received without exception every order of distinction which the different monarchs of Europe could bestow—was a man calculated to attract attention, and give rise to speculation. The author of this book possessed superior advantages for judging of this matter, and he gives us the following as the result of his observation:—"He was not remarkable for his native genius or subsequent acquirements, but his distinguishing traits were his knowledge and perception of character, and the arts by which he bent them to his own purpose. He could entertain a circle of fifty persons with ease and amiability, without resorting to ordinary resources. He would participate in the dissipation and follies of his superiors and equals; but he would at the same time be searching the means by which he could turn them to profit. It was impossible to know better than he how to discover the weak sides of those around him; and what is still more difficult, to render himself necessary to their frailties.

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The mode of execution which Metternich employs is truly singular. To a perfect knowledge of the principal persons with whom he has transactions, he joins an address not less astonishing in the choice of his instruments. He has formed for himself a gallery of living Metternichs, from whence he draws forth his ambassadors and agents. With a gigantic mind he spread his toils over the whole continent—had his spies in all the capitals of Europe: in Portugal he was with the Miguels; in Spain, France, and Italy, with the aristocrats and priests; and at Constantinople most intimate with the Sultan. It was by these means that he held for so long a time the destinies of Europe in his hands."

The year 1848 was an eventful year in Europe. On the 20th of February the French Revolution commenced, and in three days the contest was over. During that time the king had abdicated and become a fugitive and an exile, a provisional government had been established, and a republic proclaimed.

On the intelligence of these events reaching the south-western States of Germany, revolutionary movements were at once commenced. The people moved by a common impulse, held public meetings simultaneously, at which they demanded equal representation, trial by jury, the emancipation of the press, and the repeal of all obnoxious laws. Attempts were made to evade these demands, and to satisfy the people with fair words and fairer promises of ultimate relief, but without effect; and by the middle of March, Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Baden, the Hesses, Saxony, Brunswick, Hanover, Weimar, Gotha, and Reuss, finding resistance unavailing, and trembling for the stability of their thrones, had quietly submitted to the popular will.

No demonstration however had yet been made in Austria, and the government indulged the illusory hope that the tranquillity of the empire would not be disturbed. The people were in a state of complete subjection; standing armies covered the face of the land; troops were quartered in every capital and every town, the number in each being regulated by the size and character of the population. But this was not the only dependence of the emperor. He relied much upon the easy and quiet temper of the people, and upon the long habit of obedience and submission to constituted authority, which made them well dis-

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posed, and easily governed. The government was, it is true, despotic, but its administration was mild, and whatever privileges were denied, it was not personally oppressive. "If there was the hand of lead, there was at least the glove of silk to cover it." "The government took care that the mass of the people were possessed of all animal comforts and enjoyments; that they were provided with work when well, and taken care of when sick; that the price of amusements was by law made so low, that none need be deprived of their enjoyment." The experience of the past, increased this confidence. Revolutions in other countries had never affected Austria, and while the French Revolution of 1830 had convulsed certain portions of Germany, it had fallen without effect upon Vienna; and her citizens remained untainted with revolutionary principles.

But they were soon to be awakened from this false security. Like thunder from a clear sky, the declaration of French liberty fell upon Vienna, and caused her to tremble through every nerve of her political system. The sudden fall of the public funds, hitherto so stable, the earnest consultations and discussions of the people, the sympathy loudly expressed for the revolutionists of France, the complaints unheard of till now, of the oppressions of their own government, the refusal of the medical students to accept appointments in the army, a post always highly coveted, and a peremptory demand for a modification of the consorship of the press, aroused the Austrian cabinet to a true sense of the danger and difficulty of their position, and convinced them that all their wisdom, activity, and resources, would be required to retain the provinces, if not to preserve the throne. The question was now between concession and increased severity. A majority of the imperial cabinet favoured the former, but Metternich was obdurate. Blinded by an overweening self-confidence, like that which hurled the infatuated Louis Philippe from his throne, he announced his determination. He offered to withdraw from the cabinet, but made it the condition of his retaining office, that he should have the entire control of the administration of the government. In an evil hour, both for the government and himself, he was permitted to retain his post on his own terms, and the results were, the political tempest which soon swept over the empire, shaking it to its very

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centre; and to himself, humiliation, degradation, and exile, in the evening of his days, after fifty years of unremitting labour in the public service.

On the 13th of March the people made an explicit demand for an extension of political freedom, and placed themselves in an attitude of hostility to the government. The military was called out and ordered to fire upon the populace. Doubting the propriety and necessity of firing upon an unarmed crowd, who had done no more than demand certain salutary reforms, they for a moment hesitated. On a repetition of the order they obeyed, and many victims fell; and our author justly observes in relation to this hesitation of the soldiery, "That moment, although without action, was the most important one that Austria ever witnessed. In that moment the revolution was assured, the fall of Metternich accomplished, and the unlimited power of the house of Hapsburg, which they had enjoyed for centuries, struck to the earth." The two following days were days of fearful and portentous excitement, during which events of great magnitude occurred. Among these may be named the continued conflict between the people and the troops, the fall of Metternich, and the defection of the Burgher Guard, or armed militia, who passed over to the ranks of the populace, opening to them the civil arsenal, and furnishing them with arms. On the third day (March 15th) the glorious struggle terminated, and the people received from the government, grants of all they demanded, including freedom of the press, and the call of a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution for the empire. It is worthy of notice, that in this desperate struggle between absolute power and popular rights, the members of the University were the instigators, and from the beginning to the end of the conflict, the unterrified supporters of the progressive movement of the age.

On the evening of the day on which, as we have seen, an arbitrary and despotic government yielded through all its branches with evident reluctance, to the demands of an oppressed people, Vienna received within her gates a visitor whose name is familiar to the ears of our readers. The Hungarian Diet was in session at Presburg, and a deputation from that body headed by Louis Kossuth visited the capital, to ask in addition to the con-

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stitution for the whole empire, a separate and independent ministry for the kingdom of Hungary. After a violent altercation, the emperor yielded to these demands, and directed such ministry to be formed.

The first revolution of Vienna, though pure in its origin and honourable in its proceedings, and stained with less blood and fewer outrages than any which had occurred on the continent of Europe, was not succeeded by the tranquillity which had been anticipated. Mr. Stiles assigns various reasons for the disappointments and embarrassments which followed this successful struggle for free principles; among others, the fact that the empire was composed of such a heterogeneous mass; the sudden transition from an unlimited to a constitutional government; the fact that the concessions were extorted by the people from the government and not freely granted, and they could not agree in relation to their extent; and the want on the part of the government, of an able and popular ministry, which the crisis imperatively demanded. The students of the University, whose noble efforts had done them so much honour, became inflated with the glory they had acquired, and conducted themselves in the most disreputable manner. Emissaries from France and Northern Germany flocked to Vienna, and the students, young, ardent, and inexperienced, became instruments in the hands of the most unprincipled propagandists, whose sole desire appeared to be to break down all government. Communists and socialists disseminated their pestiferous sentiments, and flooded the country with the most vile and shameful publications; so that the newly acquired freedom of the press degenerated at once into absolute licentiousness. The number of newspapers increased from three to one hundred, instilling into the people a poison which they swallowed with the greater avidity, because it had been so long forbidden, until they became thoroughly demoralized, bewildered, and extravagant both in opinions and design; and the blessing of an unshackled press became converted into a curse. A scene of anarchy and confusion now ensued, and the emperor becoming intimidated at the disorderly conduct of the students and rabble, made his escape from the capital on the 16th day of May, and took refuge at Innspruck. A feeble attempt was made by the ministry

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to sustain themselves, and preserve order; and this failing, the city was surrendered into the hands of the students. A revolutionary committee usurped all the powers of government, and a society of democratic women was organized, who were the miserable dupes of designing agitators. All authority was paralyzed, the peaceable and well disposed were disheartened, and passively awaited the approach of a catastrophe from which they could not escape, and which they had no power to avert. This first revolution in Vienna was unquestionably commenced in a proper and laudable spirit; the demands made of the government were just and reasonable; and the whole body of the people united in those demands. But the event proved that the grants extorted "included more freedom than the people were prepared for, and like deadly weapons in the hands of the unskilful, facilitated their destruction, instead of contributing to their defence."

The people were not to be satisfied with the enjoyment of a rational liberty. Socialism and communism had been introduced among them, and prepared the way for all the atrocities which subsequently disgraced their conduct. They looked with contempt on our American liberty. It was too home-bred, and contained too little philosophy to comport with their lofty conceptions of the destiny of man, and of human society. One of the most distinguished of the revolutionary leaders said to the author of this work: "We wish no such republic as you have in the United States; we wish something original; we wish a government where there shall not only be an equality of rights and of rank, but an equality of property, and an equality of everything." And another leader, equally distinguished, in a conversation with the author, said: "Sir, the only course left to us is to raise the *guillotine*, and to keep it in constant and active operation; our only watchword should be *Blood! blood! blood!* and the more blood that flows the sooner shall we attain our liberties." With sentiments so atrocious in the mouths of their leaders, it is not surprising that the Austrians did not secure and maintain their liberty, or that misrule, disorder, and violence should have been the result of the revolution.

The portion of this work which treats of the insurrection in Milan, and the invasion of Lombardy, the political history of

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Venice and Bohemia, and the outbreak at Prague in 1848, will well repay a careful perusal; but we are unable to dwell upon it at this time. It is enough to say, that the same causes which rendered valueless all the efforts of the liberals of Vienna, produced like effects in all the other parts of the Austrian dominions in which the standard of revolt was displayed. The leaders sought not liberty, but unrestrained license, and their first successes were invariably followed by acts of cruel and unjustifiable violence.

The second volume of Mr. Stiles' work is devoted principally to the subject of Hungary, and contains a large amount of valuable information, conveyed in a lively and agreeable manner.

Near the close of the ninth century, seven tribes of Magyar wanderers, under the conduct of Almus and his son Arpad, entered the country near the Theiss river, and gradually acquired settlements in the fertile plains of Dacia. They chose Arpad as their leader, whose office was to be hereditary in his line; and their government was a species of federal aristocracy, or union of clans, owing a limited obedience to a superior chief. For seven centuries after the appearance of the Magyars in Europe, Hungary maintained an entirely distinct and separate existence, until in 1526 it became connected with the Austrian crown. In the year 1301 the male line of Arpad became extinct, and from that time till the middle of the sixteenth century, Hungary, of her own free choice, elected and called to the throne five different dynasties. In 1526, the Magyar chivalry were defeated by Solyman at the battle of Mohacs, with the loss of their king, and the throne of Hungary became for the fifth time vacant. Ferdinand of Austria, the brother-in-law of the deceased monarch, and brother of the emperor Charles the Fifth, was elected king by the Diet of Presburg, and in 1547 was fully acknowledged and confirmed in possession of the throne, which has ever since been occupied by his descendants, the emperors of Germany or Austria, and kings of Hungary. The connection which thus took place between Hungary and Austria, was at the time considered merely temporary, arising from the fact of two independent kingdoms owing allegiance to the same sovereign; and the

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new king, previous to his coronation, was required to swear, that on the extinction of certain families, the right of election should be rendered back to the Diet. In 1687 the Hungarian throne was made hereditary in the house of Hapsburg, but continued to be elective by the Diet of the kingdom; and the succession of that house has been secured by the influence of the emperor-kings in procuring the election of their heirs during their own term of office. All the alterations which were from this time made in the disposition of the throne, created no change in the character of the monarchy; the constitution and the laws remaining the same, and the coronation treaty between the monarch and the people being identical under the hereditary, as it had been under the elective monarchy.

Hungary has never been a province of Austria, but a free and independent nation, possessing a separate and distinct constitution and laws, exercising alone, in case of vacancy, the power to dispose of the throne of the kingdom; and should the house of Hapsburg become extinct to-morrow, the connection between the countries would at once terminate; and should Austria violate the compact on which that connection is founded, the right of Hungary to dissolve it could not be questioned. We are compelled to pass over the different acts of oppression exercised towards Hungary by the Austrian government; such as the violation of coronation oaths, the suppression of the Diet, the attempts to levy imposts, and raise troops by royal edict; and proceed at once to the period we have already spoken of—the 15th of March, 1848. On that day the emperor, on the demand of Kossuth and his associates, granted to the kingdom liberty of the press, a responsible ministry, an annual Diet, equality of rights and duties, and other privileges, which on the 11th of April he confirmed in person before the Diet at Presburg. The joy of the people at the concessions of the government knew no bounds; but as at Vienna the change was too sudden, from the restraints of a rigid government to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty, and the people having no knowledge or experience of rational freedom, gave way to the utmost license. The new government just established and not fully organized, was too feeble to check

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these excesses, or afford protection to the persons or property of the more peaceful inhabitants. Scenes of the most disgraceful character occurred in different parts of the kingdom, and such as could not have been anticipated in a civilized and Christian country. In one part of the kingdom a violent and brutal attack was made on the whole Jewish population; in another, the poor landholders rose against the rich, and without reason slaughtered the nobles and destroyed their dwellings; in another, a sworn jury fell victims to the popular rage; in another, the people took down the Hungarian flag and burned it, and then raised a red one in its place; and at the same time they seized the first fiscal officer of the town, brought him into the market-place, and there literally cut him to pieces. These are but a part of the atrocities committed by a people completely intoxicated with their newly-acquired liberty; and these excesses could have been checked had the government possessed a sufficient military force. Again and again did they invoke the aid of the Austrian government to suppress these disturbances; and it was not until a deaf ear had been turned to their repeated applications, that the first threats of separation escaped the nation.

But Hungary was now menaced with dangers greater than any which she had yet encountered, and which materially tended to produce her downfall. We refer to her internal dissensions, and the opposition made to her in several provinces of the kingdom. Our space will not permit us to enlarge upon this subject, but we would refer our readers to the work of Mr. Stiles, for an interesting and instructive account of the Croatian war—the Servian revolt—the invasion of Hungary by Jelaccic—his defeat at Pacoszd, and escape to Vienna. Austria having espoused the cause of Croatia, and hostilities continuing between that province and Hungary, and the imperial commissioner who had been sent to Pesth having been brutally murdered, the emperor made preparations to march a large body of troops into Hungary. But difficulties of a kind hitherto unknown in Austria were now to be met.

It was now October, and the capital had not recovered from the effects of the disorders consequent upon the revolution of March. On the evening of October the 5th, several regiments

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of Italian infantry left the city on their way to Hungary, and on the next day the Richter battalion of grenadiers was to follow. The students, who still exercised a formidable power in Vienna, declared that the struggle going on for independence in Hungary should not be checked; that if the emperor was successful in his attack on that country, he would avail himself of the army thus placed at his command to put down the constitutional system in Austria, and that the troops should not march. The battalion itself had for some time shown signs of insubordination, and on the order to march being given, the men refused to obey, and showed every disposition to break out in open mutiny. A crowd of students, women, and others encouraged and applauded them, and in this way commenced the second or October revolution of Vienna. Additional troops having been called in to compel the advance of the mutinous battalion, the march commenced in the direction of the railroad depôt, but it was soon discovered that the road was impassable, and that several arches of a bridge over an arm of the Danube had been torn up, and a barricade constructed of the materials to oppose the passage of the troops. A terrible conflict ensued, in which the imperial general Breda was killed; the war office taken, and Count Latour, the minister of war, inhumanly murdered. Before he had ceased to breathe, his body was treated with great indignity, suspended from a candelabra in the most frequented square of the city, and left for fourteen hours exposed to the gaze of a mocking populace. By six o'clock in the evening, the insurgents occupied all points of the city, except the arsenal, which, during the whole night, they endeavoured to carry by storm. Failing in this, they set it on fire, and all the wood-work was consumed, but the little garrison continued to hold possession. On the morning of October 7th, the emperor, filled with alarm at the success of the revolutionists, fled for the second time from the palace of his fathers, abandoned his capital to the mercies of a turbulent rabble, and never ceased his flight until he found himself safe within the walls of the fortress of Olmutz. On the flight of the emperor becoming known, the garrison, which had so gallantly defended the arsenal, abandoned their post, the populace rushed in, and the trophies, collected by the imperial government during many centuries,

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from the period of the crusades to that day, were carried away in triumph.

Information of the revolt having been despatched to the Baron Jelaccic, commanding the Croatian forces in Hungary, that general lost no time in putting his army in motion, and by forced marches was enabled on the 9th of October to pass the Austrian frontier, and take up a position with twelve thousand men, in the vicinity of the capital. The Hungarian army on learning the departure of Jelaccic, followed instantly on his track, and rested not until they reached the Austrian frontier. On the 20th of March a large body of imperial troops, under the command of Prince Windischgratz, appeared before Vienna, and the city was declared in a state of siege. A series of bloody conflicts followed, and continued until the 28th, when the imperialists again obtained possession of the capital. On that very day Kossuth reached the head quarters of the Hungarian army, which still halted on the frontier, and at once ordered its advance; but it was too late; the blow had been struck, and the city was prepared a second time to acknowledge its unconditional submission. The Hungarians, on that march, encountered an Austrian army, and on the 30th of October was fought the battle of Swechat, in which the Hungarians were defeated, and driven back across the frontiers into Hungary. In consequence of efficient services rendered in this engagement, Col. Görgy, who has since acquired so unenviable a notoriety, was promoted on the battle ground to the rank of general.

The cause of liberal principles has never received a heavier blow than that inflicted by the second revolution of Vienna. The artillery of Windischgratz did it less injury, than the incapacity, misconduct, and violence of its professed friends. Anarchy produced its legitimate results, and the people have since reaped the pestilent and bitter harvest then sown by their turbulent and mischievous leaders. After the defeat of the Hungarians at Swechat, they retired within the bounds of their own kingdom, and both parties felt that a desperate conflict was now inevitable. An army of a hundred thousand men stood ready to march against Hungary; but before its departure an event of great importance to that kingdom occurred. On the 2d of December, the "Emperor of Austria, wearied by contentions,

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and distrustful of his own ability to meet the crisis, abdicated his throne; and by a family arrangement, the crown was transferred, not to the next heir, but to the second in succession. Francis Joseph on being informed that he was emperor, sunk back upon the sofa, and covering his face with his hands exclaimed, "*Meine Jugend ist hin!*" My youth is over! It was, says our author, a noble exclamation for a boy of but nineteen years, for it told of duties accepted, and of devotion to an arduous task.

In settling the crown of Hungary on the house of Hapsburg, no provision had been made for an event such as had now occurred. The Hungarians denied the power of their king to abdicate, and the right of Francis Joseph to the succession, as he was not the direct heir, the crown having been settled by statute, on the direct heir of the house of Hapsburg. Though war seemed now inevitable, the Hungarian leaders ardently desired peace, and left no means untried to effect an accommodation with the imperial government. On the night of the very day on which the emperor abdicated, as Mr. Stiles was seated in the office of the legation of the United States at Vienna, a young female of great beauty and grace, though in the dress of a peasant, presented herself and declaring her business to be urgent, required an assurance that she was in the presence of the American Minister. On this being given, she proceeded to the object of her mission. All intercourse between Austria and Hungary had ceased, and large armies on either side guarded their respective frontiers. It appeared that this intrepid girl had passed in a dreadful storm, through the midst of the Austrian army, when detection would have been certain death, to deliver to Mr. Stiles a communication from Louis Kossuth, entreating him to mediate between the two countries, and so stop the calamities of a war fatal to the interests of both. Mr. Stiles promptly accepted the trust thus confided to him, and in the absence of the imperial minister, sought and obtained an interview with Prince Windischgratz. The prince received him with the greatest kindness, thanked him for his interference, but declared that he would never treat with those who were in a state of rebellion. The course of the imperial government was

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determined on, and the unconditional submission of Hungary was the ultimatum.

On the 15th of December, Prince Windischgratz marched upon Hungary, occupied Presburg the former capital of the kingdom, successfully fought the battle of Mor, and on the 18th of January 1849, entered Pesth, the capital of Hungary. In three weeks the whole country was reduced to subjection, the principal cities taken and occupied, the imperial functionaries reinstated in office, and order to all appearance completely restored. This however was but the calm which precedes the tempest. A desperate battle took place on the 26th and 27th of January at Kopolna, which lasted a day and a half; and although it was without result, the Hungarians proved themselves worthy of that high reputation for gallantry which they had enjoyed for centuries. The failure of success in this battle was ascribed to Görgy who remained comparatively inactive, and allowed the troops of Danyinac and Dembinski to bear the brunt of the fight. At the battle of Mor, it had also been charged upon Görgy, that he had caused the Hungarian defeat by failing to unite with the main body of the army, and render needed succour, when he possessed the full ability to do so. It is not our purpose to follow the author through his minute account of this campaign; we will content ourselves with stating, that while in upper Hungary the imperial troops were successfully encountered in many actions by Görgy; the successes which attended the army in the south under General Bem, were no less important. He repulsed General Godeou in several engagements, and when the Russian General Skaviatin entered the country in obedience to the request of the Austrian government, he defeated the combined Russian and Austrian forces in repeated battles, drove them before him to the Wallachian frontier, and in a little time was complete master of Transylvania. It is related by Mr. Stiles, that when Bem drove the enemy from Hermenstadt, he took up his headquarters at the house of the mayor whose name three weeks previously had been appended to a proclamation offering a price for his head. During this time the fortress of Komorn, which had been besieged since the commencement of the campaign had been relieved, and that of Buda captured by Görgy; and the bloody battle of Szona

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fought with the most disastrous results to the imperial army. Here again, the complaints against Görgy were loud and incessant, and it was insisted upon that had he availed himself of the advantages he possessed, with nothing but a routed army between him and Vienna, he might in two days have bivouacked in the Austrian capital, dictated the terms of peace in the palace of the emperor; and assured Hungary a position among the independent nations of the earth.

Although as early as the 28th of June 1848, Austria had openly espoused the cause of the Croatians against Hungary, and although on the 15th of September she had at nine different points invaded her territory, taking both her capitals, subduing and disarming her population, and suppressing all Hungarian authority wherever encountered, it was not until by royal charter the constitution of Hungary was annulled, that the Magyars determined to declare themselves independent of the house of Hapsburg. The Hungarian constitution required the king at his installation to take an oath to sustain that constitution and the liberties of the Hungarian people. The youthful emperor, instead of complying with this requisition, issued his royal charter, virtually destroying the constitution of Hungary; and then, and not till then the Magyars determined to cast off their allegiance.

On the 14th day of April 1849, the representatives of the Hungarian nation assembled in the Protestant church in Debreczin, when the late victories were reported by Kossuth, who at the same time presented the rights and claims of Hungary, and the abuses and perfidy of Austria. He eloquently invoked the people, in the name of their country and their God, to shake off the fetters that had bound them for three centuries, and take their place among the family of nations. A declaration of independence was then unanimously adopted, and Louis Kossuth by acclamation appointed governor of Hungary. The struggle of Hungary was from this time a struggle for absolute independence. The cause was a righteous one, and the right of a people to select their own rulers and their own form of government will surely not be questioned in this country.

The Austrian government, astounded at the brilliant succes-

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sion of victories achieved by the Magyars in the late campaign, and by which the imperial forces had been driven from the soil of Hungary, collected the scattered remnant of their defeated armies, levied large bodies of additional troops, and made active preparations for a new invasion. In the latter part of April, an earnest appeal was made to the Czar of Russia to assist the imperial government in its contest against those liberal principles which threatened "the dissolution of all social order;" and so prompt was the reply of the autocrat, that early in May an army of one hundred and sixty thousand Russians marched upon Hungary. The combined Austrian and Russian armies numbered scarcely less than four hundred thousand men. We must necessarily pass rapidly over the second campaign in Hungary, which was attended with various successes to the different parties. The battle of Acs was one of the most brilliant and obstinately contested actions of the campaign. In this action, where all seemed hopelessly lost, Görgy, with twenty-nine squadrons and six batteries, led a charge against the Austrian centre, which for a time retrieved the fortunes of the day. Night came upon the combatants while still engaged, and the victory remained undecided. The Hungarian loss in this battle was fifteen hundred; that of the Austrians three thousand. At one time during the campaign, the Russian army under Paskievitch, occupied a position midway between the armies of Dembinski and Görgy; and had these generals advanced upon him, he must have been annihilated, and their armies, thus united upon the field of victory, could easily have demolished the Austrian army under Marshal Haynau; but unfortunately for Hungary, the jealousies of these commanders prevented their acting in harmony, and the opportunity was lost.

On the 1st of August 1849, the Hungarian Diet met for the last time, and one week after, the last battle for Hungarian independence was fought. The battle of Szoreg took place on the 5th; and until the 9th, the Hungarians had retreated before the enemy, contesting every inch of ground. On that day, near the fortress of Temesvar, the fate of Hungary was decided. On the 8th, General Dembinski had been wounded and carried from the field, and for twenty-five hours the Hungarian army was

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without a commander. At this stage of the conflict, General Bem, who had suffered a defeat in Transylvania, appeared upon the field in obedience to a summons from Kossuth, and assumed the command. He was wounded soon after his arrival, and the troops fell into confusion, and made a precipitate flight. These disasters rendered the Hungarian cause sufficiently hopeless; but a heavier blow was still in reserve. Görgy, with an army of near forty thousand men, was within half a day's march of Dembinski at the time of his defeat, and could easily have turned the scale of victory, and rolled back the tide of war upon the Austrian oppressors. But on that day, when the fate of his country was suspended in the balance, he remained in a state of complete inaction, or was occupied in planning the dissolution of the government, and preparing the way for his own advancement. On the defeat of Dembinski and Bem, he called upon Kossuth to resign his post, declaring that in that case he could and would save Hungary, which a general could alone do in such a crisis. Kossuth, feeling his own inability to do more, resigned the guidance of public affairs, and assumed the responsibility of dissolving the government, and conferring upon Görgy the supreme civil and military authority. In his address to the nation, Kossuth declared his belief that the fate of the country was in the hands of the military leaders, and that he held Görgy "responsible to God, the nation, and to history—that according to the best of his ability he would use this supreme power for the salvation of the national and political independence" of the country. Görgy accepted and assumed the power transferred to him in so questionable a manner, and regardless of his solemn protestations that he could and would save the country, he immediately advised all citizens to return quietly to their homes, and to make no resistance even in defence of their towns; and on the same day, while still at the head of the only unsubdued army in Hungary, he announced to General Rudiger his readiness to lay down his arms "before the army of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia." That Görgy had this surrender in view at the time he demanded to be made dictator, has been clearly proved not only by the circumstances, but by admissions subsequently made by himself. An act more infamous history

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does not record. He had it in his power, as he himself declared, to retreat into Transylvania; but he made an unconditional surrender: he made no reservations for his country, or terms for his army; and his brave companions who had stood by him on many a field of blood, were left to perish on the scaffold, or to endure all the horrors of an Austrian dungeon. He preserved, it is true, his own miserable existence, and it may be, secured wealth and station; but his fate is not an enviable one. His life must be passed under the surveillance of Austrian spies, embittered by the recollection of his cruel treachery, and followed by the execrations of the widows and orphans made by his surrender, and the wrath of the whole Hungarian nation.

Kossuth on his relinquishment of office, as is well known, fled into Turkey, and his conduct in thus abandoning his post, and without guaranty, intrusting all power to a soldier whom he had declared unworthy of confidence, has been severely commented on by his associates in the government. His right to delegate a power and authority, which he only held himself, personally and provisionally, is denied. His placing supreme power in the hands of one whom he believed and had for months declared to be a traitor, is pronounced inconsistent with his professed patriotism. And the late President of the Hungarian ministerial council, in a letter written from Paris to the New York Courier and Enquirer on the 4th of January, 1852, says, "It is important to remark here, that at this moment," (the time of Kossuth's flight) "there were still in the hands of the nation *four* fortresses, and two of these the strongest in the whole country, Komorn and Peterwardein, as well as an army of one hundred and thirty-five thousand men, and three hundred field officers. I believe that never before in the history of the world has the head of a nation turned his back upon so powerful a military force." These charges were promptly repelled by the late Minister of Public Justice in Hungary, in a letter of the 17th of January, 1852. In this communication he states the fact, that the well ascertained and deeply rooted sentiments of the people of Hungary were in favour of a republican government; that one of the first acts of the new government, after independence was declared, was to remove the crown from all national escutcheons, and from the great seal of Hungary; that

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the press, in all its shades developed republican principles; and that the new semi-official paper bore the name of *The Republic.*

The period has not yet arrived when a proper judgment can be formed of the character and conduct of Kossuth. It may be that he acted unwisely and without authority, in clothing Görgy with supreme power, but there can be no doubt that when he fled from Hungary, the cause of liberty was hopeless, and nothing would have been gained to the country, and certain destruction must have ensued to himself, from remaining at his post. On reviewing the history of his public life and conduct, we are disposed to adopt the conclusions reached by Mr. Stiles upon the subject. "If the testimony that history has thus far furnished leads to the conclusion that his highly nervous, sensitive, and poetical temperament has led him into conduct that a firmer heart and more deliberate judgment would have avoided, that his extraordinary powers of expression were not combined with a corresponding executive ability, and that his vivid imagination is better calculated to arouse the passions and kindle the aspirations of others, than to obtain for himself a dispassionate and practical view of events around him; still there remains more than enough of superiority in his character to justify the warm admiration of every lover of human freedom. His consummate oratory, his poetical fancy, his capacity for labour, his struggles and his sufferings in the great cause of civil liberty, will for ever keep his name in the first rank of those who have magnanimously devoted their lives to extend the blessings of progress and equal rights, which are only the legitimate results of a free government."

ART. VI.—*The General Assembly.*

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States met in the Glebe Street Church, Charleston, South Carolina, on Thursday, May 20th, at 11 o'clock, A.M., and was opened with a sermon by the Rev. E. P. Humphrey, D. D., moderator of the preceding Assembly, from Matt. vii. 17: "Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit."

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This discourse seems to have produced a strong impression on the audience before which it was delivered. This impression was not due merely to the effective delivery of the preacher, but in a great measure to the power of the discourse itself. It has been published in many of our religious newspapers, and extensively disseminated over the church, so that our readers can judge of its merits for themselves. The principle involved in the passage of Scripture selected as his text, Dr. Humphrey applies to the system of doctrine taught in our Confession of Faith, and shows that its fruits are good. The prosecution of this plan required a concise statement of the system of doctrine, the effects of which he designed to set forth. This statement is discriminating, comprehensive, and accurate, evincing a clear apprehension and approbation of the doctrines of our standards. These doctrines are shown to be connected with an elevated form of spiritual life, with a free ecclesiastical polity, with a simple and spiritual mode of worship, with mental cultivation and energy, with zeal for republican liberty, with patience and constancy under suffering, and with an aggressive and advancing Christianity. These are set forth as the natural fruits of the system, as its normal developments; all which we hold to be true and important. It is one of the most beautiful and powerful of the proofs of the divine origin of the Bible, that all its doctrines are in accordance with the actual nature of man, and condition and prospects of the world, and that all its moral precepts are seen to be the results to which the constitution God has given us naturally lead. The moral law is a development of the moral constitution of man. If the law requires a child to obey its parents, obedience is the normal fruit of the relation between the parent and child. If it requires the wife to be subordinate to the husband, such is the position assigned to her by her nature, and is essential to her excellence and happiness. So of all other truths and duties which bear on the relations of man. The God of the Bible and the God of creation is one; whatever is in the Bible accords with what reason teaches and unperverted nature produces. That certain things are developments, as Dr. Humphrey expresses it, of our doctrines, is not at all inconsistent with their being expressly commanded. If a free ecclesiastical polity is the product of

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our doctrines, the right of the people to take part in the government of the church is a matter of express command. We were surprised, therefore, to learn that some hearers took exception to his discourse, as though he placed the whole authority of our system of polity on its logical relations.

Finances of the Assembly.

The last Assembly had appointed a committee to examine into the state of the funds held by the Trustees of the Assembly. This laborious duty was faithfully performed, and the report which was produced was referred to a committee, which introduced the following resolutions, which were adopted:—

1. That the Trustees of the General Assembly be directed to separate the different trust-funds, now amalgamated, and to manage hereafter each fund on its own basis; and that, for this purpose, separate accounts be opened by the treasurer, and each fund credited its proportion of the securities, as ascertained and specified in the report of the special committee on finances, made to this Assembly, and that hereafter no borrowing from one fund to another shall be practised under any circumstances.

2. That the fund entitled "Permanent Fund of Theological Seminary," which is applicable to the general purposes of the seminary, and is under the control of the General Assembly, be divided among the three original professorships, to supply losses which have accrued upon the original investments.

3. That it be recommended to the Directors of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey, to take measures to supply the losses sustained on the scholarships, applicable to the purpose of education in said seminary, and that the respective scholarships shall hereafter remain unoccupied, until the annual interest arising from each shall, with other funds, as above recommended, be sufficient to make up the original investment; provided, that the present incumbents of the scholarships be allowed to retain the usual income for the usual time.

The separation of the funds which have become amalgamated has been an object toward which the attention of the Assembly has been long directed. It is certainly one of importance, and it is to be hoped may be ultimately accomplished. The third

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resolution relates to the scholarships belonging to the Theological Seminary at Princeton. A number of these scholarships, in common with the other funds, suffered materially from the depreciation of the stocks in which they were invested. The resolution recommends to the Directors to take measures to supply these losses; and further orders that the interest hereafter accruing from these scholarships shall be applied to the restoration of the principal. A more liberal construction of the resolution might admit of regarding both its members as recommendatory, and we hope the Directors may be able so to interpret them. It seems to us very doubtful how the course proposed is consistent with the nature of the trust confided to the Assembly. These scholarships were given for a specific purpose; the annual interest, be it less or more, was by the donor assigned to the support of candidates for the ministry. We do not see how it can be appropriated to make up losses in the principal, any more than for any other purpose foreign to the donor's intention. It is also really making the donor pay for the mismanagement or misfortune of the Trustees. That the funds ought to be restored, no one doubts. The only question is, By whom is it to be done?—by those who gave them, or by those who lost them? Not having seen the detailed report of the committee, we cannot tell how many scholarships are in the condition contemplated, nor to what extent they have suffered; but we presume it would require ten years to restore a large portion of these scholarships by the process of investing the interest. During all this time, the institution would be deprived of a large part of its income for educational purposes. As nothing can be done in this matter before the meeting of the next Assembly, all the scholarships being now occupied, we hope this matter may be at least reconsidered.

Charleston Union Presbytery.

The facts in reference to the case of this Presbytery are substantially as follows:—At the time of the disruption of the Church in 1838, a resolution was introduced into the Presbytery, proposing that the roll should be called, and that each member should, without discussion, declare whether he could approve of the reform measures of the General Assembly of 1837, and

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that those who should answer in the affirmative, whether a majority or a minority, should constitute the Presbytery of Charleston Union. The Moderator declared this paper out of order—when a minority, consisting of three ministers and three elders, declared themselves the true Charleston Union Presbytery. This Presbytery sent delegates to the succeeding General Assembly, who were admitted to seats—and the Synod of South Carolina regarded their reception by the General Assembly as decisive of the fact that they were the true Presbytery, and resolved after a long debate to recognize them as such. The majority continued however to regard themselves as the true Presbytery, and have from that time retained their organization. They bring these facts before the Assembly for investigation. Their communication was referred to a committee, who subsequently made the following report:—

Resolved, 1. That the Assembly rejoices to learn that the Charleston Union Presbytery is still attached to the doctrines and discipline of the Assembly.

Resolved, 2. That the appeal of the Charleston Union Presbytery from the action of the Synod of South Carolina, not having been taken up to the Assembly within the time prescribed by the rules, that no action can now be taken in the matter.

Resolved, 3. That the Assembly recommend mutual forbearance to the parties connected in the controversy referred to in the communication.

Resolved, 4. That, upon the Charleston Union Presbytery declaring its adherence to the Assembly, the Synod of South Carolina be directed to recognize it as a constituent part of that body.

After a long debate, and various amendments and modifications, the following resolution proposed by the Rev. Dr. McGill, was finally adopted.

Resolved, That should the Charleston Union Presbytery, prior to the next annual meeting of the Synod of South Carolina, make known to the Stated Clerk its adhesion to this Assembly, and its doctrinal standards, the Clerk shall certify the same to the Synod of South Carolina, and thereupon the Synod shall enroll the said Presbytery as one of the constituents of that body.

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Overture of the Synod of New Jersey.

The overture referred to asks for such an alteration in the book as would enable a judicatory to take testimony through another judicatory, more conveniently situated as regards the witness whose testimony is desired. The committee of bills and overtures recommended that the Assembly adopt the following resolution—viz: *Resolved*, that it is inexpedient to take action upon the subject.

The principal arguments, against the overture were—1st. That it was a constitutional change, and that all alterations of the book were to be resisted as in themselves evil, unless demanded by an imperative necessity.

2d. That it was always important that the witness be examined in the presence of the Presbytery which was to determine upon the effect due to his testimony.

3d. That it might in some cases deprive the accused of his right of cross-examination.

Dr. Maclean and Judge Leavitt argued on the other side.—That such a provision would be essential to the administration of discipline—that the testimony of a witness in Texas or California, in a case pending before an eastern Presbytery, could be arrived at in no other way. The expense of sending on a commissioner could not in such a case be borne. They further argued that the objections, so far as they rested on principle, bear against the present provisions of the book; for it is now allowed to take testimony by a commissioner, and even in certain cases by another Presbytery.

The recommendation of the committee however was carried by a great majority.

Board of Foreign Missions.

The Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions was taken up; and the special committee to whom it had been referred, submitted the following report:

They recommend that the report of the Board be approved. They also recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. That the removal, by death, of an unusual number of the fathers and friends of the Board, is a matter for deep regret and sorrow of heart.

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Resolved, 2. That we are mindful of the labours and trials of our brethren who occupy our foreign field; and that we sympathize with them, both when they rejoice at their success, and weep over their disappointments.

Resolved, 3. That the favouring providence of God, viewed in connection with predictions and promises of his word, is, year by year, fitted to beget within us a firmer faith that the work of missions to the heathen is of Divine appointment, and is destined to terminate in the subjection of the whole world to the dominion of Christ.

Resolved, 4. That the earnest call which is now made to us for new labourers in the service of the Board, is heard with deep solicitude; and that ministers and people throughout all our churches make new and more extended efforts to obtain suitable men, and the means necessary for their support and comfort.

Resolved, 5. That while, as a church of Christ, we counsel and act for the extension of his kingdom over the whole earth, it ever becomes us to yield our hearts to a deep and abiding sense of our need of the presence and blessing of God, and seek this blessing by humble, believing, and importunate prayer.

Nominations were then made to fill vacancies in the Board, and the election made the order of the day for to-morrow morning.

Remarks on the Report of the Board of Foreign Missions.

Pending the adoption of the foregoing resolutions,

Rev. Mr. WRIGHT, a time-worn veteran of some twenty years' toil among the Indians, made a very interesting address. It had been his privilege to live among the Choctaws for many years. Although connected with the American Board, they were Presbyterians. They have ten churches, all connected with the Assembly. They have had a great work of grace among them. A visitor among them would find that the interests of education and religion were cared for. They have a good form of government, and the interests of agriculture are improving. There are now at least 1800 communicants, besides perhaps some 1400 belonging to other denominations—making

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about one-eighth of the population who are church members. They are a praying people. They are distinguished by the readiness with which they lay hold on the cardinal principles of the gospel. They are ready to contribute for missionary purposes. For two or three years their contributions have averaged from $1000 to $1200, independent of donations to local purposes. After a sermon on the love of Christ, a poor woman who had but one dollar in the world, and no means of getting more—their annuity having stopped—came forward and offered half of it for Missions. The Choctaws have always been in favour of schools; $26,500 are annually given out of their appropriations from our Government for these schools. There are Christian schools in connection with the same missionary Board, and in them the Scriptures and Shorter Catechism are taught.

Their removal beyond the Mississippi has been some hindrance to the missionary work. A very interesting work of grace, in progress at that time, immediately ceased. In 1840 a brighter day began to dawn; but it was not until 1843, twelve years after that, that the former prosperity returned. Since then the average increase to the churches has been one hundred and twenty-five. The New Testament has been translated into Choctaw. They call it "The Word of Life," or that in which life is inherent. He had known instances in which they had committed to memory the whole of the gospel of Matthew. They have also a considerable portion of the Old Testament translated, as well as many other books. There are also native schools; and wherever these are, there is a place for preaching. In order to sustain these operations, some have given a pony or a cow: they have no money. His own church was organized about nineteen years since; four hundred and ninety have been added on examination, or about two every month on the average. Some of the labourers were failing at their posts: he hoped our Board might be able to send reinforcements to that field speedily. Mr. Wright then, at the request of the Assembly, read a few passages of the Scriptures in the Choctaw language.

Rev. Dr. Dickey.—Do we sufficiently pray for the secretaries of our Boards? These brethren have great interests entrusted

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to them, and they ought to have the prayers of the Church. He, for one, would wish to return his thanks to all the secretaries for their labours, and the least we could do was to pray for them. It so happened that the whole five missionaries who had gone to the island of Corisco, Africa, were from his immediate neighbourhood. For many years to come it will be necessary to send white missionaries to superintend the work, though it may be at a great sacrifice. We have the opportunity of aiding that mission by the coloured population of the United States. We now understand why God permitted that people to be brought to these shores. They are going back to the land of their fathers to do a great work for Africa's salvation. Let us stir up the missionary spirit both within ourselves and others.

Rev. J. C. RANKIN said, that when appointed as a commissioner to this Assembly, he thought of the reports of these Boards as among the most important matters which this body would be called to attend to. He still believed that, compared with these, the general business of the Assembly was of minor consequence. Mr. Rankin then addressed the Assembly with great earnestness and feeling in reference to missions in India, and the importance of an increase of the missionary spirit amongst us. He had heard, since he came here, that there were in our Presbyterian churches in this city 500 coloured communicants, and that they gave on an average $3 each to objects of benevolence. He felt rejoiced in view of that fact, but he also felt ashamed. This was much more than our white members were doing.

Rev. JOHN C. LOWRIE made some very interesting statements in regard to the great difficulty of securing lay-labourers for the missions amongst our Indians. Some of these missions were on the point of extinction for want of them; and also in reference to many of the plans and unfinished designs of the Board, which were not mentioned in the Report. God was smiling on our Foreign Missions. He felt persuaded that no brother could read the Annual Report without feeling that God's blessing was with us. He agreed with the remark of the lamented Dr. John Breckinridge, that if our Church could but be united in this work of missions, her going forth would be

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like the tread of a mighty army amongst the nations of the earth.

On motion, the Assembly agreed to unite in prayer with special reference to the interests of our work among the heathen. The Moderator called on the Rev. J. C. Rankin to lead in prayer. The resolutions were then adopted.

Board of Domestic Missions.

The Committee on the Annual Report of the Board of Missions presented the following report, which was adopted:

Resolved, 1. That the General Assembly has heard, with high gratification, the report of the Board of Missions, and acknowledges, with devout gratitude, the successes of the past year, and the good hand of God yet mercifully resting upon this important branch of the Church's operations.

Resolved, 2. That the churches be urged to contribute more liberally to the funds, in order that the present liabilities of the Board may be met, and the Board enabled to go forward in supplying the destitute fields in our widely-extended country.

Resolved, 3. That the Assembly would reaffirm all the principles upon which it has heretofore carried on its Domestic Missions—principles which have been exhibited in a review of all the published minutes, acts, and doings of the Church in her highest judicatories from the beginning, and which are drawn up and set forth in order, in the report of the Board of Missions.

Resolved, 4. That the great work, undertaken for so long a time by the Assembly, is the expansion and full establishment of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his own Spirit and power, over all our vast country. And it is purely a missionary work—missionary in this respect, that ministers are sent out by the Assembly, and means furnished for their support, in whole or in part, while they are preaching the gospel, and gathering and establishing churches. So soon as individual churches, or groups of churches, are established, and are able to support all the institutions of the gospel for themselves, they are no longer missionaries in character, but immediately cease their connection with the Board, and fall into line with the great body of self-sustaining and contributing churches,

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and go to add to the solid material and power of the Presbyterian Church. Now, the principles upon which the General Assembly conducts its domestic missionary work are these:— 1. It is, in the sense defined, a missionary work. 2. The funds contributed for it are missionary funds. 3. The men employed in preaching the gospel are, in their fields, missionary men. 4. All the churches and fields aided and supported are missionary churches and fields. 5. The funds supplied are funds for *temporary* assistance, and not for permanent support. The people aided are to help themselves, be it ever so little, from the beginning, and to go on to *independence*. 6. The grand end and aim is to establish self-sustaining churches or fields of labour as fast and as far as possible, and so to increase the solid material and power of the Church, and accumulate strength to go forward expanding. 7. Ministers and means are to be distributed according to the relative importance and promise of different fields, and in view of the necessities of the whole field, that there may be equality and no partiality. 8. The Assembly conducts the work through a Committee of the Board, responsible to itself alone, under its advice and control, and which Board is required to exercise its sound discretion and judgment in deciding upon and in conducting the business entrusted to it. 9. No debt is to be incurred in carrying forward the missionary work. The Assembly always acted on this just and only safe principle, which will always be adhered to in our Church; and in the Assembly of 1803, the following resolution was passed: "That there ought to be no anticipations of the funds in future; or in other words, that appropriations ought not to be made in any year beyond the amount which the funds arising in that year will be sufficient to satisfy."—*Minutes*, p. 280. 10. And finally, agents for visiting the churches and collecting funds for the work may be employed by the Board.

Resolved, 5. That the Board be directed to go forward and conduct the work entrusted to its care on these principles as heretofore, and that they be commended to the attention and observance of all Presbyteries and churches in their applications for aid; and that the Board be recommended, as heretofore, to pay due regard to the recommendations of Presbyteries; that all pastors and stated supplies be requested to take pains

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to circulate the Report when published, and diffuse more information on the subject of Domestic Missions among their people.

Resolved, 6. That the warmest thanks of the Assembly are due to the Rev. C. C. Jones, D. D., and the Board of Missions, for the energy, zeal, and good judgment with which their whole work has been prosecuted during the past year; and the Assembly would further express its special gratification with the enlarged and liberal views of this great subject presented in the Annual Report.

The following are additional statements in relation to the Board of Domestic Missions:—

The total receipts of the Assembly's Board of Domestic Missions for the past eleven months are $81,748; number of missionary stations and churches wholly or in part supplied, 1101; newly organized churches, 49; admission of members on examination, 1919, and on certificate, 1665—total admissions, 3584; number in communion with Missionary Churches, 24,082; Sabbath Schools, 643; teachers, 5356; scholars, 27,637; baptisms, 2267; houses of worship erected, 68. Returns have not been received from over one-fourth of the missionaries of the Board, so that these figures fall short of the truth.

The Domestic Missions of the Board have been generally prosperous, and as the fruit of this work of the Church, two new Synods have been erected by the Assembly at its present session—the Synod of Iowa and the Synod of the Pacific. Two new Synods were created the year before.

Board of Education.

The special committee on the Annual Report of the Board of Education presented the following report, which was adopted:

Resolved, 1. That the claims of the home and foreign field demand a large increase in the ministry of the Presbyterian Church; and that at a time when the candidates seem to be decreasing, instead of increasing in number, and death to be multiplying its ravages in the ministerial ranks, it is especially incumbent on the Church to use all scriptural means to train

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up her youth with more direct reference to the preaching of the everlasting gospel.

Resolved, 2. That this Assembly recognize with gratitude the goodness of God in pouring out his grace upon several of our institutions of learning during the past year; and whilst the churches are invoked to "pray without ceasing to the Lord of the harvest" for the continuance of his favour, the last Thursday of February next is recommended for general observance as a day of *special* prayer for the divine blessing upon the youth of our land, who are pursuing their studies in literary institutions, and especially that many of them may be called and qualified, by the grace of God, for the work of the ministry.

Resolved, 3. That this Assembly reaffirms its testimony in regard to the importance of establishing education upon a religious basis, as recommended by preceding Assemblies; and viewing the Church as a party interested in education; within its sphere, it invites its judicatories according to their wisdom, under their various circumstances, to see that the youth within their bounds have access to institutions of learning, where the truths and duties of religion shall be assiduously inculcated.

Resolved, 4. That the Board of Education, in its important work of benevolent operations, be recommended to the patronage of our churches; and that the Presbyteries and Synods endeavour to have its objects annually presented in such manner as may be deemed expedient, with a view to increasing the means of educating pious young men for the ministry.

Board of Publication.

The following is an abstract of the Report of the proceedings of this Board during the past year:

PUBLICATIONS.—During the year ending March 31, the Board have added to their catalogue twenty-seven new books, (two of which are in the German language), of which they have printed 69,750 copies; and 33 new tracts, (one of which is in the French language), of which they have issued 115,000 copies. They have also printed 30,000 copies of the Family Almanac for 1852. The whole number of copies of new publications during

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the year is 212,750. This is 73,000 copies more than the issues of the preceding year.

During the same period they have published new editions from stereotype plates to the amount of 605,500 copies of books and tracts, being 315,000 more than the year before. Total number of copies of books and tracts published during the year —818,250, being an increase of 388,000 copies over the former year.

They have also published from March, 1851, to April, 1852, twelve months, 676,000 copies of the Presbyterian Sabbath-School Visitor, a strictly religious semi-monthly paper for children. This periodical is steadily growing in the confidence of parents and teachers, and in the affections of children.—Thirty-four thousand copies are now published semi-monthly.

RECEIPTS FOR THE YEAR.—The receipts for the year show a very encouraging increase. The sales have amounted to sixty-six thousand five hundred and thirteen dollars and seventy-two cents, or more than six thousand five hundred dollars over the amount reported last year. The donations received for colportage and distribution have amounted to $17,996 89, including a legacy of $825 33, being an excess of $7,705 70 over last year. Total excess of receipts of both departments over last year, $14,219 42, including the legacy just specified.

The mortgage on the real estate has been paid off, so that the property is now entirely free from debt.

COLPORTEURS AND COLPORTEUR LABOUR.—There have been one hundred and forty-one colporteurs employed during the year, in twenty-five different States.

The synods of Virginia and Pittsburgh are still conducting their operations as independent auxiliaries of the Board, with efficiency and success.

AGGREGATE OF COLPORTEUR LABOUR.—The following are the aggregate amounts of labour performed during the past year by the one hundred and forty-one colporteurs, viz:—Time spent, thirty-five years; families visited, 64,526; conversed or prayed with, 22,838; families having no religious book but the Bible, 2212; Presbyterian families without the Confession of Faith, 2773; volumes sold by colporteurs, 71,150; volumes granted

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by colporteurs, 5,506; pages of tracts distributed by colporteurs, 581,956.

DONATIONS.—Donations to a considerable extent have been made during the past year, in addition to those made through colporteurs.

The grants of the year have been as follows:—Sabbath-schools, 869 volumes; ships of war, naval and military posts, 397 volumes; humane institutions, 68 volumes; literary and theological institutions, 2210 volumes; indigent ministers, 1293 volumes; feeble churches, 1355 volumes; individuals for gratuitous distribution, 336 volumes; and also 175,190 pages of tracts, independent of the donations of tracts made by colporteurs.

Rev. Stewart Robinson, from the committee on the printed report of the Board of Publication, submitted a series of resolutions as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That a review of the history of the enterprise, and the gradual development of this great idea of furnishing a religious literature for the Church, from its feeble beginning to its present wide spread and triumphant success, calls upon us devoutly to thank God and take courage.

2. *Resolved*, That the Assembly hereby tender its thanks to the Board of Publication for the energy, wisdom, and success with which they have carried forward this work during the year.

3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly, in the name of the Church, tender its warmest thanks, and its sense of obligation to the Rev. Dr. Leyburn, late Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Publication, for his able, untiring, and eminently successful efforts in extending and giving efficiency to the plans and operations of the Board.

4. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of the Assembly, the present position of this work, the circumstances of the Church, and the urgent wants of the people, call upon the Board to press still onward—extending their operations, widening and more fully occupying their field of labour, so far as may be consistent with prudence and safety, relying on the liberality of the Church, and the blessing of the great Head of the Church for support.

5. *Resolved*, That the experience of the past, and the results which have been developed as to the comparative efficiency,

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safety, and intrinsic merit of the plan for supplying the religious literature of the Church by boards under ecclesiastical control, rather than by voluntary organizations, indicates plainly the duty of our Church to sustain more fully and more exclusively, and extend far more widely the work entrusted to the Board of Publication throughout our bounds.

6. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of the Assembly, it should be a first consideration to adapt the plans and modes of operation of the Board, in as far as may be, to the peculiar wants of the several geographical divisions of the Church; and in this view, the future plans of the Board should contemplate the organization of co-ordinate local agencies, with depositories at the West, South, and South-West, as speedily as may be deemed consistent with the safety and permanency of the organization already established in Philadelphia.

7. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to all our pastors and churches to give particular attention to the claims of this Board, and render such aid by the contribution of funds as to enable the Board to enlarge greatly the work of colportage.

8. *Resolved*, That the Assembly suggest to the Board in its next annual report to exhibit somewhat more in detail the financial operations of the year, and also in a form as extended as may seem proper to the Board, a statement of the method of procuring the manufacture of books published by it, and the advantages of the plan of this Board in this regard, over the plan of establishing a printing-house and bindery for the execution of the work.

Delegates from Corresponding Bodies.

When delegates from corresponding bodies were called upon, the Rev. J. K. CONVERSE, from the General Convention of Vermont, addressed the Assembly. Congregationalists are the principal denomination in the State, and more numerous than all others combined. The Methodists come next. The Unitarians have but three, and the Episcopalians very few churches. In the General Convention there are 200 churches and 19,153 communicants. They have 14 local Associations, made up of ministers only. Revivals have occurred in ten of the local Associations, and some 800 have been added on con-

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fession of their faith. The churches of Vermont take the Assembly's Catechism as the symbol of their faith; and they are generally sound and harmonious in doctrine. Vermont has furnished a larger number of foreign missionaries in proportion to its population, than any other State; and he thought the same would hold good in regard to domestic missions. Both the University of Vermont and Middlebury College were nurtured and cherished by these churches. They still hold the old Puritanic principle of taking care that the schools are under a Christian influence. You might travel all over Vermont, and not find a native youth who could not read; they have no steamboats or railroads running there on the Sabbath. He solicited, in behalf of the Convention, a continuation of the fraternal intercourse which had so long existed, by the appointment of a delegate to their Convention, which was to meet on the third Tuesday of June, at Castleton.

Rev. Mr. FISKE, delegate from the General Conference of Maine. In these days of hiding the truth, they in Maine rejoiced that the Presbyterians, in connection with this Assembly, had stood up so manfully for the doctrines of God's word, even in its ancient terms. They approved and admired the conservatism of this body. In this day of agitation of delicate questions, threatening the peace and unity of the country, they were glad to be present even by a delegate, to show their sympathy with the ground the General Assembly had occupied on this subject. They have 14 local conferences, 225 churches, and about 17,000 communicants, with only 165 ministers, 112 only of whom were pastors; 488 were added by profession during the last year reported: the present year has been one of far more interesting revivals. They teach the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. Much missionary ground still remains in Maine, and a large number of the churches receive aid from others. They had a great *East*, requiring the prayers and labours of God's people, as really as the far greater West. The Maine Liquor Law, so far as tried, was working well. The law was far more popular in Portland and throughout the State than when it was passed. The happy change for the better was already most apparent. He extended cordially the hand of fellowship, and hoped the Assembly would send a

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delegate to their Conference, which meets on the fourth Tuesday in June, at Searsport. He had learned from the delegate from Massachusetts his extreme regret at not being able to attend the Assembly, and express the same sentiments which he had just expressed himself.

Rev. T. THAYER, of the Evangelical Consociation of Rhode Island. He represented the smallest body of Evangelical Congregational churches in New England, 25 churches, of which about one-half were gathered within ten years. Number of communicants about 3096. Within their bounds are a number of churches of the Irish Secession. They acknowledged the same general system of doctrines with this body. Strong as are their local attachments and New England peculiarities, they sincerely rejoiced in the prosperity of the Presbyterian Church; they saw in its great plans and rapid expansion evidence of its high mission, and the glorious results it was to accomplish for Christ's kingdom, and for mankind.

The delegates having been heard, on motion of Dr. Humphrey, the Assembly unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the General Assembly has heard, with great satisfaction, the statements which have been made by the respected delegates from the General Convention of Congregational ministers in Vermont, the General Conference of Maine, and the Evangelical Consociation of Rhode Island, respecting the state of religion within their bounds; that we fully reciprocate the Christian salutations conveyed by them to us from the Associations they represent; and that we cherish the hope that the fraternal correspondence now existing between the General Assembly and these bodies, may not only be continued, but may be the means of strengthening the bonds of affection between the various branches of the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Cheap Paper.

Dr. MCKINNEY, Chairman of the Committee on a cheap newspaper, reported, showing that of the two hundred thousand Presbyterian families in the United States, only thirty thousand received Presbyterian religious newspapers. The circulation of the New York Observer, in our Church, was put

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down at five thousand. Four out of every five Presbyterian families took no religious paper of their own denomination. This was attributable to their indifference, and to that of the ministry, but chiefly to the high prices of the weekly religious newspapers; and, he might add, to the neglect by the editors of proper market and miscellaneous reports.

The next order of the day, the cheap newspaper, came up on the report and resolution which had been previously submitted by Dr. McKinney, who proceeded to sustain them. He said that the advocates of the cheap paper were not rightly understood. The idea had become prevalent, that the object was to have a church paper—a sort of dictator to direct the church—and the prevalence of this notion created a prejudice against the scheme in the minds of many. Others supposed that the object was to override all the local religious papers now in existence. These were errors. The cheap paper advocates had no such object. Their desire was to preach the gospel through the press in such form as to reach the mass—the families of the poor. There were many who could not afford to pay for the papers which were published at $2 or $2 50 a year. They did not receive in money two dollars and a half in two and a half months, and it was unreasonable to expect that they would contribute so large a portion of their labour to the support of a newspaper. By concert, a cheaper paper could be published, and thus all these poor families might be preached to weekly. The object in bringing it before the Assembly was—not that it should be made a church paper, but simply that by the action of that body, concert which was necessary to efficiency might be obtained. The direction of the Assembly would ensure its being sound in doctrine. It could control its editors: individual enterprises could not be so controlled. But let the Assembly determine to have a paper, and it has the power to say just what it shall be. Thus controlled, directed, and circulated, it would be a mighty engine for the cause of truth. Some might call it a church paper. It would be so—not in any offensive sense—not as a director to the church—but as her active, energetic servant. The Assembly might direct it through one of their Boards, or by a special agency, or it might encourage individual enterprise, and thus

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without any new agency, it might enlarge to any extent the influence of the religious press. Every argument in favour of colleges, of education, and of missions, applies with equal force to this. Only substitute for the words colleges, missions, education, that of newspaper, and you have the argument with equal force. Some suppose that the plan could not succeed; but he had an estimate from a responsible publisher, and a paper of suitable size, with an edition of 15,000, could be edited, published, and mailed at $1 each.

Dr. HOYT admired the spirit and zeal of the brother who advocates this measure; but there were great difficulties in the matter upon his mind. He had waited anxiously to have them removed, but the brother had not removed them. He could not understand what was asked for. Was it a great central organ to which the Assembly was to be committed? Was the Assembly to appoint an editor for it, and a committee to direct it? If so, then what is to become of the local papers, for the establishment of which they had laboured so long, and which have done so much for the cause of the Church? The brother had said that the field would still be open for them, and the establishment of a cheap newspaper would not override them. But how was the field open? If the Assembly establish the cheap paper by a unanimous vote, then it must be sustained. The ministers who now labour for the local papers, must go to work for the Assembly's cheap paper. They must tell their people to take it, and if they do so, will not the other papers be crushed? He desired this question answered: he would rest there, until that point was answered.

Dr. GOLDSMITH had listened with great interest to the address of Dr. McKinney. He sympathized with him in the object to be attained—the diffusion of religious intelligence on a cheap plan. But he wanted light on the subject. Is there a large number of the people so poor that they cannot pay for the religious papers now published? They pay for the political papers at two cents a day, six dollars a year, and the religious papers cost less than this. The reason is that they are interested in these political papers, and that they will not take a religious paper unless they feel a like interest in it. One thing which gives a paper an interest in the eyes of the people is its

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locality. The people like a paper that is published near their home. One published in Philadelphia would not be popular in New York, and so of any other distant place. Another thing was its editor. Where could the Assembly get an editor that would be acceptable to the whole Church? Where was the man in all their vast bounds that they would trust to speak for them at all times and upon all questions? He did not know of one. Then what was to become of the local papers already established? The brother, who seems to have the power of *touching* every thing into gold, smoothed over that matter remarkably well, but still it was not very plain how the cheap paper could be established without injury to those papers already established.

Dr. LEYBURN felt a delicacy in speaking on this subject. He had an interest in the "Presbyterian," but notwithstanding this, if the cheap paper could preach to the multitude, accomplishing what had been promised for it, he would say, let his interest in the Presbyterian sink, and himself with it, rather than it should be an obstacle to the great work promised to be performed by the cheap paper. But was it true that a paper could be published at these low rates? Was it true that the poor minister or elder was charged by the other publishers of papers, a hundred and fifty per cent. over its cost? If true, they who did it deserved reprobation, and therefore, to defend their character, he would say something. He did not believe that the cheap paper could be published at the prices mentioned. The rates were lower than the Board of Publication had ever been able to get work done for. The brother said that a publisher was ready to undertake it. He had no doubt of it. There were men enough to underbid in such matters, and to contract for work at ruinous rates, but when the contract was made, they made it up in some other way, and he who trusted them was generally considered, among business men, as decidedly *verdant.*

The brother says that fifteen thousand copies can be published for $15,000, but where was the money to come from? Who would ensure the subscribers? Would the brother do it? If he can, then why bring the matter before the Assembly? Let him enter the field, it was inviting, nobody hindered him.

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He could have his home in a pleasant city, and preach weekly to fifteen thousand families.

But it can't be done. The Methodist paper in New York, with thirty thousand subscribers, makes very little, and that number of subscribers cannot now be procured for one religious paper. Let any body attempt it, and he will be landed high and dry on the beach, without a rag of sail, and with nothing in the hold. If it can be done, why did the brother report no plan for doing it? The matter had been three years before the Assembly, and they were no nearer to a plan now than they were at first. The proposition was, to do one thing, and if not that, then another, and if that would not do, then something else would, and so it ended in no plan at all.

Rev. STUART ROBINSON, of West Lexington, Kentucky, was sorry that a plan had not been presented, so that the Assembly might now, once for all, settle the matter. He wanted to know whether it was, or was not to be a Church paper. Its advocate repudiated that idea in the *abstract*, but when it came to the *practical*, it was easy to see that they intended it should be a Church organ. All the arguments about its claims resting on the same grounds as those of colleges, education, and missions, show that the Assembly is expected to establish it and carry it on as its organ. This abstract idea of its being no Church paper, whilst practically it was, savoured too much of German metaphysics to suit him. He could not understand the difference, and it reminded him of a Western man's notions of metaphysics. He was asked to explain it, and pointing to some holes which the swallows were making in the river bank, he answered that it was the abstract notion of one of these holes after the bank had caved in. For his part, he wanted no Church central organ. The Southern Rights doctrine of confining the central power to the constitution, and reserving to the individual or the smaller bodies, all those not expressly delegated, was according to his notion. This was the true secret of liberty, political or religious; this was the great difference between Anglo-Saxon (or, as some said, Yankee-Saxon) liberty, and French liberty. The French system considered the individual as only a cog in the great wheel of government. The Anglo-Saxon system considered each man a wheel by himself, respon-

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sible for his own movements and government, as a thing confined to its proper and delegated limits. This thing of centralism and central organs in the Church he was opposed to. Let the Assembly confine itself to the constitution, attend to the matters therein specified, and say nothing about cheap newspapers. He hoped this matter would now be settled once for all.

Mr. DUBUAR. All the speaking had been on one side, he would therefore state his views. One had felt bound to repel a charge, but no such charge was made. It had not been said that ministers and poor members were charged 150 per cent. more than the papers cost, but only that by a large subscription they could be published a hundred and fifty per cent. less than the rate now charged.

All feel the want of a cheap religious paper. In his Church many of the political papers were taken, but very few of the religious papers. They were too high, and the only way to get the people to take a religious paper, was by publishing a cheap one. It would not injure the other papers, but might extend their circulation. People who now take no religious paper, after being induced by the low price to read one, might soon desire to take another. The colporteurs did not sell books to persons who had no books, but to those who had some and wanted more.

After more remarks from Mr. Philips, Dr. Matthews called for the previous question. The call was sustained, and the report and resolutions of the committee in favour of the cheap paper, were rejected by the Assembly. A member then moved that it be referred to the same committee, with instructions never to report again on the same subject.

Report on the Princeton Theological Seminary.

The Directors having reported to the Assembly the decease of the venerated Dr. Archibald Alexander, senior Professor in the Institution, the committee to whom their report had been referred, proposed the following minute, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the General Assembly cordially responds to the just tribute of respect and affection to the memory of that venerable man of God, the late Dr. Archibald Alexander, contained in the report of the Directors of the Seminary, of which

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he was the first Professor, and over which he presided for nearly forty years. Called to the duties of his high office not only by the unanimous voice of the General Assembly, but, as we believe, by the great Head of the Church, he devoted himself most faithfully to his work, and was a pattern in all that can adorn a Christian teacher, and a minister of the gospel. Distinguished for talent, for learning, for sound judgment, for sound doctrine, and for fervent piety, and withal for his catholic spirit, he was eminently qualified to train for the high and holy office, those whose aim it was to serve God in the ministry of his Son. Never, perhaps, was a man more beloved by his pupils, as hundreds of them yet living can testify, and who ever found in him a counsellor at once judicious, kind, and tender. Having finished his work, he calmly and sweetly fell asleep in Jesus, leaving to the church the legacy of his bright example, by which he, being dead, yet speaketh. In view of his long and useful life, and of his peaceful and happy death, we should rather give thanks for what he was enabled to accomplish in a ministry of sixty years, than mourn his removal from the church on earth to the church in heaven, and with all earnestness pray, that in the wise and holy providence of God, those of like spirit and of like attainments may be raised up to adorn and bless our Church, and to teach in our schools."

The remaining resolutions were made the order of the day for this afternoon.

The recommendation on the part of the Directors that the department of Polemic should be reunited with that of Didactic Theology, gave rise to considerable discussion. The effect of the debate seems to have been to satisfy the house of the propriety of the measure, as the recommendation was sanctioned by a vote approaching unanimity. The opposition to it seems to have arisen from an impression that the change was ill-timed, or that it would render the professorship comparatively unimportant. Both of these grounds of objection seem to have been entirely removed. The facts in the case are simply these: When Dr. Alexander in 1840 applied to be relieved from the burden of teaching Theology, he continued to lecture on Polemics, because at that time Pastoral Theology was the only other subject connected with his chair; but when the Church

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and Preaching came to be united with Pastoral Theology, then the Board with all but perfect unanimity recommended that Polemic Theology be put back to its original position—a position which it occupies in every theological seminary in Europe and America.

The arrangement of the departments which the Assembly has finally with so much unanimity sanctioned, which provides for a Biblical, a Historical, a Theological, and an Ecclesiological* department, has the sanction of almost universal adoption and long trial. It has not been proposed now for the first time on an emergency. It has been long acted on in other institutions at home and abroad, and it has been distinctly announced as the arrangement which ought to be carried into effect in our own institutions wherever practicable. This disposition recommends itself from the fact that the departments are distinct, important, and well balanced. They are as distinct as is either possible or desirable. It is impossible that a man should interpret Scripture, or teach Church History, or inculcate the duties of the pastoral office, without teaching theology; and the man whose special duty is to teach that branch, must be more or less historical, exegetical, and practical in his instructions. The great advantage, however, is, the departments are well balanced—no one towers above the others, and no one is depressed. The fourth, or practical department, is second to no other in compass, in dignity, or importance. In many institutions, the subject of Sacred Rhetoric, or the composition and delivery of sermons, is considered of sufficient moment to demand the whole attention of one Professor. Besides this, however, we have the Church and Pastoral Theology. The former of these is the great topic of the age. The man who can guide the public mind of Christendom to clear and scriptural convictions as to the nature, attributes, prerogatives, organization, and relations of the Church, will be one of the greatest benefactors of the present and of all coming generations. To do this would involve the logical settlement, at least, of all questions between us and Ritualists and

* The word Ecclesiological is not here used in a sense unduly comprehensive; for under the head of the Church naturally come the duties of its officers—preaching and the pastoral care.

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Hierarchists of every class, on the one side, and between us and Independents and "no government" men on the other. It is the subject towards which the first minds of the Church in Europe are directed, and which opens the highest, widest, and newest field of usefulness and labour. The Professor elect could not have a more elevated career opened to him, nor one in which he could hope to accomplish more to promote the highest interests of the Church.

We give the report of the debate on this subject substantially as it appears in the papers, though we are aware the report does not do justice to the speakers on either side.

Rev. STUART ROBINSON did not profess to know much about theological training, and personally he would yield his opinion in such matters to the wisdom of the Committee, but there were some questions which appealed to the plain common sense of men, and the question he was about to discuss was one of them. The time had come when the Directors of the Princeton Seminary might as well begin to think that it belonged to the Church, and not to a particular locality. It was true that they had other Seminaries, but still the young men who had settled farms in the West—these younger brothers—did not relinquish their claims on the old homestead. They claimed still to take part in the management of Princeton, and their notion was, that the young men in their theological course should not be subjected entirely to the influence of any one mind. The advantage of Seminaries was in having different Professors for different branches, and if this idea was not carried out fully, the young men could as well study privately. There were many D. D.'s who could teach them at home, if one man only was to make impress upon their minds. He considered Exegetical and Didactic Theology as furnishing a fair field to that Professor, and his desire was that the new Professor, who might be elected in place of Dr. Alexander, should be allowed a chance to make his mark also. If Polemic Theology be taken from his department, nothing will be left to it but Pastoral duties, Church Government, and the Composition and Delivery of Sermons. As to Pastoral duties, that was a course of only three months. The fact was, the preacher had to learn that in his work, and the few rules that could be taught him in the Seminary need

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not take much time. So with Church Government. The Professor of Ecclesiastical and Biblical Literature taught a part of that branch, and all that would be left the new Professor would be the exposition of the constitution of the Church and the rules of discipline. Thus the transfer of the department of Polemic Theology would leave the chair, formerly filled by Dr. Alexander, a mere sort of treadmill, a one horse business. It was said that Polemic and Didactic Theology belonged to the same department, and so the transfer should be made. Then why not transfer the Church Government department too? That merely belongs to the department of Biblical Literature. This plan of arranging matters by systems was becoming too popular. Now that we had got into it, he could not see how we could get out of it. He supposed they must hold on, but it seemed to him that theology was too much of a long narrow parallelogram, all divided off into sections, commencing away back with natural religion, and creeping on a long time before it got to the gospel. He thought the circle, and not the parallelogram should have been adopted, with Jesus Christ, and him crucified as its bright and burning centre, so that *every sermon* should be a gospel, with variety only in its circumference. But system or not, he was anxious that the new Professor should have a fair field for his work, and that the most important branch of his department should not be taken from it.

Rev. Dr. McLEAN agreed with the former speaker, that the Seminary belonged to the Church. Those most interested in it gloried in that belief. They wished well to other Seminaries, but thought this peculiarly entitled to the care and attention of the Church. They therefore did not direct it according to any local views, but desired to consult the wishes of the Church. In the change proposed they were not trying any new experiment. Didactic and Polemic Theology were connected at first. Only one Professor was provided for in those departments. But upon the election of Professor Hodge, as matter of convenience, a change was made, intended to be temporary only, and this was thought to be a favourable time for carrying out the original plan. As to the new Professor not having enough to do, he would say that the department of Church Government was by no means so light as gentlemen supposed. It will not be con-

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fined to the mere exposition of the discipline, though he thought it would be well if some of the young men knew more about it; but this department involves instruction in the great question of the day. It had to defend Presbyterianism alike against the monarchy of the Papal Church and the independence of others, and in treating this branch well, the Professor would have scope enough for his talents.

Rev. Mr. HOGE. There is not an enemy to Princeton on this floor. Its past history and the memory of its dead endeared her to all here. But there were enemies here to frequent changes, and there had been too many in Princeton. Now another was proposed. It was an important one. If carried out, it would deprive the chair of Pastoral Duties of its chief dignity. The department of Polemic Theology was that which made it important, and if that were taken from it, no man of eminence would then take the chair. He saw no reason for the change. The Professor of Didactic Theology had enough to do. Give him this new department, and his labours would be too heavy. Whilst the Professor from whom it was to be taken, would not have work for more than fifteen to eighteen months out of the twenty-seven, which constitutes the full course of the student. Thus, whilst one Professor would be overworked, the other would have little to do, and the students would be neglected in Polemic Theology. In this day, when every man should be armed and ready for the assault, when we have war and fierce contest on every side, these changes should not be made.

Rev. Mr. PLATT was astonished. He could not see what had so excited the last speaker. He thought the Assembly were all good-natured men—he hoped so yet. There must be something in *that corner*, which vexed the member, and occasioned all this noise about armour, bullets, and fighting. In the old times, they used to think that one man at Princeton could teach both Didactic and Polemical Theology, but they were simple people in those times, and did not know much—young men now-a-days knew a great deal more. He thought, however, that the Directors of the Seminary knew as much about its management as any person who knew very little about it, and therefore he was for leaving some things to the Directors. If the change were made,

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there would still be dignity enough in the chair of Pastoral Duties for any man over the mountains or under the mountains.

Rev. Mr. RICHARDSON thought the department of Church Government as much as any one man could master. It included the great question of the age, "What is the Church?" The German theologians give that a distinct department, which they call "Ecclesiology."

Rev. H. S. DICKSON thought the present arrangement of the departments the best.

Rev. Dr. GOODRICH inquired what we gain, and what we lose, in either making these changes, or continuing the present plan. We lose nothing by letting things remain as they are. By making the change, we lose the confidence of many good men, and possibly the Professorship itself. The new Professorship would be a "lean" one, and if it did not *kill* the occupant of the chair, it *ought to do so!* He wished things to remain as they are. He would adopt all the rest of the Report, and leave this an open question for another year at least.

Rev. Dr. HALL had been surprised that this discussion had been conducted as if we were settling, for the first time, a theological curriculum. In the theological departments of Universities abroad there were four distinct chairs, viz. the Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, (including both Didactic and Polemic Theology,) and the fourth that of the Church—never more important that at present—this branch including all about the Church, and, among other things, how to preach. He was, therefore, surprised to hear so respectful a request from the Directors, and so respectfully stated by the Committee, met with such an onslaught. Didactic and Polemic Theology were united at the very commencement of the Seminary, and, as has been stated, they were separated only temporarily. We are not making a new experiment, it is not an arbitrary, but a philosophical connection. Is there one present who can call the chair unimportant? What is more conspicuous than its branches? It has been said for years, that a great deficiency in Princeton Seminary was the want of a pastor for the students, and this relates to the Pastoral Professorship. These pastoral duties alone will not only occupy the six or nine months spoken of, but every day of his life. He thought the

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gentleman from Kentucky laid too much stress on the mere intellectual view of the subject. His own impression was, that the man who leaves his impress on the *hearts* of the students, would do a work of immeasurable importance and dignity. He lived within ten miles of Princeton, and could say he had never seen a set of men freer from sectional prejudices than the gentlemen connected with the instruction of that Seminary.

Rev. Dr. MATTHEWS understood the proposed action to have originated at Princeton. Why take Polemic Theology and give it to Dr. Hodge? Why did they not take Church Government and lay it on Dr. Addison Alexander's broad shoulders? It surprised him, that when we were now about to elect a fresh man, we should take labour from the back of the fresh man, when we had, only a year ago, increased that burden, when the aged Dr. Alexander had to bear it.

Rev. Dr. B. H. RICE thought that too much had been said about depriving the new Professor of the dignity to which he was entitled. If the proposed change be made, there would still be enough left for any man to do, and the expressions which had been used to depreciate the importance of the remaining branches were entirely too strong. The department of Church Government would require the undivided efforts of a great and far-reaching mind, and the pastoral office was the practical part of all our learning. It was a thing to be learned, and it would require a large share of the attention of any man. Then the composition and delivery of sermons was an important matter. He was no elocutionist, and there were many others of his brother ministers who were sadly deficient in this department. It should not be so. The truth should be spoken impressively. This was necessary to be a preacher. He did not hold to the maxim, "*Orator fit, poeta nascitur.*" He thought that both must be born, and that he who was not born with the elements of an orator in him, could never become one by education. But still, every one could be taught to speak pleasantly and impressively, and this has been too much neglected in the seminaries. It was said that all these departments, attached to the chair of pastoral duties, had been attended to in a few months. If so, that was no reason why so little importance should be always attached to them. It was time that

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they should be better attended to, and the making it the duty of one man to direct his whole attention to them would remedy the evil. It had been said that the Professor of Didactic Theology was overburdened now, and, therefore, new duties should not be put upon him. But he would be compelled to teach Polemics any how. All his doctrines were controverted, and he *must* enter the field and defend them. The doctrine of justification by Jesus Christ—the great doctrine of every sound Church — was controverted, and many ascribed this justification to faith alone. The Professor of Didactics must necessarily defend this and other doctrines, and, in doing so, must teach Polemics.

Rev. Dr. HOWE had paid some attention to the course of theological education, and the proper distribution of the theological departments. In his opinion, there were properly four departments:—1st, The Exegetical, including Biblical literature, criticism, and interpretation; 2d, Didactic Theology; 3d, Historical, including the history of the Church from the commencement, and a history of the doctrines that have been held in different ages; and, 4th, Practical Theology, which prepares the student for bringing into practice all the learning of the other departments. This department includes Sacred Rhetoric, Pastoral Theology, and Church Government. This was a department of infinite detail, great labour, and immense drudgery. It included the controversy with the Papists, the Independents, and the Prelatists. It involved a thorough mastery of the controversy on the sacraments; and though others might place some of these in the Didactic department, and others might divide them, he would allot them in his system to the practical department. Now, let any one go through all these, and he will find in this latter section alone, enough to task all the powers of any one mind. As to Polemic Theology, so far as it is not included in Church Polity and Church History, it would naturally fall into the Didactic department. The Professor could not get at it except through Didactics. If he attempt it, he will destroy the novelty of the work of the Didactic Professor; or else the Didactic Professor, if he be first, will leave but little for the teacher of Polemics. From

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these views it will be easily seen how he thought the question should be decided.

Rev. STUART ROBINSON had not attempted to discuss the question according to the philosophical and logical arrangement of the departments. His idea was that the proposed change was too sudden, and that the new Professor should be consulted in the matter. This department of the Church, as explained by Professor Howe, Dr. Hall, and Mr. Richardson, was something very different from that which was meant by Church Government in Princeton. The philosophy of the Church, according to their notion, was then taught by the Didactic Professor, and Dr. Hodge spent much of his time and force on it. It seemed to him that the matter was not properly understood, and he therefore moved to refer the matter to the next General Assembly.

Rev. Dr. BRINSMADE hoped it would not be deferred. The Professor was to be elected now, and it was best to define his department before electing him. In this way only could they tell what sort of a man was wanted.

The discussion was continued by the Rev. Dr. McLean, Mr. Ogden, Mr. Bullock, and the Rev. Dr. Scott—after which the motion to defer was rejected, and the resolution of the committee making the transfer was adopted.

Election of Professor.

The election of a Professor of Pastoral Theology, Church Government, and the Composition and Delivery of Sermons was made the first order of the day for Friday morning next. The Rev. Dr. Howe, at the call of the Moderator, led the Assembly in prayer for Divine direction in the choice; after which the following persons were nominated:—The Rev. John C. Young, D. D., N. L. Rice, D. D., George Junkin, D. D., William S. Plumer, D. D., H. A. Boardman, D. D., A. T. McGill, D. D., C. C. Jones, D. D., Thomas Smyth, D. D., E. P. Humphrey, D. D.

At the time appointed the Assembly proceeded to the election of a Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton,

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and after prayer by the Rev. A. H. Dumont, the ballotings were made, and stood as follows:

	1st *Ballot.*	2d.	3d.	4th.
H. A. Boardman, D. D.,	75	89	78	73
E. P. Humphrey, D. D.,	45	62	86	112
Wm. S. Plumer, D. D.,	35	32	8	1
C. C. Jones, D. D.,	10	—	—	—
J. C Young, D. D.,	11	5	1	—
A. T. McGill, D. D.,	6	1	—	—
Thos. Smyth, D. D.,	3	1	—	—
N. L. Rice, D. D.,	3	—	—	—
George Junkin, D. D.,	3	—	—	—
Mr. Cook,	—	—	—	1

The Rev. E. P. Humphrey, D. D. was declared duly elected, after which Dr. Maclean was called upon to lead the Assembly in prayer.

Rev. Drs. Hall, McGill and McLean were appointed a committee to inform Dr. Humphrey of his election.

The cordial acquiescence in this appointment manifested in all parts of the Church, is cause of devout gratitude to God, and affords a strong ground of confidence that his providence has ordered the matter in mercy. We do not believe any other choice could command so general an assent, and hope the Professor elect may feel that he is called of God to the post assigned him, and therefore may neither hesitate nor fear. The Editor of the Presbyterian, speaking of his election used the following language, which we are happy to transfer to our pages.

"Preferences there were, decided and honest; but there were no cliques, no partisan manœuverings, no sectional feelings, no going with one man with a determination to be satisfied with no other. The great desire, from the first, seems to have been to find out who would be the best man, all things considered, and to elect him, no matter where he might come from, or whether or not he was a personal friend or favourite. To the very day of the election, many members of the Assembly had but little preference as to which of the nominees they would vote for. They believed all of them to be good men and true, and thought the Seminary would not suffer detriment from the election of almost any one of them. They were in a condition to seek counsel of God, and they sought it, both collectively in the Assembly, and individually in their closets. They showed themselves to be a judicious, cautious, God-fearing body of men,

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who regarded the honour of the Church and the interests of Christ's kingdom as paramount to all other considerations.

"We are sure the result of the election has surprised no one more than the gentleman who has been chosen. His unfeigned modesty would have made him among the last to think of himself as fitted for such a place. But those whose duty it was to make the choice thought differently; and in their decision we have no doubt the Church generally will cheerfully acquiesce. In this election we have taken no active part, either publicly or privately; but now that the Church has spoken her voice through her highest judicatory, we are ready to lend our humble aid, as journalists, to sustain her action.

"Dr. Humphrey combines qualifications which ought to adapt him peculiarly to such a post. Though born in New England, he has spent his entire ministerial life within the bosom of the Presbyterian Church. He had not preached five sermons before he went to Jeffersonville, Indiana, where he was ordained by the Presbytery of Salem, now New Albany, and whence, after two years, he was transferred in 1835 to the pastorate of the Second Church in Louisville, Kentucky, of which he has been the incumbent to the present time. His attachment to the doctrines, polity, and institutions of the Presbyterian Church are intelligent, conscientious, hearty, and decided. He is a student, and gives evidence in all his productions of a mind which has known discipline and faithful culture. As a preacher, he is sound, sensible, systematic, lucid, ornate, and eloquent—with an animated and very effective delivery. He possesses a large stock of practical common sense and discretion, and has, in a good degree, the expanded views and hopeful persevering energy which distinguish Western character. Being now in his forty-third year, and in the enjoyment of full physical health, he is in that condition which will enable him to enter, with the most favourable prospects for success, on the important duties of the place to which he has been chosen. He is the son of the Rev. H. Humphrey, D. D., long President of Amherst College, Massachusetts."

Western Theological Seminary.

Mr. Harrison, Chairman of the Committee to whom were

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referred the Reports of the Board of the Western Theological Seminary, reported as follows:

The Committee, &c. recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

1st, That these reports be approved and printed in the Minutes of the Assembly.

2d, That the Assembly rejoice in the information that the Rev. Professor Jacobus has entered upon the duties of his office, as also in the increased attention to personal religion and quickened zeal manifested among the students; and, satisfied with the promise of continued usefulness, together with its ability to meet and answer all the lawful expectations of the Church, they would most cheerfully recommend the institution to the confidence and support of the Christian public.

3d, That the Assembly, impressed with the importance of having this institution opened with the same advantages as other seminaries of a like character, do earnestly recommend to the Board of Trustees to secure the endowment of a fourth Professorship. The first two resolutions were passed.

Upon the third resolution, recommending the endowment of another Professorship in that seminary, Mr. Kerr remarked that the endowment of the other Professorships had been borne by a few churches, and the agents had said to the people that the call for the third Professorship was to be the last. If the Assembly now passed this resolution, the amount could not be raised in those churches.

Mr. RICHARDSON.—If the Assembly pass this resolution, the call will not be made on the same churches that had borne the former burdens of that seminary.

Mr. COOK.—The Synod of Pittsburgh had borne its share of the burden, and yet it distinctly declared to the people that the late call was not the last. The agents had made a mistake in this matter.

Dr. MCLEAN thought the Seminary of Allegheny ought to be put upon as good a footing as any other seminary, and as a friend of Princeton he was in favour of the resolution. The resolution was passed.

This committee also reported a resolution which passed, to the effect that proper steps be taken to secure from the Trustees

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of the Assembly a legal discharge to Mr. Patterson, executor of James Dornan, for the legacy paid by him to the Trustees of the Western Seminary.

Re-ordination.

Overture No. 19 was also submitted, which propounds the following question: Is it the duty of Presbyteries, when elders or deacons from the Methodist Episcopal Church apply to become ministers of our Church, to recognize their ordination as sufficient, or to ordain them, as in the case of other candidates? The committee recommended that this query be answered by reference to the action of the General Assembly on this subject in 1821. This action is to this effect: It is the practice of the Presbyterian Church to regard the ordination of all Protestant churches as valid. Re-ordination is not, therefore, required; but the same *qualifications* are expected as are demanded of all other candidates. Adopted.

This is a very pithy paragraph, and might be made the text for a long discourse on ecclesiology. It involves the questions, What is ordination? Who have the right to ordain? What is essential to the validity of orders? When is re-ordination proper, and when is it schismatical? To answer these questions satisfactorily would require more time, logic, and research than some of our brethren seem to think the whole department of Church Government calls for. We heartily agree with the decision above quoted, and wish the far-reaching principles it involves were fully comprehended. We are persuaded many would feel their Presbyterianism undergoing a most healthful expansion, as these principles exert their appropriate influence.

Rights of Conscience.

An overture was introduced proposing that some measures should be adopted towards securing for American Christians the full exercise of the rights of conscience in foreign countries. In reference to this subject the Rev. STUART ROBINSON introduced the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Assembly, while the increasing intimacy of intercourse between the several nations of the earth, should be a cause of rejoicing to all Chris-

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tian people, and should be by them promoted by all proper measures, as tending to advance the cause of universal peace; yet, at the same time, this increasing intimacy demands special attention to the terms of intercourse between citizens of various nations.

2. *Resolved*, That freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, and freedom of religious worship, being essential and inherent rights of American citizens, and being extended by the American people to citizens of all nations, without restraint, it is but just and equal that this privilege be extended to our citizens by all nations, between whom and our country treaties of amity and commerce exist.

3. *Resolved*, That this Assembly, in the name of those portions of the American people, whose religious opinions they represent, express the opinion that in all treaties with foreign nations, there should be, if possible, provision made for securing to those American citizens, travelling or residing in foreign countries, the right to profess their faith, and worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

4. *Resolved*, That the Stated Clerk of the Assembly be directed to transmit to the President of the United States, a copy of the foregoing resolutions.

Mr. THOMPSON, while he maintained the importance of the right, deemed it inexpedient for us to interfere in the matter. He had no doubt that our vigilant government would look well to this matter, without our attempting what might be regarded as a departure from our principles and proper sphere of action. The law of nations is a settled law, and well understood. Under it our citizens are or will be secured in all their rights. It is a dangerous matter for churches to interfere in matters of State.

Rev. STUART ROBINSON maintained that his substitute was simply a re-assertion of the right set forth in our Confession of Faith. It was no attempt at legislation on our part. The right was admitted by all Presbyterians. Could we then doubt the competency of this Assembly to assert that right, and publish to the world such assertion? Did the framers of the Mecklenburg Declaration interfere in politics by making that declaration? The boast of our Church is, that we are a missionary

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Church. We send out our missionaries to all parts of the world. Shall they go out as lambs in the midst of wolves—defenceless? Whose blood had not boiled at the recital of what had occurred in the last ten months? And yet our government—what had it done? And shall the mouth of this Assembly be sealed? He wished to test the principles of the Papal nations, who are so boastful of being the bulwarks of freedom in our country. It is time our people were informed on these points—had these principles shown up in the clear light of heaven. The times also are leading to this. It was the great question of the day—our relations to foreign nations, in regard to the rights of conscience. He wished the Presbyterian Church to come in, and be a part of the leaven which is soon to leaven the whole lump. And the time will come, whether we will or not, when we must meet this question. Let us now, therefore, consider the manner in which it shall be settled.

Prof. MURRAY opposed the resolution. He wished to keep the door closed against all such agitating subjects.

Mr. GUITEAU strongly maintained the importance of taking effective measures for securing those rights.

Dr. HOYT was surprised that there should be any opposition to this measure. Who does not know that a decided expression of such a sentiment on our part is calculated to do much toward forming or preserving a sound state of public sentiment? That was all we aimed at—no legislation. Laws were a rope of sand without sound public sentiment. It was competent for us and proper that such expression be made.

Dr. S. B. JONES thought we ought to be cautious—this subject had various important bearings. It should be well matured, and the public press be employed to bring it before the public mind. He, therefore, moved that a committee be appointed to report on the whole subject to the next General Assembly.

Dr. LEYBURN thought it inconsistent that men should admit the right of conscience, as all did, and yet shrink from securing it. Those rights were violated every day. Other nations protected their citizens. British subjects went abroad feeling secure in all their rights under the British flag. Ours should do the same. But there were so numerous and so grave diffi-

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culties in the way of effecting what we desired, that he thought it inexpedient to attempt now to settle upon our course of action. He was in favour of referring it to the next Assembly.

Mr. COOK urged immediate action. What, in a year hence, may have become of some of our missionaries? He was ashamed of the extreme caution exhibited by the Presbyterian Church on this subject. It made his Scotch blood boil and tingle to his finger ends.

The motion was then made that the whole subject be laid on the table. The yeas and nays were called for, and taken, 80 to 81. So the motion was lost.

The question recurred on referring the matter to a committee of five, to report to the next General Assembly. Adopted, and committee appointed; said committee are Dr. Plumer, Dr. S. B. Jones, Dr. McGill, Hon. H. H. Leavitt, Hon. R. C. Grier.

This is a very important subject. We rejoice that it is likely to be brought forward under the auspices of so able and weighty a committee. It is well, perhaps, to be cautious, and to err on the safe side in avoiding wounding the prejudices with which the public mind is said to be imbued, in reference to the action of ecclesiastical bodies. Still it should be remembered that the law of God is the law of nations—that the immutable principles of right which determine individual action, bind the actions of masses—that expediency has no higher place in politics than in morals—and that it is part of the vocation and duty of the Church to teach the truth in its bearings on the course of governments. We claim no other power for the Church, in such matters, than the liberty to declare the will of God. The need of further attention to this subject is sufficiently and painfully obvious from the history of the past year. The arrival and public speeches of Kossuth called forth a general expression of opinion and feeling as to the relative duties of nations; but how superficial, contradictory, and undiscriminating have these opinions been! How little power has been evinced of distinguishing between the personal merits of the man and the merits of his cause—between the correctness of his principles and the propriety of their application to the case of Hungary—

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between their applicability to that case, and the wisdom of this country attempting to carry them out single-handed. How few of our journals have risen to the height of considering the subject as one of religious and moral principle, or would admit that the whole question was not settled by the wise and revered counsel of Washington, to avoid entangling alliances with foreign nations! We admit the wisdom of that counsel, but we hold that there are cases in which national intervention to prevent wrong or enforce right, is as plain a duty to God and man, as Thou shalt do no murder. We want to know, and the public needs to know, what are such cases—what are the principles which determine and limit the right and duty of national intervention. We look for light to the above-named committee.

SHORT NOTICES.

Dictionary of Hebrew Roots, with three Appendices on the formation of the quadriliterals, the explanation of the foreign words in the Hebrew, and on the relation of the Egyptian family of languages to the Semitic, by Dr. Ernest Meier, Privatdocent, in the University at Tubingen. Manheim: 1845, 8vo. pp. 783.

[Hebräisches Wurzelwörterbuch, u. s. w. von Dr. Ernst Meier, Privatdocenten an der Universität zu Tübingen.]

This book is a real curiosity, and we found in turning over its pages, much of the entertainment that belongs to tracing out the plot in any work of fiction. It is a specimen of etymology run mad, and that in learned and ingenious hands, and affords as fine a demonstration as we ever saw of the absurdity of the infinitesimal division of words down to their ultimate molecules, and the undertaking to show in every case the law of their growth, and the ground of their signification—and the supreme absurdity of attempting all this, not in the way of a laborious induction and a careful comparison of phenomena, but of *a priori* reasoning.

The roots of words must, says our author, in every language be monosyllabic. A simple idea apprehended by the mind must be expressed at a single effort, by a single impulse of voice; a dissyllabic root would be as much a monster as a double-headed child. Roots are invariably composed of two consonants of distinct organs, the meaning being inherent in the final. Hence

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arise three principal classes: those which end in a labial, having the general sense of *uniting;* those which terminate in a dental or lingual, with the sense of *sundering*; those with a final guttural or palatal, conveying the idea of *rendering firm and solid.* There are in Hebrew about 24 primary roots, and 290 secondary, likewise biliteral, and conveying the same essential meaning as the primaries, from which they are formed by the modification of one or both radicals. The most novel and amusing part of the scheme and one which the author evidently regards as the most important discovery in philology in modern times, is his rationale of the triliteral verb. This, it seems, is not a radical form, nor has it any thing to do properly with the signification of the word. It is simply a tense form, and produced by reduplication as the Greek perfect; only in Hebrew, the reduplication may be either prefixed or suffixed, may be either of the first or second radical. Thus עקק is for קעק from the root קע; קטר from the root קט with the first radical reduplicated at the end, for קטרט. There is never any difficulty in establishing such reduplications; א may be a reduplicated ה, a guttural may become a sibilant or a labial, in fine any letter may become almost any other.

Other novelties in grammar, definition, and exegesis are not a little funny. The Hophal is a passive, not of the Hiphil, but of the Kal, and is formed by prefixing to the active the third person masculine of the personal pronouns, making originally a reflexive, and thence a passive; שלש means primarily the *night shade*, and from the triangular shape of its leaves is derived the signification *three*: ארבע *four* is derived from ארבה *locust* as that insect has four wings: from a comparison of שבע with שמש *sun* and צבא *host* it is inferred that its primary sense was a group of shining stars, thence the planets, and from their number *seven!* If this book had come from London in place of Germany, we might have thought that Punch had been dabbling in Hebrew.

Handbook of Ancient Numismatics, from the most Ancient Times to the Destruction of the Roman Empire; prepared from the best sources, and provided with many copies of the finest Antique Original Coins, &c. By Dr. J. G. Th. Grässe, Inspector of the Royal Cabinet of Coins at Dresden, and Librarian of his Majesty the King of Saxony. Nos. 1 and 2. Leipzig, Ernest Schaefer, 1852.

[Handbuch der alten Numismatik, u. s. w. Von Dr. J. G. Th. Grässe, u. s. w. Erste und zweite Lieferung.]

The importance of this branch of science is now universally conceded. In many points of ancient Geography, Chronology, History, Mythology, Archæology, Palæography, and the progress of art, its aid is indispensable. There is no trace of any

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extensive collection of coins having been made in ancient times. The earliest of which we have any certain knowledge was that of the poet Petrarch in the fourteenth century. The first writer who undertook to make use of ancient coins for purposes of elucidation or confirmation was also an Italian—Angelo Poliziano—near the close of the fifteenth century. It would be an endless task to enumerate the collections that have since been formed, or the works specially devoted to the subject, or the important benefits which have been derived to other departments of knowledge from the prosecution of this.

The present publication is confined exclusively to ancient coins, and appears to be confided to very competent hands. Dr. Grässe not only has the control of the royal cabinet at Dresden, with its 30,000 specimens, but has the privilege of access likewise to the magnificent collections at Vienna and at Berlin. Perfect accuracy is ensured in the copies by the chemical process by which they are taken, and the execution is exceedingly elegant. The whole work is to be completed during the present year in eighteen parts, each containing three pages of coins and several more of letter-press.

On the Lord's Day, by E. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. and Prof. of Theology at Berlin. Berlin: 1852, 8vo. pp. 178.
[Ueber den Tag des Herrn, von E. W. Hengstenberg, u. s. w.]

We hail, as a token of good, the increased attention, which has of late been attracted in Germany to the subject of the Sabbath. The feeling is evidently a growing one in the Christian community there, that the depressed state of religion and morals is a result of the defective observance of this holy day, and that one of the first and most important steps to be taken in the way of improvement is its proper sanctification. For the purpose of spreading information and awakening a deeper interest, Sabbath Associations have been formed, newspapers established for the advocacy of stricter sentiments, prizes proposed, and essays prepared and circulated. The advantages of a strict Sabbath, as exemplified in Britain and this country, have caused the sentiments here generally entertained to be regarded with increasing favour; and many such treatises as the Pearl of Days, Edwards's Manual, Haldane on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, have been called for in a German dress.

It is to this general agitation of the subject that we owe the book before us from the pen of Hengstenberg. The first and most valuable portion of it is taken up with an exposition of all the important passages in the Bible bearing upon the subject. The remainder of the volume consists of essays originally pub-

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lished in the Evangelische Kirchen-zeitung, chiefly discussing the relation of the Jewish to the Christian Sabbath.

Hengstenberg stands still upon the continental as opposed to the British and American view of the obligation of the Lord's day. And yet while he argues strenuously against the latter, there are indications that he is not entirely satisfied with the former. While he expresses himself sometimes as though it were wholly a matter of Christian freedom, and stood on a level, as to positive divine enactment, with the festivals of the church, he in other passages declares himself of the opinion that there is an obligation to devote one day in every seven to the worship of God, arising not from expediency or even the necessity of man's nature alone, nor from ecclesiastical usage and authority, but from that which is of perpetual obligation in the Sabbath commandment. And while we are sorry to see him suggest as he does, in his zeal to make the observance of the Lord's day attractive to the masses—that it should be frequently marked by popular religious celebrations, processions, &c.—we are glad of the earnestness with which he maintains that the day should be devoted solely to practical religious improvement—that not only the day labourer must lay aside his servile tasks, but the professor engaged in the learned investigation of the word or works of God must turn from this to a more direct spiritual culture; and that the attempt is vain and self-destructive of those who expect any gain from bestowing upon selfish ends the day which God has set apart for himself.

Although the publication is not up to the tone of general sentiment in this country, and might be productive of harm here rather than good, we think that it cannot but be useful at home.

German Dictionary, by Jacob Grimm and William Grimm. No. 1. A—Allverein, 15 sheets, 4to. Leipzig: 1852.
[Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm.]

The appearance of this dictionary has been anxiously looked for by scholars since its first announcement, nearly fourteen years ago. It will doubtless go far to wipe off the reproach under which Germany has hitherto lain of being behind her sister countries in the lexicography of her native tongue. The bare names of its compilers furnish a sufficient guaranty of its character. It is designed to embrace the whole of the German language, as in use from the time of Luther to that of Goethe. A statement of the plan of the work and of the principles on which it has been constructed, is to appear in the preface to the first volume. The dictionary is to appear in numbers, each

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containing 15 sheets; the whole, it is estimated, will contain not less than 500 sheets, which will bring its price to about 23 thalers. The second number is to appear the present month.

Polyglott Bible for practical use. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, exhibiting in juxtaposition the original text, the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Luther's version, as well as the most important variations of the principal German versions, prepared by R. Stier, Dr. of Theology in Wittenberg, and K. G. W. Theile, Dr. and Ordinary Professor of Theology in Leipzig. Bielefeld:
[Polyglotten-Bibel zum praktischen Handgebrauch, u. s. w.]

There are issued of this work the first and second volumes of the Old Testament, and the fourth containing the New Testament. The third is not yet published. The value of such a work, neatly printed, and of portable size, will be at once obvious to the critical student.

Wigand's Conversations-Lexikon for all Classes. Prepared by an association of German scholars.

This is a work of much smaller dimensions than an encyclopedia, such as that of Ersch and Gruber, or even than the Conversations-Lexicon, of Meyer. But this not only reduces its price but really fits it better for consultation. The thirteenth volume is now completed, the last article being on "Taylor's theorem." We regret, in a work of so much value, to find the theological sentiments what they are. A reference to the article on "Hengstenberg" will sufficiently disclose its spirit. The dates and principal events of his life it states, we suppose correctly, as follow, viz: He was born at Frondenberg, in the county of Mark, on the 10th of October, 1802. In 1820 he entered the University at Bonn, to pursue the study of Philology and oriental languages particularly, for three years. In 1823 he won the prize by an edition of the Arabic Poem, the Moallakah of Amrulkeis, and went the same year to Basle on De Sacy's recommendation, as the oriental instructor of a young man. In 1824 he appears as Privatdocent in the University at Berlin; in 1826 he was made extraordinary, and in 1828 ordinary Professor. In 1829 he received his doctorate of Theology from the University of Tubingen. The article then goes on to denounce the paper which he founded in 1827, the Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung, as "the organ of all the enemies of free inquiry," and to charge him with hierarchism, intolerance, with being jesuitical rather than evangelical, with understanding neither the aim of the Reformation nor the essence of the gospel! and all because he stands firmly by the standards of the Evan-

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gelical Church and the purity of gospel truth, and will not give the right hand of fellowship to them that refuse to adhere to the one or presume to corrupt the other.

The Chronological New Testament; in which the Text of the Authorized Version is newly divided into Paragraphs and Sections, with the Dates and Places of Transactions marked, the Marginal Renderings of the Translators, many Parallel Illustrated Passages printed at length, Brief Introduction to each Book, and a running Analysis of the Epistles. London: Robert B. Blackader, 13 Paternoster Row. 1851.

We take particular pleasure in apprising our readers of every addition to the apparatus of giving popular effect to the word of God. The characteristic features of this edition of the New Testament are mainly the following:

1. The common division into chapters and verses is retained for reference, but subordinated to a division into paragraphs and sections, designed to give the sense and mutual relations of each passage—the editor following for that purpose the divisions of Dr. Burton's Greek Testament.

2. An attempt is made to indicate the chronological order of the sections, by placing ordinal numbers at the head of each, and then an index is appended at the end, to show where any section is to be found. By means of this device, a harmony of the Gospels is secured. The index, for some reason which we do not perceive, includes only the sections made in the gospel histories, and some of the Epistles do not seem to be marked in their chronological order, while others are.

3. A very brief introduction to each book, and a running analysis of the Epistles, are given in each case. The information thus imparted is valuable to the popular reader, though rather meagre perhaps, and the analyses of the Epistles might be improved upon in most cases. Still, the idea strikes us as an excellent one, and well adapted, in brief compass, to facilitate the comprehension of the object and mind of the inspired writer.

4. The parallel passages illustrative of the text are in great part *quoted* in the margin—not merely cited, as it is usual to do. Judging from observation as well as experience, the mere citation of a great mass of references is, for the purposes of general readers of the Scriptures, of very little practical account. Very few, we fancy, in point of fact, ever take the trouble to look them out; whlle a few well-selected parallels, printed in the margin, can hardly fail to be a valuable help.

5. Quotations from the Old Testament are marked as such, by being printed in capitals.

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6. The marginal readings of the translators are carefully printed in the margin.

The preface promises an edition of the Old Testament, prepared by the same editor, and on the same plan.

Essays on Life, Sleep, Pain, &c. By Samuel Henry Dickson, M. D., Professor of Institutes and Practice of Medicine in the Medical College of the State of South Carolina. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea, 1852. pp. 300. 12mo.

The author attempts to reduce some of the most interesting doctrines of modern physiological science to the level of popular comprehension. The reader will find some of the most curious phenomena of life displayed in the clearest light which the researches of recent science have yet been able to throw upon their mysteries. We are particularly glad to be able to add, that the materialistic tendencies so characteristic of this class of researches in the hands of some accomplished physiologists, are decisively repudiated in the volume before us. It is both scientific and safe.

The Cyclopedia of Anecdotes, of Literature, and of the Fine Arts; containing a Copious and Choice Selection of Anecdotes of the various forms of Literature, of the Arts, of Architecture, Engravings, Music, Poetry, Painting, and Sculpture, and of the most celebrated Literary Characters and Artists of different countries and ages. By Hazlitt Arvine, A. M., Author of the "Cyclopedia of Moral and Religious Anecdotes." With numerous Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington Street. 1852. 8vo. pp. 698.

The title-page, which we have quoted in full, constitutes the only notice that our readers will care to see of this massive volume. Three thousand and forty anecdotes on such a variety of topics cannot easily be characterized in general terms. The marvel of the book is, how any man ever had the patience to collect such a mass of isolated materials. We have dipped into it in many places at random, and find it uniformly faultless as to sentiment, generally entertaining, and often curiously historical in its information, and very seldom trivial in the character of its contents.

Annual of Scientific Discovery; or Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1852; exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities, &c.; together with a List of Scientific Publications, a classified List of Patents, Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men, Notes on the Progress of Science during the year 1851, &c. &c. Edited by David A. Wells, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852.

We have already in previous years made our readers

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acquainted with the existence and character of this series of annual volumes. Each year adds something to its completeness. Its main value to most readers, who desire to keep pace with the extraordinary progress of modern science, is that of a catalogue *raisonné*, or a classified index of the discoveries of the year, with a reference to the sources where more particular information can be had. The articles in the volume are fragmentary and brief; and we observe that from the vast accumulations of each year, it is absolutely impossible to present more than a selection. The volumes are so arranged as to present a connected history of the discoveries in the most important subjects of scientific research, during the successive years embraced in the series. Altogether the work is invaluable to those who feel the want it is intended to supply.

The likeness of Prof. Henry, fronting the title-page, by no means does justice to the original portrait by Mr. Mooney.

The Presbyterian Psalmodist; a Collection of Tunes adapted to the Psalms and Hymns of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Approved by the General Assembly. Edited by Thomas Hastings. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chesnut street. Price 75 cents.

A music-book prepared under such auspices needs no endorsement from us. It is matter of devout thankfulness, that our Church has been enabled to secure the services of Mr. Hastings as editor of a book, which we take for granted will give character to the devotional music of our Church, for generations to come. The preparation of such a book demands not only exquisite and highly-cultivated musical taste, but a devotional spirit in harmony with its great object. Both these qualities are revealed in full measure in the volume before us. The character, number, and variety of the tunes, are such as to adapt it to almost every conceivable exigency of the congregation, the prayer-meeting, the Sunday-school, and the family. The thanks of the Church are due to the Committee, to whose judicious and faithful services much of the value of the book is owing. We earnestly hope its effect will be to promote congregational singing; and thus arrest the tendency we notice in some quarters, especially in New England, to deliver over this portion of divine worship to the "performance" of the choir.

We ought to add that the Set Pieces, Anthems, and Chaunts appended to the copy before us, constitute a highly valuable portion of the work. We hope to see the day when the common version of the Book of Psalms will form a common element of the devotional exercises of the public worship of our congregations.

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The Life of William Tuttle. Compiled from an Autobiography under the name of John Homespun. Edited, and continued to the close of his life, by the Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1852; pp. 304. 12mo.

The peculiarity of this biography is, that the subject of it was a plain man, remarkable for nothing but good sense, good principles, and good habits—together with those fruits of usefulness and peace, which are their natural product. There are no brilliant gifts to lift the character of Mr. Tuttle beyond the reach of any ordinary Christian, who has the heart to imitate his pious, and faithful, and honoured life. As a model of a devoted Christian man, a plain elder of a Christian church, this little volume is eminently adapted to do good. What might not be done if there were one man like William Tuttle in every church in the land? There are few readers of his life that can lay down the book without raising this question; and not a few, who could offer no reason to their own conscience, that would not carry with it a sense of guilty personal insufficiency.

Daily Bible Illustrations: being Original Readings for a Year, on subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities and Theology. Especially designed for the family circle. By John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. Evening Series. Job and the Poetical Books. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1852; pp. 419. 12mo.

We have before made our readers acquainted with the object and character of these daily studies of the Scriptures. The volume before us is the first of a new series, designed for evening reading. It embraces the books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon; and furnishes a daily reading for thirteen weeks—one quarter of the year. The author has attempted an analysis of each book, and a more minute exposition of the purport of the several divisions of each, with the treatment of various matters collateral in their nature, but more or less essential to the full understanding or appreciation of the sacred text. The plan is ingenious; and if faithfully carried out by the reader, would be instructive and profitable.

The Folded Lamb; or, Memorials of an Infant Son. By his Mother. With a Preface by his Father, the Rev. George Albert Rogers, M. A., author of Jacob's Well, &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1852, pp. 254. 16mo.

One of those fascinating—painfully so—cases of extraordinary precocity, both intellectual and moral, in a child apparently as mature at the period of his death—three years and five months—as ordinary children are at two or three times that

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age. The very portrait of the child is itself a lofty, spiritual poem. In the only didactic portion of the volume, the reflections of the bereaved parents — for Harry was their only child — on the education and training of such prodigies, the bitter lessons of a fatal experience, we wish to express our heart-felt concurrence.

Course of the History of Modern Philosophy. By M. Victor Cousin. Translated by O. W. Wight. In two volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852; pp. 452, 439. 8vo.

The eclecticism of Cousin is here at last presented in an English dress. The readers of our journal were long since made acquainted with the dangerous principles and tendencies of the modern French School of Philosophy. We proposed, however, when these handsome volumes were first laid upon our table, to give a short analysis of the philosophical system of Cousin and his disciples, in its bearing on the leading questions of religion and revelation, as supplementary to the article on Apologetics, in our last number—from which a consideration of Cousin was excluded, by the wide range of its topics, and by its already undue length. We find ourselves, however, compelled to go to press, without the possibility of executing our purpose. Those who are striving to master the several tentative forms which modern philosophy has put on, without an adequate knowledge of the language in which the coryphæus of the French school delivered his eloquent and finished lectures, will be glad to see a translation; but we must in candour say, that the translator has not done his work in such a form, as to supersede the necessity of frequent appeals to the original. There are many students who will be aided in their task by the version of Mr. Wight, but they must not trust it too implicitly.

Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland. By Hugh Miller, author of the Old Red Sandstone, Foot-prints of the Creator, etc. From the second London Edition. Cincinnati: Wm. H. Moore and D. Anderson, 1851. pp. 436. 12mo.

The work, of which this is an enlarged and improved reprint, is interesting not less from the curious character of its contents, than the fact that it was the work by which the versatile and brilliant powers of one of the most distinguished men and authors of this busy literary age, were first educated and then revealed. Though reprinted last on this side of the water, it is the first essay of the gifted author in the way of literature. The materials of the book were gathered in very early life, when his thirst for knowledge sought that gratification in the decaying traditions of living men and women, which it was

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unable to find, in the few scanty volumes which made up the collective libraries of Old Cromarty. The composition of the volume was the work of those cold and stormy days, which sometimes interrupted the daily out-door toil of the author, among the Old Red Sandstone of his native coasts.

It would have been a pity, had these curious, and often highly poetic, Gaelic legends been allowed to perish: as the author tells us, in the preface to his second edition, that hardly a tithe of them could be collected even now.

God in Disease, or the Manifestations of Design in Morbid Phenomena. By James F. Duncan, M. D., Physician to Sir P. Dun's Hospital, Dublin. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston. 1852. pp. 232. 18mo.

A book on the Natural Theology of Disease. The author attempts to bring sickness within the normal scope of the laws of animal physiology. He lays under tribute and reduces to the level of popular comprehension, the varied and highly curious generalizations of modern pathological science. The argument is ingenious and able, abounding in correct and important views of the subject, and handled in a devout and earnest Christian spirit. At the same time we are free to say, our convictions are not carried the whole length of the author's theology. It is, if we may so express it, too *supralapsarian*.

The Testimony and Practice of the Presbyterian Church in reference to American Slavery; with an Appendix: containing the position of the General Assembly, [New-school], Free Presbyterian Church, Reformed Presbyterian, Associate, Associate Reformed, Baptist, Protestant Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal Churches. By Rev. John Robinson, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Ashland, Ohio. Cincinnati: John D. Thorpe. 1852. pp. 256. 12mo.

A careful, elaborate, and so far as we can judge, complete, collection of the authentic action of the leading Christian churches of this country, on this difficult and agitating subject. The preparation of such a volume was a happy thought. Its effect can hardly fail to be good, and only good. The time is upon us, when this great question needs to be looked at in the calm light of documentary history.

Hungary in 1851; *with an Experience of the Austrian Police.* By Charles Loring Brace. New York: Charles Scribner, 1852, pp. 419. 12mo.

Mr. Brace's adventures in Hungary are so familiar to every body, that this stirring volume can hardly fail to meet a very large demand. There is less of partizanship on the side of Hungary, and far less of indignant spite against Austria, than we expected to find. The reader may depend upon getting the

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facts of the case, so far as they go to make up the author's personal experience, quite candidly set forth. The book contains much information on many of the most important points involved in the question of Hungary's future. Of course it is strongly favourable to that interesting and heroic people, whose great chief has been stirring the heart of our country to its inmost depths.

William Penn. An Historical Biography from new sources, with an extra chapter on the "Macaulay Charges." By William Hepworth Dixon. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 353, pp. 12mo.

The life of William Penn is an important integral element of history, during one of the formative and fruitful eras of the prevailing civilization of the world. The immediate occasion of the work before us, was the attempt of Mr. Macaulay to set the character of Penn in a new and very different light from that in which he was regarded by his numerous disciples in religion: though the author had previously projected a new life of the great apostle of peace, in consequence of the discovery of numerous and very important documents, both public and private, bearing on his character. It is this last circumstance, and not the question between the author and Mr. Macaulay, which gives importance to the volume. It cannot be questioned that Mr. Dixon has made an important contribution to the literature of his subject, as well as offered an effective argument in vindication of the character of Penn. We cannot very highly praise the author's graphic power: but if he has not made his original stand out upon the canvass of history, as a great work of art, he has furnished the materials by which a more gifted artist may:—he has at least accomplished his important purpose, by the varied and minute detail of facts, so far as to have "changed William Penn from a myth into a man."

The Indian Tribes of Guiana. By Rev. W. H. Brett. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1852: pp. 352. 18mo.

An uncommonly interesting narrative of the labours of the English Missionaries of the "Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts," among the various Indian tribes of Guiana; drawn up by the first and oldest missionary on the field.

Man: his Religion and his World. By the Rev. Horatius Bonar, Kelso. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. pp. 238. 24mo.

The fervid spirit, and glowing earnestness, so characteristic of Mr. Bonar, breathe through every paragraph of this little

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volume. There are passages, particularly in the introduction, which indicate a higher power of analysis and generalization, than we remember to have noticed in any previous production of the author; but it owes its promise of usefulness, not so much to the seeds of thought cast into these passages, as to the directness and energy with which it grapples with the conscience of a man of the world, in search of religion and peace.

The Evidences of Christianity, in their External, or Historical Division. Exhibited in a course of Lectures by Charles Pettit M'Ilvaine, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio. Seventh edition. Revised and improved by the author. Philadelphia: Daniels & Smith, 1852; pp. 408. 12mo.

Bishop M'Ilvaine's work on the external evidences of Christianity has been admitted to its place as a classic in the sacred literature of the Church, both in this country and England. We cannot forget the impression it made upon us, when we first read its masterly and eloquent pages: and we have seen its effects in other cases, and among classes of young men, where there is no severer or truer test of power than the results it produces. The edition before us leaves nothing to be desired, as to the getting-up of the volume. It is clear and handsome, without extravagance.

(1.) *The Flower Transplanted; and the Blind Boy.*
(2.) *The Short Prayer; and the Text of Easy Words.* Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Admirable little books for little readers.

The Household of Sir Thomas More. Libellus a Margareta More, Quindecim Annos nata, Chelseiæ inceptus. New York: Charles Scribner, 1852; pp. 174. 12mo.

An ingenious and well-sustained attempt to transport the reader into the midst of the social life of the sixteenth century, and to set before him one of the most accomplished scholars and statesmen of that age, in the undress of his own domestic circle. The whole forms of thought and expression, the archaic language, and the very spelling and typography are closely copied from those of the age of Henry. It is not, of course, to be expected that the illusion should be always perfect: but like the perspective of a *fresco*, it is quite sufficient to humour the fancy, if not absolutely successful in imposing on the judgment. The incidents employed by the literary artist, to impart the requisite lights and shades to his picture, are well selected, being sometimes comic, and at other times invested with deep and genuine pathos; and always presented with an apparent

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näiveté, which gives one a tolerable insight into the magic wherewith "the boy Chatterton" played such tricks upon the credulity of knowing critics.

Wheat or Chaff? By the Rev. J. C. Ryle, B. A. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1852; pp. 352. 8vo.

A series of pungent, startling appeals, grounded on striking passages of Scripture; by the author of "Living or Dead?"

The Mystery Solved, or Ireland's Miseries; the Grand Cause and Cure, by the Rev. Edward Marcus Dill, A. M., M. D., Missionary Agent to the Irish Presbyterian Church. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1852, pp. 346. 12mo.

The delineator of this awful picture is well known to many of our readers. While conceding their proportionate tributary weight to the physical, political, social, moral, and religious disadvantages of his native island, he finds the grand cause of its cumulative miseries in the complicated and blasting influence of Romanism over the mind, the conscience, the heart, the whole nature, and so over the temporal state and eternal prospects of its devotees. The subject is treated with a bold unsparing hand, and displays that complete mastery of his theme, and that kind and degree of ability in handling it, which those who heard the author will be likely to expect. The power of the author lies in his overflowing abundance of facts, and his warm, personal, living relation to them.

The Lost Senses—Deafness and Blindness, by John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A., author of the Daily Bible Illustrations. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1852, pp. 379. 12mo.

It is not generally known to the readers of Kitto's numerous biblical works, that the author has been stone-deaf ever since his twelfth year, in consequence of a horrible fall. The story told in this volume is full of pathos, heightened rather than diminished, by the cheerfulness with which he tells it, and the unconscious heroism, and all but incredible success with which he has struggled up to his present sphere of usefulness. He next proceeds, with the calmness of a mere spectator, to compare his calamity with that of blindness. We do not doubt the book will be a real comfort, and may prove a great blessing to those who are similarly bereaved.

A Greek Reader, containing selections from various authors; adapted to Sophocles' and Kühner's Grammars, with notes and a Lexicon, for the use of schools and academies, by John J. Owen, D. D., Prof. of the Greek and Latin Languages and Literature in the Free Academy of New York City. New York: Leavitt and Allen, 1852, pp. 334. 12mo.

Dr. Owen has already won an extended reputation by his

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industry and accuracy as a classical editor. The Greek Reader is a beautiful specimen of typography. The selections seem to be judiciously made, to accomplish the purposes of an early text-book; and the editor has wisely avoided the fault so common of late in books of the sort, of multiplying notes, apparently with the view of superseding the necessity of a living teacher. We could name recent editions of classic authors, which, in our judgment, are vitiated by annotations that are worse than useless.

The Revelation of St. John, expounded for those who search the Scriptures. By E. W. Hengstenberg, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the Original by the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Author of "Typology of Scripture," &c. Vol. First. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1852. 8vo. pp. 581.

Charity and its Fruits; or, Christian Love as manifested in the Heart and Life. By Jonathan Edwards, some time Pastor of the Church at Northampton, Mass., and President of the College of New Jersey. Edited from the Original Manuscripts; with an Introduction by Tryon Edwards. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1852. 16mo. pp. 530.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

There is a new and elegant edition of Bell on the Hand, revised, and with fine plates. Murray.

A Selection of English Synonyms, by Rich. Dublin. The explanations seem clear and full.

John Weale's "Manuals" cannot be too highly commended: they are cheap, well printed, and by the best hands, and comprise a pretty full encyclopædia.

"Importance of Literature to Men of Business." A Series of Lectures revised by the authors. It is headed by the lecture of Gulian C. Verplanck, before the Mercantile Association of New York, and the list embraces such names as Whately, Sir J. F. Herschel, Talfourd, Professor Nichol, Brewster, Earl of Carlisle.

Whately is just now issuing a series of weekly tracts, entitled "Cautions for the Times," in one of which he deals rather hardly with Father Newman.

Notes upon Russia. This is a translation, by the Hakluyt

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Society, of the earliest account of that country, entitled, "Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii," by the Baron Sigismund von Herberstein, 1851.

One of the most striking features of British contemporary literature is the number of books that bear upon the East. It is a great advantage that many of the writers of these are not mere travellers, but residents, either in a civil or military capacity, of the regions which they describe—men generally of scientific and literary cultivation; and as the information, social, political, and physical, that they detail, is gathered for practical use in the discharge of their offices, we may expect great accuracy and discrimination.

Such is the character of the work entitled, "China during the War and since the Peace," by Sir John F. Davis, Bart,, F. R. S., late her Majesty's plenipotentiary in China, governor and commander-in-chief of the colony at Hong Kong. The first volume is principally from secret state papers captured during the war, and translated by Dr Gutzlaff, and gives a curious picture of the impressions of the Chinese with regard to the conflict: the second volume is an outline of the author's administration, and is the most valuable portion: it explains the origin, causes, and progress of the rebellion in the southern part of the empire.

Western Himalaya and Thibet; Narrative of a Journey through the Mountains of Northern India during the years 1847 and 1848. By T. Thompson, Assistant Surgeon in the Bengal Army.

A Ride through the Nubian Desert; a literal copy of a Travelling Journal kept by Captain W. Peet, R. N.

Mount Athos, Thessaly, and Epirus; being a Diary of a Journey from Constantinople to Corfu. By Geo. Ferguson Bowen, Fellow of Brazennose College, Oxford.

Five Years' Residence at Nepaul. By Captain Theo. Smith, Assistant Political Resident at Nepaul, 1841–1845, embracing a View of its People, Resources, and its Topography. And there is still another on the same country of a more gossiping character, entitled, "The Nepaulese Ambassador at Home."

We notice also a cheap edition of a valuable work, "Manners and Customs of the Japanese." Murray. $1.75. This edition is only one of the many indications of a disposition on the part of the British publishers to lower their prices in order to catch the American market. This will alter vastly the style and circulation of the issues there, and bring works which are not popular, and therefore not likely to be republished, within the reach of American scholars.

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There has lately been published, in an English form, "Thirty-five Years in the East:" Adventures, Discoveries, Experiments, and Historical Sketches, relating to the Punjab and Cashmere; in connection with Medicine, Botany, Pharmacy, &c., together with an original Materia Medica and Medical Vocabulary, in four European and five Eastern Languages, by John Martin Honigberger, late Physician to the Court of Lahore. The medical part of this is worth attention; the other parts rather illustrate the writer's credulity than anything else. It has a profusion of views and portraits.

Sir James Hamilton's Discussions and Essays on Philosophical Subjects, make a good sized quarto; price, $5 87. This volume will, with the edition of Reid, comprise all that this able writer has yet given to the public. There is some prospect, it is thought, that his University Lectures may be printed.

There is a book just published of considerable promise. "A Treatise on the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, by G. Cornewall Lewis." We do not know the merits of this book, but we feel certain that it will be characterized by close reasoning, from clearly ascertained data. This much is warranted by the character of the writer's previous performances—his Essays on the Condition of the Irish in England, and on the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion.

"Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases, classified and arranged so as to facilitate the expression of ideas, and assist in Literary Composition," by Peter Mark Roget, M. D., F. R. S., F. R. A. S., F. G. S., author of the "Bridgewater Treatise on Animal and Vegetable Physiology;" price, $4 25, 4to. This work is analogous to Walker's Rhyming Dictionary; it suggests expressions just as that suggests rhymes. Words and phrases, of kindred signification, are arranged under six classes; ——, space, matter, intellect, volition, affections; each class has many sections, as for example—space—1 space general; 2 dimensions; 3 form; 4 motion, and each of these has subdivisions. There is besides an index to the whole, so that if you can only think of a word somewhere near to what you want, it will conduct you where you will have an opportunity to select the right one.

"Corneille and his Times," by M. Guizot, and, for all that appears, in his own English, has been issued by Bentley, London. We have mentioned before that Guizot was renewing his early efforts. This is considerably altered and improved: it includes sketches of the author, Jean Chapelain, Jean Rotron, Paul Scarron, besides appendices. It is exquisitely printed.

Teachers will be interested in "A Rudimentary Treatise on

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the Philosophy of Grammar, with especial reference to the doctrine of case, by Ed. M. Goulburn, Head Master of Rugby School." Beautiful associations, almost remembrances, will arise in many minds at the sight of the dedication, "To the Præposters of Rugby School."

Sir Christopher Wren and his Times, with illustrative sketches of the most distinguished persons in the sixteenth century.

The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon; a history of the early inhabitants of England down to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity.

Symbols of early and Mediæval Christian Art, by Louisa Twining. Large folio, $9. This is an exceedingly curious and beautiful work.

Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy in England, by Wm. Whewell, D. D., Master of Trinity Coll., Cambridge. A thin octavo.

School Economy; a practical book on the best modes of establishing and teaching schools, and making them thoroughly useful to the working classes, by means of moral and industrial training; by Jelinger Symons, B. A. London, J. W. Parker.

Adam and Charles Black have commenced the publication of the most elegant library edition of the Waverly Novels yet issued. The first volume contains Waverly, large type, octavo, $1.50.

"History of the Council of Trent, from the French of L. F. Bungener." Translated by D. D. Scott. This is by a French Protestant, and is said to be the result of careful investigation, and authentic, terse, and complete, an eminently valuable addition to Protestant literature. The other two histories of any value are Paul Sarpi's and Pallavicini's.

Extracts from the Reports of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. Longman & Co. The results of the inspection of the Schools that receive Government aid, are scattered through voluminous records; an attempt is here made to select all that bears upon practical usefulness.

R. Griffith, of Oxford, has translated from the Sanskrit, "Specimens of the Old Indian Poetry." The book is intended to give some idea of the beauties of Indian poetry; it is spoken of as correct and spirited. There is also a critical essay on the figures used in one of the poems.

Narrative of the Burmese War, 1824–26; by Horace H. Wilson, Prof. Sanskrit. Oxford.

About thirty years ago Leeds Castle was undergoing repairs, and they came across an old chest, which seemed to be filled

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with Dutch tiles, and was sold to a shoemaker for a few shillings. Underneath the tiles were found letters from more than 100 men of eminence during the civil wars of Charles I. and the Protectorate. There are letters of Charles I., Charles II., Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice, and Lord Fairfax, and these contain, it is said, new and important facts.

Gig. G. B. Nicolini, late deputy in the Tuscan Constituent Assembly, is preparing at Edinburgh a popular history of the Jesuits. His other works, History of the Pontificate of Pius IX. and life of Gavazzi are praised.

Contributions toward the exposition of the Book of Genesis in 2 vols. by Rev. Dr. Candlish, Edinburgh.

"A Historical and Genealogical Memoir of Daniel Chamier, Minister of the Reformed Church, with notices of his descendants," has been published by Mr. Courthope, of the College of Arms. Chamier was a man of great energy and powerful influence, and the soul of the Huguenot party at the beginning of the 17th century. He had a chief share in drawing up the edict of Nantes in 1598; at the conference in which the Protestant rights were secured, he was the leading reformed deputy. His descendants are scattered over England.

The Emphatic New Testament by John Taylor author of an essay on the Greek Particle, attempts to represent by means of large and small type and black letters, certain peculiarities in the original Greek that would be overlooked by the ordinary reader. King James's version is used, and on many passages a striking light is thrown, affording useful help even to the learned.

"The Eclipse of Faith; or, a Visit to a Religious Skeptic." This title is suggested by F. W. Newman's Phases of Faith, which we believe was noticed in a former number of the Repertory. To that and other skeptical productions it is designed to furnish an antidote and reply. The characters introduced are well known in literary circles, and their sentiments are quoted; there is an appearance of fragmentariness about it, but it is said to be able and readable.

Mr. Pocock, whose extraordinary feat in Grecian history is yet under the public eye, is about to deal with early British history, and prove the emigration to England of an Afghan colony.

The first part of a History of the Painters of all Nations, containing the life of Murillo, and eight specimens of his choicest works, has lately been issued in London. The parts are to appear monthly at about fifty cents each. The work will comprise the Flemish, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, English,

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French, and German schools, with portraits and specimens. The engravings are to be under the superintendence of M. Armengand, of Paris; memoirs by M. Chs. Blanc, and the whole to be under the supervision of Mr. Digby Wyatt.

Modern Poets, and Poetry of Spain; by James Kennedy, H. B. Majesty's Judge of the Mixed Court of Justice, Havanna.

Popular Scripture Zoology, or History of the animals mentioned in the Bible, by Agnes Catlow.

The Report of the Royal Commissioners upon the state of Oxford University is just out, making 700 pages. The changes proposed are sweeping, and in the liberal direction; they are set forth under forty-seven heads. Amongst other things they propose to abolish promissory oaths for the performance of academical duties; all distinctions between noblemen, gentlemen commoners, and commoners; to annul the statute that requires the access to each college to be through a common gate, and permit students to reside outside the walls in private lodgings; to throw open all the fellowships to all members of the University who have the B. A. degree, with some little exception; to release Fellows from obligations to take orders, or degrees in Theology, Law, or Medicine; to throw open all the scholarships, with some exceptions, to all British subjects; to grant to the colleges power to alter their statutes; and to limit the holding of a scholarship to five years. The Commissioners addressed printed questions to the members of the university; the Professors responded freely and readily; the university authorities withheld information in order to test the legality of the commission. It may be a very long time, if ever, before these reforms are effected, such is the opposition raised. The graduates of London University are making a move to secure some share in the government of that institution; their graduation now, as in American colleges, severs their connection completely.

"Recollections of a literary life," by Miss Mitford, has been republished by the Harpers.

"Lectures and Miscellanies" of H. James, will be curious as the vagaries of a quondam Presbyterian.

We notice that Wilkinson dedicates his book "The Human Body in its connection with Man" to Mr. James.

The "Life of Miss Lyon of Mt. Holyoke Seminary" has reached the 6th edition.

"America as I found it," by Mrs. Duncan. The Carters.

"The Heroine of a Week," published by the American

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Sunday School Union, is one of the most excellent books issued, exquisite in style and lofty in matter.

The Harpers have published the fourth volume of Cosmos. Trench's "Study of Words" is reprinted by Redfield.

"Life and Correspondence of Lord Jeffrey," by Lord Cockburn. Lippincott, Grambo & Co.

The Harpers have reprinted "Niebuhr's Life," and his "Lectures on Ancient History" are issued in Philadelphia, in three volumes.

"Hungary, in 1851, with an experience of the Austrian Police," by Charles L. Brace, is the reliable result of personal observation.

"Regal Rome, an Introduction to the Roman History," by F. W. Newman. Redfield.

Mr. Parkman, author of "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," is now engaged on another work illustrative of American History. His reading is said to be vast and well arranged, his industry untiring, and his command over language complete. He suffers like Prescott from imperfect vision, and has to pursue his studies by the help of others.

"Saone's Neuman and Baretti," by Velasquez. A pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages, composed from the Spanish Dictionaries of the Spanish Academy, Terreros, and Salva upon the basis of Saone's edition of Neuman and Baretti, and from the English Dictionaries of Webster, Worcester and Walker; with the addition of more than eight thousand Words, Idioms, and familiar Phrases, the irregularities of all the verbs, and a grammatical synopsis of both languages. By Mariano Velasquez de la Cardena.

FRANCE.

Lamartine is about to publish a history of the First Constituent Assembly.

A new literary society has been established at Paris—"Society of the History of French Protestantism." It will collect and publish documents, whether printed or yet unedited, relative to the history of Protestantism in France in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. A periodical bulletin of the transactions will appear, and a *recueil* will contain the papers and documents that the committee decide to publish. M. Guizot is honorary president; Coquerel, A. Monod, Bartholemew, and other Protestant pastors, are members. The plan will not be confined to ecclesiastical matters, but will

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embrace the history of the political and social relations of Protestantism in France.

Abbé Moigno proposes to erect in the Bois de Boulogne a model in relief, of Europe, with its cities, rivers, lakes, railways, mountains, and forests. Each country will occupy the relative space proper to it—so many yards to the mile. The mountains are to resemble, in geologic construction and form, those which they represent. The lakes, rivers, and railways are to be of real water and iron. The model would occupy several acres.

Thiers, it is said, will commence, as soon as he has finished his "Consulate and Empire," a "History of Civilization."

Volume Second of Comte's "Positive Polity" is announced as about ready.

Victor Hugo has sold his effects in France, and intends to settle in the Isle of Jersey, or in the south of England, and devote himself to literature.

The "Society of the History of France" has brought out complete and revised editions of "Gregory of Tours," "Eginhard," "Ordbrie," "Vital," "Richer," "Villhardoin," and "Comynes;" a full account of the Trial of Joan of Arc, with all the documents, and other memoirs. It is preparing a new edition of Froissart, and is to publish the memoirs of M. de Cossnac, Archbishop of Aix, which was lately found in MS., and throws light upon the reign of Louis XIV.

The brothers Didot are issuing a new Universal Biography. The first volume goes as far as Alex.

AMERICA.

Diplomacy of the Revolution. By William H. Prescott. This is a series of historical studies most authentic and valuable. The headings of some of the chapters are, "Negotiations with France," "Spain: Armed Neutrality;" "Treaty with Holland," "Negotiations for Peace with England." It is a small book, the result of the thorough study of documents. Price 62½ cents.

Ancient Christianity exemplified in the Private, Domestic, Social, and Civil Life of the Primitive Christians, and in the Original Institutions, Offices, Ordinances, and Rites of the Church. By the Rev. Lyman Coleman, D. D., Lippincott, Grambo, & Co.

This is the former work of Dr. Coleman—"Antiquities of the Christian Church," re-written, revised, and re-revised, with enlarged knowledge and more full comprehension, so that it is

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in appearance and in reality a new book. It is intended as a manual for dissentients from the tenets of Prelatists and Liturgists, respecting the original organization, discipline, and worship of the primitive church. It will be out in a few weeks.

The Isthmus of Tehuantepec: being the Results of a Survey for a Railroad to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, made by the scientific commission under the direction of Maj. J. G. Barnard, U. S. Engineer; with a Resumé of the Geology, Climate, Local Geography, Productions, Industry, Fauna and Flora of that region. New York: Appletons.

GERMANY.

F. Delitzsch, Genesis Expounded. 8vo. pp. 414. Leipsic.

E. Luthardt, Composition of the Gospel of John. 8vo. pp. 92. Nuremberg.

M. Baumgarten, The Acts of the Apostles, or the Course of Development of the Church from Jerusalem to Rome. Part I. From Jerusalem to Antioch. 8vo. pp. 308. Halle.

J. H. A. Elrard, Christian Dogmatics. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 748. Königsberg.

The second division of the third part of Bade's Christology of the Old Testament, Münster, pp. 336, goes over the Messianic Prophecies in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Micah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, with the Messianic types.

E. W. Hengstenberg, The Offerings of Holy Scripture; A Discourse delivered at the instance of the Evangelical Union in Berlin; Reprinted from the Evangelische Kirchenzeitung. 8vo. pp. 47. Berlin.

C. Werner, System of Christian Ethics. Part III. 8vo. pp. 756. Regensburg.

J. A. B. Lutterbeck, die Neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe, oder Untersuchungen über das Zeitalter der Religionswende, die Vorstufen des Christenthums und die erste Gestaltung desselben. Ein Handbuch für älteste Dogmengeschichte und Systematische Exegese des neuen Testaments. Bd. I. Die vorchristliche Entwickelung. 8vo. pp. 446. Mainz.

K. F. Gaupp, Practical Theology. Part. II. Division I. Homiletics, 8vo. pp. 536. Berlin.

H. Hupfeld, Commentatio de primitiva et vera festorum apud Hebraeos ratione ex legum Mosaicarum varietate eruenda. 4to. pp. 50. Halis.

Psalmi hebraice cum versione latina vulgatae editionis. 8vo. pp. 200. Lipsiae, Tauchnitz.

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Codex Claromontanus, sive epistolae Pauli omnes graece et latine. This is a reprint of the famous Greek-Latin MS. of this name, supposed to belong to the sixth century. It is edited by C. Tischendorf. 4to. pp. 599, with 2 lithographs. Leipsic.

The Book of Psalms, Hebrew and English. 12mo. pp. 200. Leipsic, Tauchnitz.

Testamentum Novum, graece et germanice. The Greek Text with Luther's Version, by C. G. G. Theile. 8vo. pp. 922. Leipsic, Tauchnitz.

The Acts of the Apostles in Coptic, edited by P. Bötticher. 8vo. pp. 106. Halle.

The greater Prophets in Coptic, with a Latin Version, by Henry Tattam, 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 976. Oxford.

H. Brugsch, The Lament for Adonis, and the Song of Linos. 8vo. p. 33. Berlin.

Seyffarth has come out in the Leipziger Repertorium, with an exceedingly severe critique upon the Egyptian works of Brugsch, his Rosettan Inscription, and his Liber Metempsychosis, in which he taxes the author roundly with both ignorance and plagiarism.

J. Kaerle, Chaldee Chrestomathy, consisting of extracts from the Targums of Onkelos, Jonathan, and others, with a Lexicon, 8vo. pp. 299. Vienna.

J. Kossarski, Traditions of the East, from the Talmud and other Hebrew sources, with explanatory remarks. 8vo. pp. 198. Berlin.

T. Benfey, Handbook of the Sanscrit Language. Part I. Also with the title: Complete Grammar of the Sanscrit Language. 8vo. pp. 449. Leipsic.

Nos. 6 and 7 of Part 1., the Yajurveda, publishing by A. Weber, have appeared.

The first five chapters of the Vendidad: Corrected by C. Lassen. 8vo. pp. 67. Bonn.

G. Uhlhorn, Fundamenta Chronologiæ Tertullianæ. A Theologico-historical, inaugural discourse. 8vo. pp. 66. Gottingen.

Spicilegium Solesmense, embracing hitherto unpublished works of the fathers and ecclesiastical writers, from Greek, Oriental, and Latin Codices—published under the supervision of J. B. Pitra. Vol. I., containing chiefly authors earlier than the 5th century. 8vo. pp. 596. Paris.

F. R. Hasse, Anselm of Canterbury. Part II. The Teaching of Anselm. 8vo. pp. 633. Leipsic.

M. Schmidt, Treatise on Tryphon of Alexandria. 8vo. pp. 39.

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G. Bernhardy, Outline of Greek Literature, with a comparative Survey of the Roman. Part I. Inner History of the Greek Literature. 8vo. pp. 662. Halle.

L. Mercklin, on the Influence of the East upon Greek Antiquity. 8vo. pp. 45. Dorpat.

K. F. Hermann, Compend of Greek Antiquities. Part III. 8vo. pp. 360. Heidelberg.

E. Teller, The Philosophy of the Greeks. An investigation into the character, progress, &c., of its development. Part III. The Post-Aristotelian Philosophy. 1st Half. 8vo. pp. 455. Tubingen.

Christian Costume of the Middle Ages. From contemporary monuments, published by J. de Hefner, Frankfort on the Mayn. Division I. From the most ancient times to the end of the 13th Century. II. The 14th and 15th centuries. III. The 16th century. With copper-plate engravings and descriptive letter-press.

The Ornaments of the Middle ages, by C. Heideloff. Nos. 23 and 24, or Nos. 5 and 6 of the fourth volume. Each of these numbers contains 8 pages of steel engravings and 9 of letter-press. 4to. Nuremberg.

The Christian Church-Architecture of the West from its commencement to the complete formation of the pointed-arch style. With lithograph Engravings, by G. G. Kallenbach, and J. Schmitt.

The Herder Literature in Germany. A complete catalogue of all the editions both of the complete works and of any individual writings of J. G. von Herder, of all explanatory and supplementary writings, and finally of all other literary productions standing in any relation to him, that have appeared in Germany from 1769 to the close of 1851. 8vo. pp. 22. Cassel.

The Goethe Literature in Germany, from 1773 to the close of 1851. 8vo. pp. 82. Cassel.

The Schiller Literature in Germany from 1781 to the close of 1851. 8vo. pp. 51. Cassel.

F. G. Seiffert, on the relation of Christianity to the various forms of government and to the citizenship of the State, in the light of our times. 8vo. pp. 109.

C. von Raumer, History of Education from the revival of Classical Studies to our times. Part III. Division 2. 8vo. pp. 247.

C. Ritter, Introduction to Universal Comparative Geography and Treatises for the establishing of a more scientific treatment of Geography. 8vo. pp. 246. Berlin.

Manuscript of the Queen's Court. A collection of old Bohe-

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mian Lyrico-epic Songs, with other ancient Bohemian poems. Translated (into English) by A. H. Wratislaw. pp. 87. Prague.

A seventh edition has been issued of De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament.

T. Babington Macaulay, has been elected foreign member of the Historical Class in the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and C. von Bunsen, Prussian Minister at the Court of Great Britain, Foreign Member of the Philosophico-Philological Class.

The French Academy in the Institute of France proposed for the year 1852, two prizes of 3,000 francs on the following subjects. 1. Inquire into the influence of charity in the Roman world during the first centuries of our era; and after having established how, respecting profoundly rights and property, it acted by persuasion under the character of a religious virtue, show by its institutions the new spirit with which it penetrated into civil society. 2. Inquire into the traces of the influence which the literature and genius of Italy exercised upon French letters in the 16th century and a part of the 17th. Two prizes of the same amount are proposed for 1853; one on the narrative poetry of the middle ages, another on the progress of letters and of mind in France in the former part of the 17th century, before the tragedy of the Cid, and the discourse of Des Cartes on Method.

H. A. Niemeyer, Extraordinary Professor of Theology in the University at Halle, died on the 6th of last December. He was born January 5th, 1802, was educated at Halle, in 1826 was appointed Extraordinary Professor at Jena; in 1829 succeeded his father as Extraordinary Professor in Halle. In 1840 he published his "Collectio Confessionum in ecclesiis reformatis publicatarum."

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Composition of Chlorophylle.—The green matter which can be extracted from most plants by means of alcohol and ether, and which acts so important a part in vegetable digestion, was considered a pure homogeneous organic substance, and received the name of chlorophylle. M. Verdeil has discovered that this green resin is a mixture of a perfectly colourless fat, capable of

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crystallizing, and of a colouring principle, presenting the greatest analogies with the red colouring principle of blood, which has not, however, until recently been obtained in a completely pure state. To isolate it he precipitates a boiling solution of chlorophylle in alcohol by a small quantity of milk of lime. The solution becomes colourless; the alcohol retaining the fat, whilst the lime retains all the colouring matter. This is separated from the lime by hydrochloric acid, and by the addition of ether, which dissolves the green matter, forming a coloured stratum on the top of the liquid. By evaporating the ether the colouring matter is obtained in a perfectly pure state.

New Mode of procuring Nitrogen and Chlorine.—Maumené has observed, that a mixture of two equivalents of the nitrate with one of the chloride of ammonium, when fused together, yield nitrogen, chlorine, and vapour of water. The reaction is violent, but may be restrained by the admixture of an inert substance. It is recommended that 75 grammes of sal ammoniac be mixed with 25 of nitrate of ammonia, and 400 grammes of sand, all thoroughly dried. From this quantity of materials 26 litres of dry nitrogen and 5 litres of chlorine are procured.

Passive state of Meteoric Iron.—Prof. Wöhler states (as appears in the Lond. Edin. and Dub. Philosophical Magazine), the remarkable fact, that the greater part of the meteoric iron which he has had the opportunity to examine is in the so-called passive state; that is to say, does not reduce copper from the solution of the neutral sulphate of copper, but remains bright and unaltered on immersion therein. When touched with a piece of common iron, in the solution, the reduction of copper immediately commences. The addition of an acid to the solution produces the same effect. If the reduced copper be filed away so as to produce a new surface, the iron again becomes passive.

This property of meteoric iron will not, however, serve as a distinguishing characteristic, as some undoubted specimens were not in the passive state.

Thalite and Thalia; a supposed new Earth.—A soft green mineral has been found diffused in the amygdaloidal traps of the northern shore of Lake Superior, in Minnesota, and which has been carefully examined by David D. Owen, whose account of it will be found in the May number of Silliman's Journal. Though not found in large masses, the mineral was so abun-

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dantly disseminated in some of these rocks, that the slightest blow of the hammer indented the rock, and left a whitish green mark from the easily-crushed particles of the mineral in question. It is essentially a hydrated silicate of magnesia, and what appears to be a new earth intermediate in its properties between magnesia and manganese. The colour of the mineral when pure is a pale yellowish green; its consistence and hardness are about those of wax. When heated in a matrass it gives off water. Treated with hydro-chloric acid, chlorine is evolved, and the greater part of its constituents, except silica, are dissolved. After the separation of the silica, and a greater part of the magnesia, there invariably remained a white mass tinged slightly of a reddish-yellow or flesh colour, having a tendency to darken by exposure to the air, and amounting to 18 or 19 per cent. of the mineral. When this is dissolved in just sufficient hydro-chloric acid to take it up, and afterwards boiled with an excess of caustic potash, 4.6 per cent. of alumina is separated, leaving about 13.5 per cent. of matter quite insoluble in that reagent. Of this, about 1.5 per cent. was peroxide of iron, and about 12 per cent. the new earth before-mentioned, slightly contaminated with magnesia. After being entirely freed from iron and magnesia, it has the appearance of powdered dried albumen.

This earth differs from alumina and glucina in being insoluble in caustic potash; from magnesia in producing coloured salts; in being only slightly soluble in ammoniacal salts; in the peculiar vesicular character of its precipitate with phosphate of soda; and in being precipitated by oxalate of ammonia. From yttria it differs by not giving a precipitate with oxalic acid in slightly acidulated solutions, and in being precipitated by the succinate of ammonia. It differs from zirconia in being soluble in nitric and hydrochloric acids after ignition; from the oxides of cerium in not turning of a brick red colour after being ignited, and in the colour of its salts, which are mostly shades of green or yellow.

From the quantity of chlorine evolved during the solution of this earth in hydrochloric acid, it appears that its base must exist in at least two degrees of oxidation—chlorine being disengaged in the same manner as in the solution of the higher oxides of manganese in the same acid.

Mr. Owen proposes the name *Thalium* for the base of this earth; *Thalia* for the earth itself; and *Thalite* for the mineral in which it is found.

Metallic Iron in Fossil Wood.—M. Bahr, in examining a

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specimen of fossil wood from the lake Ralang in Sweden, discovered it to contain grains of iron in the metallic state. Their form and position were such as to indicate that they could not have found their lodgment in the wood by mechanical means, but must have been deposited by the decomposition of some salt of iron in solution. These grains flattened under the hammer, and were shown by analysis to be iron of considerable purity.

Permeability of Metals to Mercury.—Proff. Horsford has made extended and long continued experiments on the permeability of metals to mercury, of which he gives an account in the last number of Silliman's Journal. Lead and tin seem to be most easily permeable, and are the principal subjects of experiment. In a bar of drawn lead, placed perpendicularly in a cup of mercury, the mercury was found in 313 days to have reached a height of 0,143 M. The rapidity of ascent became greatly retarded as the height increased. In the first 6 hours the mercury rose 0,062 M.; in the first 24 hours, it rose 0,070 M. The ascent became finally less than 1-1000th part as rapid as at first. Mercury rises more rapidly in cast bars than in those that are drawn, but without uniformity, apparently following seams in the bars. The action of gravitation seems to exercise great influence on the rapidity of the permeation of mercury in lead; a bar of lead supplied with mercury at the top being permeated with comparatively great rapidity. The effect of gravity is also observable in the transmission of mercury through bars in the form of syphons. The area of the absorbing surface was also found to affect the amount of mercury transmitted in a given time, the amount increasing with an increase of surface in contact with the mercury. Bars of lead left long in contact with mercury became brittle and cracked open. The saturated bar was found to have a greater specific gravity than lead, and to contain about 4 per cent. of mercury. The mercury after having been passed repeatedly through the bars contained 2,52 per cent. of lead. Saturated bars of lead after 7 months' exposure to the air contained about 0,85 per cent of mercury, and nearly regained their original properties.

In tin, mercury ascends with nearly uniform velocity, rising 0,052 M. in 5 days. The bars speedily became very brittle and cracked open. The saturated tin bar contains about 17 per cent. of mercury which it does not lose on exposure to the air.

Gold and silver were found to be permeable very slowly. Zinc and cadmium were permeable, but very quickly dissolved.

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Iron, platinum, palladium, copper and brass were not permeable at common temperatures.

Distribution of Iodine, connected with the occurrence of Goitre.—M. Ad. Chatin has established the fact that there is a general coincidence between the amount of iodine contained in the air, water, and soil, or alimentary products of a district, and the complete absence or development of goitre and cretinism within its limits. This fact is fully illustrated by the comparative development of these maladies in different parts of the Alps of France and Piedmont, where different amounts of iodine are found. The coincidence is supported not only by all the facts which have been observed in the Alps, but also by separate observations made in the Pyrenees, the Soisonnais, the Brie, the Nièvre, the Meurthe, the Jura, the Vosges, upon the banks of the Rhine, and in Switzerland.

M. Chatin considers the specific cause of goitre and cretinism to be a want of iodine; and the accessory causes impure air and the want of proper aliment and habitations, or any causes tending to debility.

The normal amount of iodine to be taken into the system appears to be from $\frac{1}{100}$ to $\frac{1}{10}$ of a milligramme, daily. In Lyons and Turin the amount of iodine daily taken in food and drink is ordinarily from $\frac{1}{500}$ to $\frac{1}{1000}$, while in the Alpine valleys it does not exceed $\frac{1}{5000}$ of a milligramme.

Effect of Climate on the Wool of Sheep.—Dr. John Davy has communicated to the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal a note on the effect of climate on the wool of sheep. He has received two samples of the hair of the sheep of Barbadoes, which were originally of English stock; one being the hair of a sheep three years old, and the other of a sheep one year old. Both were nearly of the same colour—a light reddish brown—and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. The hair of the sheep three years old was coarser than the other, consisting chiefly of hard fibres slightly tortuous, each about $\frac{1}{180}$ of an inch in diameter, cylindrical, or somewhat flattened, and tapering towards a point at the distal extremity. The hair of the one year old sheep consisted of coarse and fine fibres in about equal proportions, the coarse ones being about $\frac{1}{383}$ of an inch in diameter, and the fine ones about $\frac{1}{1333}$ of an inch; the former resembling the hair of the older sheep, and the latter having the appearance of wool both in fineness and general aspect, whether seen only with the naked eye, or with the aid of a microscope.

Alcoholic Poisoning.—Dr. Huss, a distinguished physician

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of Sweden, has published an account of his important researches on the subject of chronic poisoning by alcoholic drinks, which is the basis of an article in the British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review. Although the evil effects of the intemperate use of alcoholic drinks, and of large doses of alcohol, have long been observed, the changes eventually produced in the system by long-continued dram-drinking have never until now been classified and arranged so as to add a new disorder to the catalogue of disease. Dr. Huss gives the name *alcoholismus chronicus* to those groups of peculiar nervous symptoms which, affecting alike the motor and sensor powers, and the mental capacity of the individual affected, proceed generally in a slow chronic course, and are not to be referrible directly to any lesions of the nervous system discoverable either during life or on *post mortem* examination. Six varieties of this disease are recognized. The great similarity of many of its symptoms to the effects of some of the metallic poisons, especially the salts of lead, has induced some to attribute this disease to the admixture of such substances with the liquors commonly consumed; but a careful analysis of the liquors retailed in Stockholm, where this disease is especially prevalent, has shown them free from such adulterations, to which, indeed, there is little inducement, as the brandy is distilled from potatoes, and procured at a very cheap rate. The distinctive differences between this and other modes of chronic poisoning are fully laid down and illustrated by the citation of a large number of cases, and the conclusions further sustained by experiments on animals, which are carefully detailed. Dr. Huss has also given due consideration to the treatment of the disease.

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THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

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Œuvres de Bourdaloue, 3 vol. gr., 8vo., Paris, 1837.
Œuvres de Massillon, 2 vol. gr., 8vo., Paris, 1844.

THE age of Louis XIV. has ever been considered the most brilliant era for France. Under the conduct of the most renowned generals, it attained the highest pitch of military glory; under the encouragement given to philosophy, the most valuable discoveries were made in science; under the liberal patronage bestowed upon the fine arts, taste and genius achieved the most splendid triumphs. It was an age of truly great men—of warriors, politicians, philosophers, poets, historians—of such men as Condé and Turenne, Corneille and Racine, Descartes and Fontenelle, Montesquieu and Malebranche, Rochefoucauld and Pascal, Boileau and Rollin, and hundreds of others whose works still yield improvement and delight. It was a period too when eloquence of the highest kind lived and flourished. Not the eloquence of the bar; for its celebrated pleaders, in judicial contests, and the application of the law, seldom went beyond the strain of dry and logical reasoning. Not the eloquence of popular assemblies, for there were no such assem-

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blies there to nourish the genius of liberty. Nothing of that kind existed, as in ancient Greece and Rome, and as in our own country, where the assembled people are brought under the influence of the art of speaking; where the public affairs are transacted; where those who compose the nation and make the laws can be convinced and persuaded by direct appeals to their interests and passions; where continued struggles for rights and power rouse the genius of every citizen, force to exertion every talent, inspire with enthusiasm every council, and give to orators all that can qualify them for the sublimest eloquence. There was no room for such eloquence in France at the period to which we refer. "She sat as a queen, and said, I shall see no sorrow." After a combat of many years with the rest of Europe, she beheld provinces conquered, and kings humbled before her; she owned no superior; she feared no rival; she saw the arts and sciences raised to the highest splendour, and the most refined taste and erudition in all the walks of polite literature; she beheld all her people vying with each other in the increase and enjoyment of national glory—while the "grand monarque" sat in his palace proclaiming, "I am the government." In such circumstances we cannot suppose that *that* high, manly, forcible eloquence, which, as an instrument of power, mingles with the busy scenes of public life, could find an existence. But all this is perfectly consistent with another kind of eloquence—the eloquence of the *Pulpit*. To be truly eloquent, the speaker must feel on a level with his auditors—at times even exercise a kind of dominion over them. The sacred orator, speaking in the name of God, can do this under any government; in the most arbitrary monarchy, he can display the same lofty freedom which the equality of citizens gives to a speaker in the active scenes of a republic. Hence, in a country where no civil freedom was enjoyed, there was an eloquence of the loftiest kind, which long flourished, which was carried to the greatest height, and which is still the object of warm admiration.

Some eloquent preachers existed in France, previous to those whose names are prefixed to our article; but whatever reputation they may have had at the time, few have attained

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any celebrity. They were eclipsed like tapers placed in the rays of a meridian sun.

Bossuet lived when the French language had reached a degree of maturity, and was advancing towards perfection. He first appeared in Paris in 1659; was soon invited to be one of the preachers of the court; for ten years passed through a most brilliant career; and then was promoted to the bishopric of Condom, and afterwards to that of Meaux.

He has been termed the "French Demosthenes," and well does he deserve the title; for he, of all his contemporaries, bears the greatest resemblance to the Athenian orator. He was regarded as the former, in Europe, of the eloquence of the pulpit; and his works were directed to be studied as classic works, as men repair to Rome to improve their taste by the master pieces of Raphael and Michael Angelo. Time, that great destroyer of ill-founded reputation, instead of impairing, has from age to age added fresh lustre to his glory.

He was devoted to the study of the Fathers, particularly of Chrysostom and Austin, from whom he drew profound maxims and convincing arguments; and to the frequent reading of Demosthenes and Homer, to imbibe the vehemence of the one, and the imagination of the other. But he was specially sedulous in the study of the Holy Scriptures. From that divine book he drew forth the richest treasures; in this inexhaustible mine he found the sublimest thoughts, the strongest expressions, the most eloquent descriptions, the most pathetic images. There he found history, laws, moral precepts, oratory, and poetry.

If eloquence consist in taking strong hold of a subject, knowing its resources, measuring its extent, and skilfully uniting all its parts; in causing ideas to succeed each other, so as to bear us away with almost irresistible force; if it consist in painting objects in such a manner as to give them life and animation; if it consist in such a power upon the human mind as leads us to be carried along with the speaker, and to enter into all his emotions and passions, then the Bishop of Meaux is eloquent. But let us not mistake the nature of his eloquence. He was not content with gratifying his audience, or leaving their minds in a state of satisfied tranquillity, but aimed at thorough-

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ly convincing and agitating their souls, and making such an impression as could not be easily obliterated. Every thing is simple and natural—there is no affectation of pomp, no visible desire to please, no disposition to withdraw attention from the subject to the author—all is related and described in such a manner as to conceal all art. In every thing there is nature, both its order and its irregularity—sometimes rising to the mountain-top, and sometimes descending to the valleys—sometimes the winding and transparent rivulet, and sometimes the mighty cataract which astonishes and overwhelms.

Few of his sermons that have come down to us received his finishing hand. The greater part are sketches—full and perfect as far as they go, and filled up at the time of delivery. They were such, too, as he never repeated, after he left Paris; for when he became bishop, though he preached much, yet he wrote not his sermons, but trusted to the occasion for language, after profoundly studying his subject. But though they are the productions of his youth, and in a state of comparative imperfection, yet they bear the marks of a mighty genius; they present thoughts strong and original, in a corresponding style of energy and majesty; they show the author powerfully affected by what he writes, and when the subject requires it, warmed by imagination, and heated by passion; they impress and captivate the reader, and animate him with the same admiration, love, fear, and hatred with which the orator is inspired.

We shall present, in a free translation, a few quotations from some of his sermons, fully sensible how much is lost in such translation, and how a resort to the original can alone discover their beauties.

One of the best sermons is on the *Truth and Perfection of the Christian Religion*, from Matt. xi. 5, 6.—"Preached before the king." It is, throughout, convincing and eloquent. We make the following extract:

* "Truth is a queen who may be said to inhabit her own excellence; who reigns invested with her own native splendour, and who is enthroned in her own grandeur, and upon her own felicity. This queen condescending to reign in our world for the good of man, our Saviour came down from above to establish

* "La vérité est une reine qui habite en elle-même," &c., &c.

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her empire upon earth. Human reason is not consulted in the establishment of her empire. Relying on herself, on her celestial origin, on her infallible authority, she speaks and demands belief; she publishes her edicts, and exacts submission; she holds out to our assent the sublime and incomprehensible union of the most blessed Trinity; she proclaims a God-man, and shows him to us extended on a cross, expiring in ignominy and pain, and calls upon human reason to bow down before this tremendous mystery.

"The Christian religion, not resting her cause upon the principles of human reason, rejects also the meretricious aid of human eloquence. It is true the apostles, who were its preachers, humbled the dignity of the Roman fasces, and laid them at the foot of the cross; and in those very trials to which they were summoned as criminals, they made their judges tremble. They conquered idolatry, and presented their converts as willing captives to the true religion. But they accomplished this end, not by the artifice of words, by the arrangement of seductive periods, by the magic of human eloquence—they effected it by a sacred persuasive power which impressed—more than impressed—which captivated the understanding. This power being derived from heaven, preserves its efficiency, even as it passes through the lowly style of unadorned composition; like a rapid river, which as it courses through the plain, retains the impetuosity which it acquired from the mountain whence it sprung, and from whose lofty source its waters were precipitated.

"Let us then form this conclusion, that our Saviour has revealed to us the light of the Gospel by means worthy of the Giver, and at the same time by means the most consonant with our nature. Surrounded as we are by error, and distressed with uncertainty, we require not the aid of a doubting academician, but we stand in absolute need of a God to illuminate our researches. The path of reason is circuitous, and perplexed with thorns. Pursuit presupposes distance, and argument indecision. As the principle of our conduct is the object of this inquiry, it is necessary to have recourse to an immediate and immutable belief. The Christian finds every thing easy in his faith; for though the doctrines which Christ proposes to his acceptance are too immeasurable for the narrow capacity of his

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intellect, yet they may be embraced by the expansive submission of his belief.

"Let us dwell on a theme so interesting; let us direct our view to those divine features which proclaim the heavenly origin of our religion.—When she first descended from above, did she not come as an unwilling visitant? Rejection, hatred, and persecution met her in every step; nevertheless she made no appeal to human justice, no application to the secular power; she enlisted defenders worthy of her cause, who, in attachment to her intereats, presented themselves to the stroke of the executioner, in such numbers that persecution grew alarmed, the law blushed at its own decree, and princes were constrained to recall their sanguinary edicts. It was the destiny of truth to erect her throne in opposition to the kings of the earth. She called not for their assistance, when she laid the foundation of her own establishment—but, when the edifice rose from its foundation, and lifted high its impregnable towers, she then adopted the great for her children; not that she stood in need of their concurrence, but in order to cast an additional lustre on their authority, and to dignify their power. At the same time, our holy religion maintained its independence; for when sovereigns are said to protect religion, it is rather religion that protects them, and is the firmest support of their thrones. I appeal for the ascertainment of this fact to the history of the church. The world threatened, but the Christian religion continued firm; error polluted the stream, but the spring retained its purity; schism wounded the holy form of the church, but the truth remained inviolable; many were seduced, the weak overcome, the strong shaken, but the pillar of the sacred edifice stood immovable.

"—You that think yourselves endowed with a sagacity to pervade the secrets of God, approach, and unfold to us the mysteries of nature—the whole creation is spread out before you. Choose your theme—unravel what is at a distance, or develope what is near; explain what is beneath your feet, or illustrate the wonderful luminary which glitters over your head. What! does your reasoning faculty stagger on the very threshold? Poor, presumptuous, erring traveller, do you expect that an unclouded beam of truth is to illuminate your path? Ah! be no more deceived. Advert to the dark, tempestuous atmosphere,

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which is diffused over that country through which we are traveling; advert to the imbecility of our reasoning powers; and until the Omniscient God shall remove the obscuring veil that hangs between heaven and earth, let us not reject the salutary aid and soothing intervention of a simple faith."

In the sermon *on the Crucifixion*, from Gal. vi. 14, the influence of Christianity in destroying idolatry is strikingly exhibited:

* "Religious truth was exiled from the earth, and idolatry sat brooding over the moral world. The Egyptians, the fathers of philosophy, the Grecians, the inventors of the fine arts, the Romans, the conquerors of the universe, were all unfortunately celebrated for perversion of religious worship, for gross errors which they admitted into their belief, and the indignities which they offered to the true religion. Minerals, vegetables, animals, the elements, became objects of adoration; even abstract visionary forms, such as fevers and distempers, received the honours of deification; and to the most infamous vices and dissolute passions altars were erected. The world which God made to manifest his power, seemed to have become a temple of idols, where every thing was God but God himself. The mystery of the Saviour's crucifixion was the remedy which the Almighty ordained for this universal idolatry. He knew the mind of man; and he knew that it was not by reasoning that an error could be destroyed, which reasoning had not established. Idolatry prevailed by the suppression of the rational faculty; by suffering the senses to predominate, which are apt to clothe every thing with qualities with which they are affected. Men gave the Divinity their own figure, and attributed to him their vices and passions. It was a subversion of reason, a delirium, a phrensy. Argue with a man who is insane—you do but the more provoke him, and render the distemper incurable. Neither will such argumentation cure the delirium of idolatry. What has learned antiquity gained by her elaborate discourses—her disputations so artfully framed? Did Plato, with that eloquence which was styled divine, overthrow one single altar, where those monstrous divini-

* La vérité religieuse étoit exilé sur la terre, &c.

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ties were worshipped? Experience has shown that the overthrow of idolatry could not be the work of reason alone. Far from commissioning human wisdom to cure such a malady, God completed its confusion by the mystery of the cross. When that was raised, and displayed to the world an agonized Redeemer, incredulity exclaimed, it was *foolishness*—but the darkened sun—nature convulsed—the dead arising from their graves, said, it was *wisdom*."

Many fine thoughts are found in the sermon on *the Name of Jesus*, from Matt. i. 21.

* "I cannot observe without an emotion of astonishment the conduct of the Son of God. I observe him through the course of his ministry displaying, even with magnificence, the lowliness of his condition, and when the hour approaches which is to terminate in his death, the word *glory* dwells on his lips, and he discourses with his disciples of nothing but his greatness. On the eve of his ignominious death, when the traitor had just gone from him, big with his execrable intention, it was then that the Saviour of the world cried out, with a divine ardour—'Now is the Son of man glorified.' Tell me in what manner he is going to be glorified? What means the emphatic word—*now?* Is he at once to rise above the clouds, and thence to advance vengeance on his foes? Or is the angelic hierarchy, seraphs, dominions, principalities, and powers, to descend from on high, and pay him instant adoration? No! he is going to be degraded; to submit to excruciating pain; to expire with malefactors. This is what he denominates his *glory;* this is what he esteems his triumph! Behold his entrance into Jerusalem, 'riding on an ass.' Ah! Christians, let us not be ashamed of our Heavenly King—let the sceptic deride, if he please, this humble appearance of the Son of God; but I will tell human arrogance that this lowly exhibition was worthy of the king who came into this world, in order to degrade and crush beneath his feet all terrestrial grandeur. Behold what a concourse of people, of all ages and of all conditions, precede him, with branches of palm trees, in the act of exultation—how the air resounds with the acclamations; 'Hosannah to the Son

* Certes je ne puis voir sans étonnement dans les Ecritures Divines, &c.

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of David—blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.' Whence this sudden change, so opposite to his former conduct? Whence is it that *he* now courts applause, whom we see in another part of the gospel, retiring to the summit of a solitary mountain to escape the solicitations of the multitudes assembled from the neighbouring cities and villages for the purpose of electing him their king? He now listens with complacency to the people who accost him with that title. The jealous Pharisees endeavour to impose silence; but the Saviour cries, 'If these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out.' I ask again, whence is this abrupt change? why does he approve of what he lately abhorred, and accept of what he lately rejected? Entering Jerusalem now for the last time, it is in order to die; and agreeably to his sentiments, to die is to reign; to die, in his estimation, is to be 'glorified.' How dignified was his conduct through the whole process of his passion! How dignified his deportment at the tribunal of Pilate! The Roman President asked, 'art thou a king?' The Son of God, who had until that time been silent, no sooner heard his title to royalty mentioned, than he abruptly replied, 'Thou sayest that I am a king; to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world.' Yes! gracious Saviour, I comprehend thee—it is thy glory to suffer for the love of thy people; and thou wilt not claim the sceptre, until, by a victorious death, thou deliverest thy subjects from eternal slavery!

"Let heaven and earth burst forth into a song of praise, for Jesus Christ is a King. To those who have been regained and subdued to his protection at so high a price, he is a most liberal monarch—through him they not only live, but have the hope of reigning themselves—for such is the munificence of our celestial King, that in every court, every brow is to be encircled with a diadem. Listen to the beautiful hymn of the twenty-four elders—representing most probably the assemblage of the faithful, under the Old and the New Testament—the one half representing the twelve patriarchs of the Jewish church—the other half, the twelve apostles of the Christian church. Observe that the elders are crowned, that they fall prostrate in humble adoration before the Lamb, singing, 'Thou hast made us kings.' Let me ask if human grandeur dare for a moment to enter

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into competition with this celestial court? Cyneas, the ambassador of Pyrrhus, in speaking of ancient Rome, said that he beheld in that imperial city as many kings as senators. But our God calls us to a more resplendent exhibition; in this court, this nation of elected kings, this triumphal city whose walls are cemented by the blood of Christ, I not only affirm that we shall behold as many kings as senators, but I assert that there will be as many kings as inhabitants. The King of the world admits to the participation of his throne all the people whom he has redeemed by his blood and subdued by his grace."

There are some similar thoughts in his second sermon "pour le premier dimanche de l'avent;"—in which there is a beautiful contrast between Jesus Christ and Alexander—presented with with great simplicity, by an allusion to authentic history.

* "Hear how the author of the first book of Maccabees speaks of the great king of Macedonia, whose name seemed to breathe nothing but victory and triumph. 'It happened that Alexander, son of Philip, reigned over Greece, and made many wars, and won many strongholds, and slew the kings of the earth, and went to the ends of the world, and took spoils of many nations, insomuch that the earth was quiet before him.' What a grand and magnificent beginning!—but hear the conclusion. 'After these things he fell sick, and perceived that he must die; wherefore he called his servants, and parted his kingdom among them. So Alexander reigned twelve years, and he died.' To this fate is suddenly reduced all his glory; in this manner the history of Alexander the Great terminates. How different the history of Jesus Christ! It does not indeed commence in a manner so pompous—neither does it end in a way so ruinous. It begins by showing him to us in the sordid manger—then leads him through various stages of humiliation—then conducts him to the infamy of the cross—and at length envelopes him in the darkness of the tomb—confessedly the very lowest degree of depression. But this, instead of being the period of his final abasement, is that from which he recovers, and is exalted. He rises—ascends—takes possession of his throne—is extending his glory to the utmost bounds of the uni-

* "Ecoutez comme parle l'Histoire," &c., &c.

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verse, and will one day come with great power to judge the quick and the dead."

In his addresses to the king, there is a noble and manly freedom which we cannot but admire—an apostolic fidelity which shows a marked dislike and careful avoidance of adulation. The following is a specimen:

* "While your majesty looks down from that eminence to which Providence has raised you; while you behold your flourishing provinces reaping the harvest of happiness, and enjoying the blessings of peace; while you behold your throne encompassed with the affections of a loyal people, what have you to fear? Where is the enemy that can injure your happiness? Yes! sire, there is an enemy that can injure you—that enemy is yourself—that enemy is the glory that encircles you. It is no easy task to submit to the rule that seems to submit to us. Where is the canopy of sufficient texture to screen you from the penetrating and searching beams of unbounded prosperity? Let me entreat you to descend in spirit from your exalted situation, and visit the tomb of Jesus; there you may meditate on loftier subjects than this world with all its pomp can offer; there you may learn that by our Redeemer's resurrection from the grave, you may be entitled to a crown of immortal glory.

"What will it avail you, sire, to have lifted so high the glory of your country, unless you direct your mind to works which are of estimation in the sight of God, and which are to be recorded in the book of life? Consider the terrors which are to usher in the last day, when the Saviour of the world will appear in tremendous majesty, and send judgment unto victory. Reflect if the stars are then doomed to fall, if the glorious canopy of the heavens is to be rolled together as a scroll, how will those works endure, which are constructed by man? Can you, sire, affix any real grandeur to what must one day be blended in the dust? Elevate then your mind, and fill the page of your life with other records and other annals."

We have often been struck with the manner in which truth is pressed upon the conscience, and the sinner urged to immediate repentance. The following is a single instance from many that might be presented:

* "Pendant que votre majesté regarde en bas de cette élévation," &c., &c.

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* "When God transported the prophetic spirit of Ezekiel into the valley of bones, he heard a voice cry out, 'Can these dry bones live? Say unto them, O! ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord.'—The application is obvious; bring it home to your own bosoms; enforce it on your own situation. Let no time be lost; defer not to a distant period your repentance; the voice that now whispers to your soul, 'O! ye dry bones, hear the voice of the Lord,' will perhaps never invite you more. The season of age and weakness will betray you; when you are arrived within a few steps of the grave, you will find neither time, nor disposition, nor capacity to perform the solemn task which you have so long delayed—your soul will be encumbered with a train of confused, turbid, comfortless thoughts; (I have unhappily often witnessed such scenes,)—your cold lips will utter a few imperfect prayers that will not reach the heart any more than water gliding over a marble surface will penetrate the substance. Seize then the present hour—the offered moment. Why will you perish? You, my brethren, who have been distinguished by so many blessings; to whom, in your earlier years, the immaculate page of Christianity was unfolded; who were reared in the hallowed bosom of religion, why will ye perish? You for whom this roof resounds with the voice of the preacher; for whom that table is spread with celestial food, why will you perish? You for whom Jesus died, for whom he rose from the dead—and now, willing your salvation, shows to his Father the sacred wounds he suffered, why will you perish?

"The best method to raise our thoughts above this speck of earth, is first to contemplate the deceitful and fugitive tenure of terrestrial existence. May we not compare human life to a road that terminates in a ruinous precipice? We are informed of the dangers we incur, but the imperial command is announced, and we must advance. I would wish to turn back, in order to to avoid the ruinous precipice, but the tyrant necessity exclaims, 'advance, advance.' An irresistible power seems to carry me along. Many inconveniences—many hardships—many untoward accidents occur; but they would appear trivial, could I withhold my steps from the ruinous precipice. No! no! An

* Quand Dieu transportoit l'esprit prophétique, &c.

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irresistible power urges me to proceed, and even impels me to run—such is the rapidity of time. Some pleasant circumstances, however, present themselves; we meet with objects in the course of our journey, which attract attention—limpid streams—groves resounding with harmony—trees loaded with delicious fruit—flowers exhaling their aromatic odour into the passing gale. Here we would be glad to wander, and suspend the progress of our journey; but the voice exclaims, 'advance, advance,'—while all the objects we have passed suddenly vanish, like the materials of a turbid dream. Some wretched consolation still remains—you have gathered some flowers as you have passed by, which, however, wither in the hand that grasps them—you have plucked some fruit, which, however, decays before it reaches the lips. This, this is the enchantment of delusion. In the progress of your destined course, you now approach the tremendous gulf which breathes forth a solemn vapour that discolours every object. Behold the shadowy form of Death rising from the jaws of the fatal gulf, to hail your arrival. Your heart palpitates—your eyes grow dim—your cheeks turn pale—your lips quiver—the final step is taken—and the hideous chasm swallows up your trembling frame."

We make but one more quotation from his sermons, from a discourse on *the Sufferings of the Soul of Jesus*, founded on Isaiah liii. 6. And we do it the more cheerfully, as his sentiments on the doctrine of the Atonement are so correct and scriptural.

* "The most soothing consolation to the man plunged in affliction, is the consciousness of his freedom from guilt, which, like an angel, watches at his side, and whispers comfort to his soul. The holy confidence arising from this source supported the martyrs, and upheld their enduring patience under the pressure of the severest tortures. This consolation acted with a magical influence; it calmed their sufferings; it lulled the exquisite sensation of the flames which consumed their bodies, and diffused over their countenance the expression of a celestial joy. But Jesus, the personally innocent Jesus, found no such consolation in his sufferings; what was given to the martyrs was denied to the King of martyrs. Under the ignominy of a most

* La consolation la plus douce pour un homme qui souffert, &c.

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disgraceful death, under the impression of the most agonizing torments, he was not allowed to complain, nor even to think that he was treated with injustice. It is true he was personally innocent; but what did the recollection of an immaculate life avail him? His Heavenly Father, from whom alone he looked for consolation, who from eternity had shed upon his beloved Son the effulgence of his glory, now withdraws his sacred beams, and spreads over his head an angry cloud. Behold the innocent Jesus, the spotless Lamb, suddenly become the goat of abomination, burdened with the sins of men. It is no longer the Jesus who once said, 'which of you convinceth me of sin?' (John viii. 46,)—he presumes to speak no more of his innocence. O! Jesus, I view thee bending beneath the weight of human guilt. See, my brethren, see imputed to him the sins of men; see the turbulent ocean of iniquity ready to engulf him: wherever he casts his eye, he beholds torrents of sin bursting upon him. By a wonderful commutation which comprises the mystery of our salvation, one is smitten and others are delivered. God smites his innocent Son for the sake of guilty men; and pardons guilty men for the sake of his innocent Son. How inadequate is all language to express such mercy! Let this sanctuary be to every one of us a Calvary, and let us not depart hence, before we have kindled in our bosoms the flame of eternal gratitude for the sublime act of love which is this day recorded through the Christian world."

But it is in his *Funeral Orations* that the eloquence of Bossuet is specially seen. These were prepared in mature life, when his taste was chastened, received all the correction which his hand could give them, and by universal consent are the enduring memorials of the loftiest genius. They are not only uncommonly spirited, and animated with the boldest figures, but frequently rise to a degree of the sublime. While celebrating the illustrious dead, he employs them as preachers to the living; while sitting on the tombs of kings and princes, he crushes the pride of all kings, levels them with the meanest of their subjects, and confounds them in the common dust.

His success in this species of eloquence is seen in his *Funeral Oration for Henrietta, Queen of England, wife of Charles I.* It was a subject worthy of the great talents of Bossuet; a

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subject most dramatic and eventful—a rebellion crowned with victory—a fugitive queen—a monarch bleeding on the scaffold—all furnishing important materials for such a discourse, and employed in such a manner as to bear the impress of the highest eloquence. While he paints in vivid colours the civil commotions, he shows us God in them all, "setting up one and putting down another," destroying thrones, precipitating revolutions, subduing opposition: and while thus directing our attention to a superintending Providence, he casts a religious awe through the whole scene, which renders it really pathetic, and truly grand.

In adverting to the dignified manliness which accompanied Charles I. in the last scenes of his life, the orator says:

* "Pursued by the unrelenting malignity of fortune, abandoned, betrayed, defeated, he never abandoned himself. His mind rose superior to the victorious standard of the enemy. Humane and magnanimous in the moment of victory, he was great and dignified in the hour of adversity. This is the image which presents itself to my view in his last trial. O! thou august and unfortunate queen! I know that I gratify thy tender affection, while I consecrate these few words to his memory—that heart which never lived but for him, awakens even under the pall of death, and resumes its palpitating sensibility at the name of so endeared a husband."

Instead of directly saying that Charles died on the scaffold, he represents the queen as adopting the words of Jeremiah, who alone is capable of lamentations equal to his sorrows.

† "O! Lord, behold my afflictions, for the enemy hath magnified himself: the adversary hath spread out his hand upon all my pleasant things; my children are desolate, because the enemy prevailed. The kingdom is polluted, and the princes thereof. For these things I weep; mine eye runneth down with water, because the comforter that should relieve my soul is far from me." (Lam. i. 9. 16.)

In this manner he speaks of the queen's escape from her enemies in England.

* Poursuivi à toute outrance par l'implacable malignité, &c. &c.

† Jérémie lui-même, qui seul, &c., &c.

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* "The queen was at length obliged to leave her kingdom. She sailed out of the English ports in sight of the rebellious navy; it approached so near to her, in pursuit, that she almost heard their profane cries and insolent threats. Ah! how different was this voyage from that which she made on the same sea, when, going to take possession of the sceptre of Great Britain, she saw the billows smooth themselves under her, to pay homage to the queen of the seas. Now pursued by implacable enemies who falsely accused and endeavoured to destroy her—sometimes just escaped, and sometimes just taken—her fortune changing every hour—having no other aid but the Almighty and her invincible courage—no winds nor sails to favour her precipitate flight; but God preserved her and permitted her to live."

The *oration for Henrietta, Princess of England, and daughter of Charles I.*, has not events so grand and striking; and presents not a picture so vast and magnificent—but it exhibits a pathos, though more soft, yet equally touching. Bossuet was evidently much affected when he composed this discourse and deeply moved when he delivered it. The fate of a young princess, the daughter, sister, and sister-in-law of a king, enjoying all the advantages of grandeur and beauty—dying suddenly at the age of twenty-six, of a frightful accident, with all the marks of poison, was an event calculated to excite the tenderest commiseration, and to make an impression that would settle on the heart. The Christian orator tenderly affected by the greatness of the calamity, and the painful circumstances connected with it, declares that "in one single woe he will deplore all human calamities, and in one single death, show the death and emptiness of all human grandeur." He has done it—he exhibits the earth under the image of a universal wreck—shows us man continually striving for elevation, and the divine power hurling him from the eminence. From the experience of her whom he deplores and celebrates, he vividly delineates the uncertainty of life, the frailty of youth, the evanescence of beauty, the emptiness of royalty, and the utter nothingness of all worldly greatness; while sketching

* La reine fut obligée à se retirer de son royaume, &c.

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these pensive scenes, he continually returns to the princess, and shows us what she once was, and what she now is.

He describes the manner in which she was almost miraculously delivered out of the hands of her enemies.

* "In spite of the storms of the ocean, and the more violent commotions of the earth, God, taking her on his wings, as the eagle does her young, carries her into that kingdom; places her in the bosom of the queen, her mother, or rather in the bosom of the Christian church."

How terrible must have been the impression, when he spoke of her death; when after a sentence unusually calm, he suddenly cried out:

† "O! ever memorable, disastrous, terrific night! when consternation reigned throughout the palace; when, like a burst of thunder, a despairing voice cried out, '*the princess is dying—the princess is dead!*'"

At this sentence, the orator was obliged to stop—the audience burst into sobs, and the preacher was interrupted by weeping.

Some moments after, having spoken of the greatness of her soul, and the nature and extent of her virtues, he suddenly stops, and pointing to the tomb in which she is inclosed, exclaims:

‡ "There she lies as death presents her to our view; yet even these mournful honours with which she is now encircled will soon disappear; she will be despoiled of this melancholy decoration, and be conveyed into the dark receptacle, the last gloomy habitation, to sleep in the dust with annihilated kings, among whom it will be difficult to place her, so closely do the ranks press upon each other—so prompt is death in crowding this gloomy vault with departed greatness. Yet even here our imagination deludes us; for this form, destitute of life, which still retains the human resemblance, the faint similitude which still lingers in the countenance, must undergo a change, and be turned into a terrific something, for which no lan-

* Malgré les tempêtes de l'ocean, et les agitations encore plus violentes de la terre, &c., &c.

† O! nuit désastreuse, O! nuit effroyable, &c., &c.

‡ La voilà que la mort l'a faite, &c., &c.

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guage has a name; so true is it that everything dies that belongs to man, even those funeral expressions that designate his remains."

The following is the conclusion:

* "Should we wait until the dead arise before we open our minds to religious instruction! What this day descends into the grave should be sufficient to awaken and convert us. Could the divine providence bring nearer to our view, or more forcibly display the vanity and emptiness of human greatness?

† "I entreat you to begin from this hour to despise the smiles of fortune, and the favours of this transient world. And when you shall enter those august habitations—those sumptuous palaces, which received an additional lustre from the person we now lament—when you shall cast your eyes around those splendid apartments, and find their better ornament wanting, then remember that the exalted station she held, that the accomplishments and attractions she was known to possess, augmented the dangers to which she was exposed in this world, and now form the subject of a righteous investigation in the world to come."

We pass over several of his other orations to the one which we have always regarded as his best—that *on the Prince of Condé.* If ever an orator entered into his subject with the highest enthusiasm, and imparted it to his hearers with elevated passion, it was Bossuet on this occasion. He thoroughly comprehends the character and acts of him whom he celebrates; collects and combines in a manner the most admirable all the particulars which relate to his birth, his life, his death, his private character and public career. While thus happy in his arrangement, in description he has all the impetuosity of his hero, and details events with the rapidity and force with which his warrior gained battles. He seems to have at his command all incidents, present, past and future—he vividly paints, and skilfully unites them—he collects together, and presses upon the imagination a multitude of objects the most grand and startling—and hurries us forward with such precipitation that we

* Attendons-nous que Dieu ressuscite des morts, &c. &c.

† Commencez aujourd' hui à mépriser, &c. &c.

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become almost breathless; all preparing us for the following conclusion.

* "Draw near to this mournful solemnity, people of every rank and profession—draw near, ye great, ye humble, ye rich, ye poor, and chiefly ye, O! illustrious progeny of the house of Bourbon, draw near, and behold all that remains of a birth so exalted, of a renown so extensive, of a glory so brilliant. See all that sumptuousness can perform to celebrate the hero! Mark the titles and inscriptions it has flung around—vain indications of an influence not now to be exercised. Mark those sculptured images, that, sorrowfully bending round yon monument, appear to weep: mark those aspiring columns, which magnificently attest our nothingness. Amidst this profusion of honours, nothing is wanting but the person to whom they are dedicated. Let us then lament our frail and fugitive existence, while we perform the rites of a sickly immortality to the memory of our departed hero. I now address myself particularly to those who are advanced in the same career of military glory. Approach and bewail your great commander. I can almost persuade myself that I hear you saying, 'Is he then no more—our intrepid chief, who through the rugged paths of danger led us on to victory? His name, the only part of him that remains, is all-sufficient to excite us to future exertions; his departed spirit now whispers to our souls the sacred admonition that if we hope to obtain at death the reward of our labours, we must serve our God in heaven, and not be satisfied with serving our sovereign on earth.' Yes! serve your heavenly King—enter fully into the service of your God, the great remunerator, who in the prodigality of his mercy will estimate higher one pious act, or a drop of water given in his name, than the sovereigns of the earth will prize the sacrifice of your lives in their service. Shall not they also approach this mournful monument, who are united to him by the sacred bond of friendship? Draw near, ye companions of his social hours; pay homage to the memory of your associate, whose goodness of heart equalled his intrepidity of soul, and let his death be at once the object of your sorrow, your consolation, and your

* Venez, peuple, venez maintenant, &c. &c.

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example. As for me, if I may be permitted, in my turn, to deliver the sentiments of my affection, I should say, O! thou illustrious theme of my encomium and of my regret, thou shalt ever claim a place in my grateful recollection. The image, however, which is there engraved, is not impressed with that daring eye which foretells victory; for I will behold nothing in thee which death effaces; but on this image shall be found the features of immortality. The image presents itself as I beheld thee at the hour of dissolution, when the glories of the heavenly world seemed to burst upon thee. Yes, at that moment, even on the couch of languor, did I behold thee more triumphant than in the plains of Fribourg or Rocroy—so true is what the beloved disciple says: 'This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.' Enjoy, O prince, this victory, and let it be the object of thy eternal triumph. Indulge these closing accents of a voice which was not unknown to thee. With thee shall terminate all my funeral discourses; instead of deploring the death of others, I will labour to make my own resemble thine; and happy will it be for me, if, taking warning from these gray hairs, I devote myself exclusively to the duties of the ministry, and reserve for my flock, whom I ought to feed with the word of life, the glimmerings of an eye which is almost extinguished, and the faint efforts of a voice that is almost expiring."

Nothing could be finer—nothing more effective to bring down our elevated feelings to calm serenity—nothing better fitted for the closing scene than those "gray hairs," that "feeble voice," that glance into a future state—all well adapted to inspire the heart with the tender sadness becoming such an occasion. Surely Bossuet should be placed in the same rank with men of eloquence, which Milton holds in the class of poets.

After Bossuet had left Paris, to enter upon his other functions to which he had been appointed, BOURDALOUE appeared in 1669; preached the "avent" before the court in 1670, and was chosen one of the preachers "before the king." At his first appearance, his powers as a pulpit orator were highly estimated; multitudes of all classes crowded to hear him—his reputation thus early established, never diminished—the lustre increased as he advanced; and to the close of his life he was regarded by

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all as one of the finest preachers of the age. He had not, it is true, the lofty talents of Bossuet, but he excelled in labour him whom he was incapable of equalling in genius; for forty years he devoted himself almost entirely to the art of preaching; to the preparation of sermons for the instruction of the people. These sermons, instead of sketches on which he enlarged during delivery, are full written discourses, prepared with much care; and on every variety of subjects suited to the pulpit. They are not such as answered only a temporary purpose, like vegetables of a night, or insects of a day; they are read as specimens of oratorical elegance; put into the hands of youth, as models; and presented as lessons for the formation of their taste and the improvement of their hearts. No one can read them without perceiving the elevation to which genius may be raised by intense study. In the variety of subjects which are discussed, we see a fulness and luxuriance which leaves nothing further to be said or supposed; an accurate logic which detects and exposes sophistry; an admirable use of the Scriptures, and sometimes of the Fathers; a profound knowledge of the human heart; a continued effort to keep himself out of sight, and an habitual aim at the conversion of his hearers—all expressed in a style simple and nervous, natural and noble.

A clear and proper method is visible in all his writings; to this he devotes much attention; in this he far excels Bossuet; he has the happy talent of arranging his arguments and thoughts, with that order of which the Roman critic speaks, when he compares the merit of an orator who composes a discourse to the skill of a general who commands an army*—every thing is found in its proper place.

But Bourdaloue is not more distinguished for the soundness of his judgment, and the strength of his reasoning, than for his power at times in affecting the passions. Not satisfied with impressing the mind with the sense of truth, he rouses the affections of his hearers by the energy and pathos of eloquence —we meet continually with those strokes of passion which penetrate and melt the heart. In his sermons on the *Passion of Christ*, of which he has many, but in which there is no repetition, (presenting in each the subject under different views,)

* "Est velut imperatoria virtus."—QUINT. INSTIT. II.

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there are several instances. We quote from one, founded on Luke xxiii. 38, in which is illustrated the truth, that in the death of the Saviour, "righteousness and peace have embraced each other."

I. *Christ died as the victim of Divine Justice.*

II. *As an exhibition of Divine mercy.*

Under the first head the preacher asks; *"Who is the victim immolated on the altar erected on Calvary? None other than the eternal Son of God, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. From the moment of his incarnation, he became this sacrifice, he descended into the world and clothed himself with a mortal body to do homage to the Creator of the universe, and to offer himself a burnt-offering. In the temple of Jerusalem, this sacrifice was continued, when, presented by the hands of Mary, he was placed in the arms of Simeon; but that was the morning offering—this upon the cross was the evening sacrifice. But why was he exposed to this inexorable justice—this 'Lamb of God without blemish and without spot?' Of what crime had he been guilty? What had he done to draw upon him wrath from on high, and which exposed him to such ignominy and death. You know that in himself he is the Holy of holies; that in his celestial abode he received the adoration of the angelic spirits, that he was perfectly blessed, and that he needed no creature to add to his happiness; that when he appeared on earth as an exile, and deigned to converse with men, he knew sin only to combat and destroy it; that to him was rendered more than once that illustrious testimony which re-echoed along the banks of Jordan, and resounded upon Tabor—'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' Yet this Saviour, thus holy in himself, 'took upon him the form of a servant,'—yea, of a sinner; and though he had never committed sin, and was incapable of committing it, yet 'he bore our sins in his own body upon the tree;' his holy Father charged our sins upon him, covered, as it were, his whole soul with them—'laid on him the iniquity of us all.' Under an aspect so hideous, so abhorrent to infinite holiness, Heaven considers him on the cross; under such a weight of sin, the justice of God views him a fit object of its vengeance; it

* Car quelle victime lui est immolée sur l'autel, &c., &c.

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suffers him not to escape; it pursues him in a hostile and vindictive manner, and pronounces the sentence of condemnation. Represent to yourselves the victim of which the apostle speaks in his epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 11,)—upon which were placed the iniquities of the people for expiation, and which 'was burned without the camp.' It is a sensible image of what was accomplished in the person of our Redeemer. They conduct him out of the city—they bring him to Calvary—it is the last place where he is to appear, as the 'man of sorrows;' and there divine justice stands waiting to exact the whole debt for which he is responsible; to execute the heavy punishment by the executioners it has chosen. When God drove guilty man from Eden, he sent an angel with a double flaming sword to guard for ever the access to the tree of life. By the ministry of an exterminating angel he smote the army of Sennacherib, and for the safety of his people made known his power against the haughty monarch; but when a sacrifice was to be effected for the salvation of men, no angel was sent to afflict the soul of the Redeemer; supreme and sovereign justice itself descended, and invisibly presided over the bloody and terrible exècution."

In a similar manner the eloquent preacher proceeds, and shows in detail how the executioners of the Saviour are mere instruments in the hands of God of completing his purpose; and how powerful, and holy, and severe is that justice which crushes a God-man.

The second part, which represents the death of Christ as an *exhibition of the divine mercy*, affords a beautiful instance of antithesis; making, by the contrast, the object stronger and the impression deeper. In the first part, we behold the divine justice citing the Son of God to its tribunal, and sacrificing him, satisfied with nothing but his blood and death; so inflexible as to disregard his dignity and personal innocence; every thing, therefore, is awful, and the thoughts terrible. In the second part, all the love and grace of which the Saviour is capable, is presented, and every thing is tender and pathetic.

* "The nearer Jesus advances to the close of life, the tenderer is his heart; on the cross he breathes only mercy. He

* Plus il avance vers la fin de sa carrière, plus son cœur s'attendrit, &c., &c.

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prays, and it is a prayer of mercy; he promises, and it is a promise of mercy; he gives, and it is a gift of mercy.

"1. *He prays, and it is a prayer of mercy*—of the richest mercy, for he prays for his enemies. He prays for the priests and rulers of the synagogue who had formed the conspiracy against him; for the soldiers who had arrested, the people who had insulted, the false witnesses who had calumniated, Pilate who had condemned, and the executioners who had crucified him. It would have been mercy most wonderful, if he had done it on the acknowledgment and repentance of their crime. But he pleads for them, when they are loading him with new outrages; when they are uttering blasphemies and imprecations; when they are shaking their heads with scorn, and saying, 'he saved others—himself he cannot save—if thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross'—when they are deriding his power and holiness, his offices and divinity. In the midst of such insults and execrations, he raises his eyes to heaven, and what does he ask? Is it not that the thunders may descend, that righteous vengeance may follow the commission of such horrid crimes? No! my brethren, mercy leads him to speak, no word is uttered which is not dictated by mercy. 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do.' He does not say *God*, but *Father*, for that is a name more tender and endearing—more favourable for giving audience to petition, and for averting wrath. He does not plead for this one or that one less guilty than others in the conspiracy against him, but he prays in general, without excluding any, without excepting those who treated him so cruelly in the court of Caiaphas and Herod; those who scourged and smote him, or those who pierced his temples with thorns, or those who drove the nails into his hands and feet. There is not one whom his arms and bosom are not open to receive—not one for whom he would not be an advocate and intercessor. He more than prays, he extenuates their crime; his love leads him to find something to plead in their behalf—'they know not what they do'—they are blind, and know not the enormity of the offence which they are committing; they know not whom they revile and torture; they know not that they are crucifying the Lord of glory.

"2. *He promises, and it is the promise of mercy.* Admire

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the virtue and efficacy of that prayer which has just ascended to heaven—scarcely is it offered before it is answered by a miracle of grace—scarcely is it offered before an enemy of Christ, a thief and malefactor, is converted and pardoned. He was a wretch, worse probably than Barabbas—a blasphemer who united with the other malefactor in reviling Jesus, for the Evangelist says, (referring to them both,) they 'cast the same in his teeth.' But behold, by a secret and resistless impression of divine grace, this bold blasphemer and robber changed into an humble penitent, who gives glory to God, who publicly confesses his sins, and acknowledges himself worthy of death, who publishes the innocence of that 'just one' who is crucified, who addresses Jesus as his sovereign, and asks admission into his heavenly kingdom, and who receives from the Son of God that consoling assurance, 'to-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.'

"3. *He gives, and it is the gift of mercy.* Do you ask, what is his last will and testament? what the disposition of this dying man's effects? what personal property or landed estate does he bequeathe? Ah! my brethren, what riches had he to leave who 'had not where to lay his head'—who in ordinary circumstances was sustained by alms, and in extraordinary cases, by miracles? What then does he give? From that engine of torture to which he is fastened he looks down, and what is before those eyes that begin to be weighed down by the hand of death? His own mother Mary, and his beloved disciple, John—that is the priceless treasure, the precious succession. At this sight, all exhausted as he is, his heart awakens; in his state of suffering, increasing every moment, he is not so occupied as to be regardless of these friends; he cannot leave them without giving them a last proof of his remembrance, and a genuine pledge of his love; he cannot commend his spirit into the hands of his Father without affording them consolation. With serenity, firmness, and tenderness, he turns to his mother: 'behold thy son—he will discharge the filial office, guard, nourish, and defend thee.' Then saith he to the disciple, 'behold thy mother—regard her as thou wouldst the tenderest of all connections, as thy mother.' 'And from that hour that disciple took her to his own home.'"

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The conclusion, in which the hearers are invited to cultivate love to Christ as the best preparation for death, is urgent and tender—we have however no room for it.

We have spoken of the fidelity of Bossuet in addressing his king; we find the same faithfulness in Bourdaloue; the same disposition to remind him of his duty to his God; the same pungent appeals to the conscience; the same, or severer reproofs of vices which were prevalent in the court. Instead of quoting from his addresses, we shall relate a circumstance which is well authenticated, illustrative of this trait in his character and of the power of divine truth; fully equal to the courage of John the Baptist towards Herod, or to the intrepidity of Paul before Felix.

In one of the sermons which he preached before the monarch, he described with great eloquence the horrors of an adulterous life, its abomination in the sight of God, its scandal to man, and all the evils which attend it; but he managed his discourse with so much address, that he kept the king from suspecting that the thunder was ultimately to fall upon him. In general, Bourdaloue spake in a level tone of voice, and with his eyes partly closed. On this occasion, having wound the attention of the monarch and the audience to the highest pitch, he paused. The audience expected something terrible, and seemed to fear the next word. The pause continued for some time—at length the preacher fixing his eye directly on his royal hearer, and in a tone of voice equally expressive of horror and concern, cried out, in the words of the prophet, "*thou art the man!*" then leaving the words to their effect, he concluded with a general prayer to heaven for the conversion of all sinners. When the service was concluded, the monarch walked slowly from the church, and ordered Bourdaloue into his presence. He reminded him of his general protection of religion, the kindness which he had ever shown to the society of Jesus, his particular attention to himself and his friends. He then sternly asked him, "what could have been your motive for insulting me, thus publicly, in the presence of my subjects?" Bourdaloue fell on his knees; "God is my witness that it was not my wish to insult your majesty; but I am a minister of God, and must not disguise the truth. What I said in my sermon is my morning and

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evening prayer. May God in his infinite mercy grant me to see the day, when the greatest of monarchs shall be the holiest of kings." The king was affected, and silently dismissed the preacher; but from this time the court began to observe that change which led Louis to a life of greater regularity.

More known and read among us than either of the others of whom we have spoken, is MASSILLON; whose name is almost proverbial as a master of pulpit eloquence. He was transferred to Paris about the year 1690, and was therefore contemporary with Bourdaloue. Admiring him who at that time was regarded as the prince of preachers, he determined not to imitate him, but to strike out for himself a new path in the field of pulpit oratory. He was satisfied that profound argumentation is not sufficient for the pulpit; that a preacher must not only instruct the mind, but succeed in affecting the passions; that if some of the hearers are incapable of laying hold of an act of reasoning, all have souls capable of being moved by weighty sentiments. This plan he proposed; and this plan he executed like a man of genius.

None of the French preachers have so much of that *onction*, that tender and affecting manner which interests and allures; that mild magic, gentle fascination, endearing simplicity which characterizes the Evangelists. This is apparent in almost all his discourses. He has not, it is true, the sublime strains of Bossuet, and does not so often produce violent agitations, yet he succeeds in insinuating himself into the heart, and awakening the tenderest affections; he lays open the secret recesses of the soul with so delicate a hand, that the hearer before he is aware, is persuaded and overcome. Instead of wandering in abstract speculation, he has all the liveliness of continued address, and speaks *to* his hearers, *all* his hearers, because he speaks to the *heart*. This is the characteristic of his eloquence—what in others is proof and reason, in him is feeling. For this cause, every one saw himself in the lively picture that was presented; every one imagined the discourse addressed to him, and supposed the speaker meant him only. Hence the remarkable effects of his preaching. No one after hearing him, stopped to praise or criticise—each retired in a

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pensive silence, and with a thoughtful air, carrying home the arrow which the preacher had lodged in his heart.

In his funeral orations, he is not so happy; he does not there fully sustain his character as an orator. He who in his sermons made his eloquence seen and felt—at one time gentle and persuasive, at another, strong and vehement; who knew so well how to paint religion in all its charms, and sin in all its deformity, who seldom failed in reaching the heart, here disappoints us, and shows that he was better calculated to instruct kings and princes than to celebrate them. We must not, however, overlook his funeral oration at the interment of Louis XIV—an office to which he was probably designated by the monarch himself; for we are told that among other arrangements which he made on his death-bed, he gave particular directions about his funeral solemnities. It is a discourse worthy, in many respects, of the grandeur of the occasion; possessing a majesty of style well becoming such an occasion, and adorned with all the magnificence of imagery—but yet, with all its richness, while it excites the highest admiration, it is scarcely capable of touching the heart. One excellency, however, must not be overlooked—it is not an unqualified eulogy—the orator speaks openly of the follies and vices of him whom he celebrates, and hesitates not to declare that this reign, so brilliant to the monarch, was most disastrous to the people; an instance well worthy of being noted, of the courage and fidelity of a minister of God.

The exordium has often been quoted. To see the propriety of the language, and to account for the effect, we must consider the text of the preacher, and the circumstances of his position. The text was Eccl. i. 16, 17—"I became great,* and got more wisdom than all they that were before me in Jerusalem; I perceived that this also is vexation of spirit." The circumstances were peculiar. The church was hung with black; a magnificent mausoleum was raised over the bier, the edifice was filled with trophies of the monarch's glories, day-light was excluded, and its place supplied by innumerable tapers; and the ceremony was attended by the most illustrious persons in the kingdom.

* Though in our version it is, "I am come to great estate," yet in the French, it is "Je suis devenu grand."

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Massillon ascended the pulpit, contemplated for some moments the scene before him, then raised his arms to heaven, looked down on the scene beneath, and after a short pause, slowly said, (in allusion to his text, which he had already repeated,) in a solemn, subdued tone, "*God only is great!*" With one impulse, all the audience rose from their seats, turned to the altar, and slowly and reverently bowed.

Another instance of the mighty effect of his preaching, is known to every one, and has been quoted a thousand times—the instance mentioned by Voltaire, when Massillon preached his celebrated sermon on "the small number of the righteous." When the preacher was drawing near to the close, the whole assembly were moved; by a sort of involuntary motion they started from their seats, and manifested such indications of surprise and terror as for a time wholly disconcerted the speaker. We have often read the discourse to inquire what could produce such a startling effect. Much of it is to be attributed to the timely and repeated use of that powerful figure, Interrogation; a figure by which Demosthenes aroused the Athenians, and Cicero overwhelmed Cataline; a sure method, when employed at the proper time and place, of startling the hearers, and agitating the heart. The preacher had accurately described the character of the righteous—he had succeeded in separating his hearers from the rest of mankind; they thought of no others, and regarded themselves alone as criminals to be judged. They see the judge descending, ready to make the separation and to pronounce the sentence; they are filled with trembling solicitude to know on whom the thunder will fall; their imaginations are terrified and their thoughts confused. When the orator has brought his hearers into this state, and sees their countenances reflecting their emotions, then gathering all his strength, and with tones and actions corresponding, he pours forth the sublime apostrophe; "Where! O! my God, where are thy people? Where are you, O! ye righteous—stand forth, and enjoy your reward!" There is a startling surprise in this interrogation, that may well excite sensation. The words increase the consternation which had long been gathering; each hearer answers the repeated questions put to him by personal accusations; he feels that he is the criminal; he hears the irrevocable sen-

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tence; and he shrieks and trembles, lest it be immediately executed.*

If Bossuet be compared to the great Athenian orator, Massillon may well be termed the "French Cicero." Like him, he is rich in ornament, pathetic and persuasive; has a diction smooth and elegant, and is capable at times of seizing and captivating the heart.

We shall not present any extracts from his writings, as so many have been translated into English; though it is much to be regretted that some of these translations are so weak and inaccurate, and fall so far short of the original.†

We cannot take leave of these illustrious preachers without inquiring into their *manner of delivery*. Like the ancients, they regarded it as an essential branch of oratory, paid to it eminent attention, and are said to have carried it to a high degree of perfection. Bossuet, (as we have already intimated) seldom wrote all that he said. Retaining in his memory what he had composed in his closet, he filled up the unfinished sketch in the pulpit, and found a readiness of expression, marked with energy and grace. Bourdaloue and Massillon wrote their discourses in full, and preached memoriter; the latter, so accurately, that when asked, which he regarded as his best sermons, he replied, "those which are the most exactly remembered."

Bossuet, in his personal appearance, was liberally gifted by nature for an orator; possessing a fine and majestic figure. He spake with great authority, in a manner which indicated the

* This sermon was preached a second time with most powerful, though not perhaps equal effect, in the royal chapel at Versailles, when Louis was deeply affected.

"Une commotion fut excitée par le même trait de ce sermon dans la chapelle de Versailles. Louis XIV. la partagea devant Massillon qu'on vit aussitôt changer de visage, et couvrir son front de ses tremblantes mains. Les soupirs étouffés de l'assemblée rendirent l'orateur muet pendant quelques instants, et il parut lui-même encore plus consterné que toute la cour."

† His "Le Petit Carême," or Discourses before Louis XIV., and his work on the "Priesthood," have been well translated; but we cannot say the same of some of his best sermons, translated by Dickson. That work is servilely liberal, retaining the French idioms, expressing the thoughts of the writer most unskilfully, presenting rhetorical and grammatical errors, and giving us very little idea of the elegance of Massillon. If he had been translated, as Saurin has been, by Robinson, how much more would he be read and prized!

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expectation of success; with a strong, firm, and manly voice; with an air of candour, simplicity, and vehemence, which showed that his object was to convince and persuade, rather than to gratify and please. Bourdaloue, in one respect, was peculiar; in the delivery of his sermons, especially in the exordium, he partially closed his eyes, and is so represented in all the portraits of him we have seen; though he was never charged with the want of ease or grace. In his manner, he was grave and serious, and had all the dignity of a prophet. His voice was full and clear, and when elevated to the highest pitch, was sufficient to fill the largest house with the volume of the sound, and to produce a deep impression. His eloquence was usually attended with a strong conviction that great as he was as an orator, he was still greater as a Christian and a minister of God. Massillon approached still nearer to perfection, and had the power of uttering his sentiments with the highest possible skill. His clear and melodious voice was completely under his control—the lowest whisper could be distinctly heard—and some of his tones were so sweet and tender that they went directly to the heart, and at once drew tears from the eyes. And yet, when necessary, his shrill tones penetrated like arrows; he could utter such piercing cries, as would startle his hearers, and bring them upon their feet—and by such instances of the terrible, make his whole audience bow before him. Thus differing from each other, these orators, in one respect, were all alike; in their elocution, they imitated nature, as they had, in composition, followed her directions. They spake with such life and spirit, such freedom and fervency, that (whether Bossuet was speaking extempore, or Massillon repeating what he had committed to memory,) all seemed to come fresh from the mind and heart.

Such is the character of that eloquence which once prevailed in France, and such the character of the men who employed it. They exerted a commanding influence, and swayed the minds, and imaginations, and feelings of their auditors, as Demosthenes did the Athenians, and Cicero the Roman senate. Deeply affected themselves, they deeply affected others; strong emotions displayed by words, countenance, tones, gestures, the whole manner, produced, we have seen, effects perfectly over-

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powering. Is not eloquence like this—the eloquence of warmth and passion—peculiarly suited to the pulpit? Must men be regarded as mere intellectual beings, void of sentiment and feeling? Is not this elevation of soul and style as well adapted to our age and country as to the age of Louis the Great, or the country of France? Would it not produce similar effects? Shall men be allured to our sanctuaries by artificial attractions rather than by the charms of eloquence; by the gorgeousness of architecture rather than by that most attractive of all arts, the art of speaking; by the fascinations even of music, rather than by that enchanting oratory, which, while it expands the understanding, touches the secret springs of the heart? That will please men long after external ornament ceases to gratify; satiated as they will be, in time, by other arts, they will never be weary in their attention to solid thoughts well attired, and well exhibited, in listening to a preacher habitually under the influence of strong passion, and speaking boldly, ardently, and simply.

May the time soon come, when there shall be multitudes of such preachers; when great numbers, embracing the whole truth, without any mixture of superstition or error, shall speak in the sublime strains of BOSSUET, with the energy and elevation of BOURDALOUE, and with the insinuating grace and melody of MASSILLON.

ART. II.—*The Gymnasium in Prussia.*

THE various forms assumed by associations for the promotion of science were divided by Schleiermacher into three classes: Schools, Universities, Academies. These names, as well as the division itself, have in view that perfect development of these forms which is only to be found in Germany, where the school may be said to be the place where the soil is broken by the plough and harrow, the university that where the seed is sown, and the academy that where the mature fruit is to appear. The latter, then, is an association of the learned as such, a body of *producers* of science; the university prepares the *con-*

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sumers of science either to produce science in their turn, or to apply it to the purposes of society; whilst the designs of the school are merely to drill, train, exercise and develope the powers of the mind, as the *gymnasia* of the ancients were to strengthen and exercise the body and advance its muscular development. Hence the name *gymnasium*, which is applied in Germany to those schools whose main object it is to prepare the mental faculties for the reception of truth as imparted and acquired in the university, or, perhaps more correctly (as defined by law) "those schools which afford a preparation both as to form and matter, of a thorough, liberal, and especially classical education, which is necessary for the independent study of any of the sciences."

The principle, then, recognized by these gymnasia, and embodied in their very name, is not to furnish the mind with facts and truths; the amount of knowledge imparted is not, and is not to be, the measure of their activity; but it is the amount of mental action which such knowledge calls forth; the development of the mind is the object. Of course, time must be given for prosecuting a systematic course of training, for a course of intellectual discipline intended to bring out in orderly and healthful succession the several faculties of the mind, and to teach the possessor of them their right and appropriate use. The experience of ages has taught that the chief means for the accomplishment of this end are the ancient languages, which being languages of flexion exhibit by living, organic concrescences the different relations of words (and thoughts) for which modern languages use separate small particles and monosyllables, or adhere rigidly to a certain and fixed order of sequence in the arrangement of their words, so that the terms *living* and *dead*, as applied to languages, ought rather to change places. This flexibility of materials enabling them to form their long, perhaps complex, yet symmetrical and sonorous periods, adapts them admirably for the purpose of sharpening the faculties by evoking those exertions required to apprehend all the bearings of their expressive diction. It would be a strange delusion, therefore, to suppose that those who make Latin and Greek the basis of a liberal education, do it because they think the Roman *urbanitas*, or the Athenian καλοκἀγαθία its *beau*

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ideal. Far from it; they choose these because they find in ancient literature the best means to aid the first development and to advance the further discipline of the youthful mind. The contemplation of the perfect classic form has, moreover, a moulding influence on the human intellect; the plastic appearances of individual life, as antiquity places them before our eyes, their vivid truthfulness, their grandeur, their sublimity, joined to their placid simplicity, cannot but tend to raise the soul to the love of the good and the great. Antiquity is ever the school of humanity.

As to their history, the gymnasia are an immediate offspring of the Reformation. The introduction of Protestantism in the sixteenth century was followed every where by the establishment of schools, for it was a saying of Luther, that "if the devil was to receive any sensible injury, it could only be by means of the rising generation, who should grow up in the knowledge of God, and spread and teach the word of God."* In fact, the reformed faith and education became inseparable in the eyes of the people, and when the Jesuits, recognizing this principle, and endeavouring to obtain the control of the education of youths for themselves, began to establish their schools, they were really suspected of a leaning towards the Reformation. The gymnasia, therefore, as well as the great educational establishments of England, and the great majority of such institutions in this country, owe their origin to the efforts of the Church and her members. In Germany, religious instruction was then the chief characteristic of these schools. The Bible and the Catechism, generally in Latin, were the most important text-books; singing was cultivated to an eminent degree; public worship was attended by schools in bodies. Religious elements were introduced into the common branches of instruction, even such as arithmetic, where, for instance, sums consisted in calculating the pecuniary value of some of Christ's miracles, as the feeding of the five thousand, the changing of the water into wine, etc. Latin was the only language used, and, in fact, permitted, even during the hours of relaxation. Our "exhibitions"

* Wenn dem Teufel ein Schaden geschehen soll, der da recht beisse, der muss durchs junge Volk geschehen, das in Gottes Erkenntniss aufwächst und Gottes Wort ausbreitet und lehret.

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and "commencements," consisting in speeches, dialogues, etc., probably derive their origin from this period, when dialogues and more complete comedies were performed by the pupils, in the church; the subjects were almost always taken from the Scripture narratives. Adam and Eve, the resurrection of Christ, the history of Esther, the conversion of Paul, were the usual themes which were arranged for performance by the teachers. In the church at Basle, the inexpressibles of Paul once caught fire from the light shining from heaven (a rocket); at another occasion, Haman slipped whilst on the ladder, and would have been strangled but for the hangman's acting out of character and cutting the rope.* But that new religious order, the Jesuits, raised to oppose the Reformation, remained not inactive. They imitated and improved upon the system of the Protestants. When Bacon turned his attention to the subject of education, he could find no better model for school-discipline and education generally, than the institutions of the Jesuits. *Consule scholas Jesuitarum*, exclaims he; *nihil enim, quod in usum venit, his melius.*† "The liberal education of youth passed almost entirely into their hands." "Enmity itself was compelled to own that, in the art of managing and forming the tender mind, they had no equals." For the Protestants in their turn now began to imitate them. Their rigour was practised every where, and what they appeared to consider the acme of all training—a proficiency in speaking and writing Latin—was everywhere the standard of excellency, and the ideal of all educational attainments. But the fact was, education, as a science, stagnated, or rather, it had not yet begun to live, until a better spirit appeared to move over these lifeless elements. The principles of Franke and Spener displaced the dead formalities of the Jesuit schools and their imitations, and an active, fervent piety began to take hold of the minds of teachers. Still, the previous rigorousness in the treatment of pupils had not abated yet, when Rousseau's *Emile* began to be the text book of education for the higher classes, and soon after Basedow and his adherents gained the ascendency with their

* Löschke's religiöse Bildung der Jugend und der sittliche Zustand der Schulen imm 16ten Jahrhundert.

† De Augm. Scient. Lib. VI. c. iv.

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new principles of "*Philanthropy.*" *Les extrêmes se touchent* was as true here as anywhere else. For Rules and Latin, No-Latin and No-Rules were substituted, *multa* took the place of *multum*, and shallowness and free-thinking were the results. Germany was on the road of losing her fame for classical education, when the disciples of Gesner, Heyne, Ernesti, and others opened the new era of philology. It is from this school that the present race of teachers have proceeded, who have made the gymnasia of Germany, and especially of Prussia, the admiration of the world. We propose to give a rapid sketch of the nature and working of their system.

The gymnasium was originally intended to consist of six classes, the lower three with a course of one year each, and the rest with a course of two years each, so that the time necessary to pass through a full course would be nine years. The age prescribed for entering the lowest class is ten years. But we must perceive here, that although these gymnasia are government Institutions both in name and organization, and although there exist laws for the regulation of the whole as well as for that of all the parts, yet the Minister of Public Instruction, as well as the provincial authorities, hardly ever command directors and teachers what to do; they suggest, recommend, or at most request, and leave so much to the discretion of the teacher that nearly all the laws on the subject receive considerable modification; as the circumstances of time and place may seem to require. We shall therefore refer to the existing regulations only when they are in full force. The truth is, this freedom left to every single institution, for its own untrammeled development and action, produces as great a variety as we find in the individual objects of nature which belong to one and the same class; and perhaps not a single feature that we could describe as belonging to one gymnasium of Prussia, might be found in all the rest. We must therefore confine ourselves to such general characteristics as are really common to all, or may belong to any one without changing its constitution. In this very subject of classes, we find a very great deviation from the norm. It is true that none, perhaps, have a course which is longer than nine years, but the number of classes varies from five to eighteen; and

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this variation arises from another requisition of the law which prescribes that none of the lower classes is to contain more than fifty pupils, and none of the higher is to go beyond thirty.

When it is said that nine years is the period of completing a course in a gymnasium, the long established practice in the colleges of this country of carrying forward all the students of a class in uniform and regular progression, so that the time of attendance is the only requisite for promotion, may perhaps lead us to assume something analogous in the gymnasia of Germany. But then we should be greatly mistaken. There, proficiency, a real knowledge of every branch taught in the lower class, is the only passport to a higher one, so that, in fact, very few, if any, complete a course in nine years. Eleven, twelve, and even more years are frequently requisite to obtain a *certificate of maturity* (Zeugniss der Reife, Maturitätszeugniss); not that it is impossible to go through the course required in the appointed time, but because younger boys hardly ever are found to pay that continued attention to their studies which is considered necessary. In the lower classes it is rarely more than two thirds of the pupils that are promoted to higher standing at the end of the year; the rest remain in the same class for another year. Should any of these be unfit for promotion at the end of the second year, or in the higher classes at the end of the third year; they are removed from the Institution. Pupils removed from a gymnasium for this or for any other reason, find it generally very difficult to enter another gymnasium. Promotions depend less upon solemn examinations, though these are held, than upon the general knowledge which the teachers have of their pupils' state of advancement. Those scholars, in respect to whom all the teachers of their class agree, are promoted without a special examination, or left behind, as the case may be; those upon whom they do not agree, undergo a special and strict examination, by a committee consisting of the teachers of the two classes interested and the director. Such examinations are very rare, as the disagreement among the teachers would only arise from the unequal proficiency of the pupil in various branches. But it occurs seldom that a boy is diligent in one branch, while he neglects another entirely, and if he should do this, he would be reminded by the teacher privately of the inevi-

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table result of his course, which admonition has the tendency to stir up the pupil's attention to the subject.

Let us accompany him, as he enters the lowest class and see, how and what he is taught. To enter that class, he is first examined and must be able to read fluently German and Latin text, to distinguish between the different parts of speech, to write in Latin or German character what is dictated, without gross orthographical mistakes, to repeat a narrative heard or read, to work out a sum in abstract and denominate whole numbers with the application of the four ground rules, and he must have some knowledge of Scripture narratives and of the geography of Europe. Let us suppose, then, that he has passed successfully, and enters the gymnasium. Some Monday morning towards the middle of April, at a quarter of seven he goes to school; at seven the bell rings, and all the pupils of the gymnasium, together with all the teachers, assemble in the Auditory (Hörsaal); here a hymn is sung by the singing classes, whereupon the director makes a short address; then the different classes go to their class-rooms, where the respective *ordinarii** dictate the schedule or order of lessons, which remains unaltered for one half of the year; he tells the pupils also what books they will need during that period of time, and dismisses them. The pupils then procure the books, and in the afternoon the regular order commences, that is, the pupil comes to school every day except Sunday, at 7 o'clock, and remains there until 11; on four days of the week until 12, as he has drawing twice a week, and singing an equal number of times, both of which are taught out of the regular school hours. In the afternoons, except Wednesdays and Saturdays, he comes to school at 2 and stays until 4; in the three higher classes, twice or three times a week, until 5, for Hebrew, which is also taught out of the regular school hours, as the whole class do not study Hebrew. Twice a week he attends the exercises in gymnastics, two hours each time, besides lessons in swimming, twice or three times a week, during the summer, and boxing, fencing, and (in some gymnasia) dancing lessons, in winter. Instrumental music he is taught at home,

* Every class is taught by several teachers; one of these is appointed by the director *ordinarius* of the class, and has the general supervision and control of the class as such.

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several times a week. Besides all this, he has to prepare his lessons.—"Besides?"—Yes; he does not study in the school at all; the school hours are all for recitation, if this word can be used with reference to a thing entirely different from what is called by this name in this country. We had intended to abstain from comparisons, but no description, however minute, could better convey an idea of the *method of teaching* pursued there. The term "recitation," cannot be translated into German, and the expressions "to recite, or say a lesson," are obsolete there. Here a pupil learns or studies his lesson, and comes to school to recite it; there he prepares his lesson and comes to school to learn it from his teacher. Here he is taught by his text-book, with the aid of the teacher; there he is taught by the teacher, with the aid of the text-book. Here the intelligent teacher, to guard his pupil from error, cannot but point out the occasional defects of the text-book, and if, as is sometimes the case, he is really opposed to the principles of the text-book, he must live in a sort of constant, minor warfare with it, although he may be aware how utterly inconsistent such a method is with the true principles of education; there, the pupil's confidence in his text-book is never undermined in this way, as he never feels that he is dependent upon it.

To describe the working of this method in the primary instruction in Latin, would perhaps be too tedious. We pass over, therefore, the first two years of his Latin course, and see him commence his first Latin author, Nepos. He has now been at Latin for more than two years—nine lessons a week—has repeatedly gone over the etymology and the principal rules of the syntax; he has applied these rules in translating about eighty pages in some Latin readers, both from Latin into German, and from German into Latin, and in writing about one hundred Latin exercises and *extemporalia;* he has also committed some Latin to memory, and is to have prepared for the next lesson, the first half of the first chapter of *Miltiades.* The preparation consists in writing out all the Latin words which the pupil has to look for in the dictionary, writing the meanings found, opposite the word, and committing them to memory. In class the teacher requires first a closely literal rendering of every word, then a free and fluent German translation. After

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that, the teacher reads the lesson himself to the pupils in both ways, interspersing remarks and questions, pointing out the differences of idiom, usage, etc., between the text and the translation. Such remarks would be made, for instance, on *modestia*, that it does not mean "modesty" in that place, but that it must be taken in its primary sense of *moderation;* on *unus omnium maxime*, the force of every word and the peculiarity of the position as compared with the German; he observes that the metaphor in *floreret* in that passage cannot be rendered in the vernacular; *cives sui*, why not *ejus; qualem* "as;" *cujus* "of that;" *qui consulerent* "to inquire"—use of the subjunctive in relative clauses, what it expresses; in *tenebant* he finds an occasion to point out or to question on the use of the Imperfect; *his consulentibus* "on their inquiry;" besides the grammatical remarks on this he will also have to say something on the different meanings of *consulere*, and its different constructions; *id si fecissent* "if they did this,"—why subjunctive—change of tense and of position in the translation, etc. etc. The rules of the grammar previously learned are thus constantly repeated and impressed upon the memory, whilst new matter is being slowly and gradually, but steadily added. In the next lesson the whole of this process on the same section is gone over again, only with less assistance from the teacher, and if it was somewhat more difficult, a written translation is required of the same section for the next lesson. In this way, the class would require at least two full recitations for the whole of the first chapter, although they read faster when they become better acquainted with the style of their author. When now the Life of Miltiades is finished, the whole is read over again once, fluently, without reading the Latin; questions on the construction, etc., are put to the pupils at the end of every chapter. This reading being finished, the class are required, in the next lesson, to relate the narrative without the aid of the book, yet as nearly as possible in the language of the text. Once a week the teacher gives the German translation of one of the Lives not read in class, orally, requiring the pupils to translate it orally back into Latin, and to give an account at the same time, why they translate thus and not otherwise. The teacher aids them during this, by reminding them of similar constructions in

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their previous reading, and finally he points out the differences in construction, position, expressions, etc., between their translation and the author. In the next recitation the pupils are required to translate the same lesson, orally, from the German into the very language of the author, still giving an account of the syntax of the portion, etc. In the lesson after that, they are required to recite the chapter both in German and in Latin coherently from memory. When the biography is finished, all the chapters are repeated together, and this custom of repeating the whole of what has been learned before, is sometimes kept up through two successive classes, that is, for two years. Thus the pupil obtains a certain stock of words, phrases, and illustrations of all the principal rules of syntax; he acquires a certain tact for the position of words in a sentence, which no amount of rules, however good, and however toilsomely won, could ever give.

Much more was formerly done for the acquisition of a large vocabulary and a great number of phrases. One teacher of the last century, had his pupils commit, within one year, 16,000 phrases which he had himself collected, whilst he drilled them on these phrases in 160 exercises, which they wrote during the same time. Now very little is done for laying up a stock of words, except what has been described above, and that pupils are required to know perfectly the meaning of those words which they meet with in their ordinary reading. The latter is tested once a week by the *extemporale*, which is a Latin exercise written in class, without the aid of any book whatever, whilst the teacher is pronouncing the German. Here and there, but yet very seldom, a "knowing" smile on the face of the teacher, or an exclamation, *take heed! cave! cujus modi?* and the like turns the pupil's attention to some grammatical difficulty. Of words which are new to the pupil, the Latin is given by the teacher, but of a word which has occurred in his previous reading, or in any of the previous exercises, the pupil will in vain expect the teacher to tell the Latin. To watch the countenances of a class during such an exercise, and to see mirrored so distinctly the various emotions and mental efforts—hope, fear, meditation, recollection, resolution, in some instances even despondency, but, here and there a brightly flashing eye, as if exclaiming, εὕρηκα! is apt to convince one that such a soul-

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engaging exertion must tend to arouse the sluggish energies of the mind. These *extemporalia*, though they sometimes consist of coherent narratives or descriptions, are nevertheless always merely an application of rules and forms learned shortly before. As a class is never dismissed, or (to speak more *à la Prussienne*) as the teacher never leaves the class-room before the close of the hour, they write during the whole of it. When the bell rings, the teacher collects the exercises, takes them with him, corrects them, or marks the mistakes, returns them in the next recitations, and reads the new order of sitting; for *extemporalia*, in all but the highest classes, are generally written *pro loco;* it is this which gives them the vast importance in the eyes of the pupils, stirs up emulation, and stimulates to exertion. The greater part of the hour, then, is filled up by the teacher's reading the exercise to the class, as it ought to be, making remarks, at the same time, on the principal mistake which the class or individuals had fallen into. In these exercises everything is taken into account, syntax, idiom, position, etymology, orthography, calligraphy, and even punctuation; and yet exercises are not very rare, in which the only mistake, perhaps, would be a comma omitted. Nor could this be traced to a fact such as that the exercise would be too easy for the particular standing of that class; for the same exercise of another pupil may have twenty and more mistakes, or be returned as "wholly incorrigible."

But to return. Slow as the process appears to be in that mode of reading described above (the same is adopted in reading the first Greek authors), yet this very method imparts an *ability* to read, and to read *fast*, such as we would perhaps in vain look for, even in this country of lightning-speed in every thing. We hear of instances where nearly the whole of the Iliad is read in one year, by three, or even by two lessons a week, whilst the Odyssey would require only three-fourths of the year; this includes committing to memory numerous shorter and longer extracts; we have even one case where an eminent philologist reads twelve books of the Odyssey with his pupils, in less than six months by *one* lesson a week.* In some gym-

* Kochly, Zur Gymnasialreform, p. 84.

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nasia the students of the first class read the Iliad during their first year, going through a whole book in a single lesson; in the second year they are required to show their acquaintance with the Odyssey by narrating the contents of a book coherently in Greek, changing at the same time the Homeric speech into the Attic dialect.

We have now shown two extremes in the method of reading the classics, both of which are adopted, not only so that the one prevails at one gymnasium, and the other at another, but, as we have already intimated, the one is the result of the other. Both of them have names among the Germans; the one is called the *cursory*, and the other the *dilatory* (statarische) method; and there was a time, though it was but a short time, when there were among the teachers of the gymnasia, advocates of each of these to the exclusion of the other. But the little skirmish had only the effect that both methods were more fully examined, improved, and their uses united. For, as we may already have observed, neither does *cursory* mean rapid and superficial, nor *dilatory* slow and tedious. For the right study of the classics they are both necessary, and in the mode of instruction now most generally adopted, they alternate; that is, either one author is read in the dilatory, and another, easier author, in the cursory manner, by the same class, during the same period of time; or different parts of the same author are read in these two ways; or the methods alternate in such a manner that one section is read dilatorily, then repeated rapidly, perhaps by a mere reading off of the translation, and with the impetus gained, the class reads the next section cursorily. The dilatory method effects that an author is thoroughly understood, in accordance with the degree of grammatical, rhetorical, literary, scientific, historical, and antiquarian knowledge the class may possess, so that every thing which possibly admits of an explanation and elucidation receives it, and the veriest niceties and minutiæ are attempted to be rendered in the translation. The cursory method serves mainly to show how much the pupil at his particular state of progress can do with a slight or perhaps no preparation, whilst it is intended to make him acquainted with the author and the matter more than with his language, and thus to interest him in

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what he reads; difficulties are surmounted, but not, as in the other method, mastered; obscurities receive a short explanation, but not an explication. In the lower classes the reading of the Latin or Greek text is dispensed with in the cursory method, whilst in the higher, the student's reading the text merely with the proper intonation and emphasis is frequently deemed sufficient for the teacher to be convinced of his rightly understanding what he reads.

Besides the above mentioned *extemporalia*, there is another element in the synthetic part of instruction, the writing of Latin exercises. This has always had its opponents; the reasoning of Locke on this subject was ever and anon produced anew. But since Locke's time to the present day, the objections raised have always had the effect of producing new and better methods, and of thus giving a vigorous impulse to that branch of instruction. Modern opponents add a new argument to the old ones, viz. that Latin has no longer the same claims which it has had heretofore. In the middle ages it was the language of all educated classes, then only of the learned world, and finally it was confined to classical philology. But now even the latter has discarded the use of the Latin to a great extent. This last argument, however, though its truth should be admitted—(yet this would only be for argument's sake; for neither the philological nor the learned world generally have set aside the Latin language entirely)—it is easily answered by the same plea which meets other arguments of a similar nature, namely, that the gymnasia do not profess to furnish the mind with information and things (*realia**) which will be useful in in future life; their solely recognised object, the character of which is clearly stamped upon their very constitution and name, is to train, drill, discipline; and for this the writing of

* It is from this word that the class of schools of modern growth receive their name, which do not recognize the classics as the basis of an education. *Realschulen* is the German name. (The usual translation in English '*real schools* does not appear to convey a right impression to the mind of the English leader; *scientific schools* would appear to be a much better rendering.) These latter then, make it their aim to teach the *realia*, whilst the gymnasia teach the *humaniora*. These educate the whole *man*, the others merely impart a knowledge of *things*. As Dr. Eckstein once observed, the old adage, *non scholae, sed vitae discendum*, must be reversed to be true, when applied to the gymnasia.

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Latin is found a valuable and powerful means. The chief difference between these exercises and the *extemporalia* consists in the fact, that the former are not written without aid and in school, but out of school, and with all the aid which the pupil can derive from grammar, dictionary, etc. They are of various kinds; in the lower classes they are merely translations from the German into Latin; in the higher they alternate with the making of verses, translating Greek into Latin, turning one style of writing, or the style of one period into another, *e. g.* a section of Tacitus into Ciceronian Latin, and finally Latin compositions. Though we say finally, we may add that in those classes where they are required, they are by no means as difficult as the translations of highly idiomatic German into good classical Latin required in the same classes. Until within a short time the method of dictating the exercises to be translated into Latin was all but universal in Germany; among the principal reasons for it, were the necessity of adapting these exercises always precisely to the capacities of the class, to their reading at the time, to those rules of etymology and syntax in which the pupils needed most practice; and also of preventing the possibility of copying the exercises of scholars of previous years. But some of the disadvantages connected with this method have of late become more prominent: the preparing of these exercises takes too much time from the teacher, who is already sufficiently employed; the dictating itself in school hours seems like wasting time, especially as there is a tendency in this utilitarian age to diminish the number of Latin recitations to favour other branches; and besides, the pupil must of necessity take down the German, and also the few Latin phrases that are given him, with such a rapidity that he usually writes so badly as scarcely to be able afterwards to read it himself, and thus he makes many mistakes which he could otherwise easily avoid, or he misunderstands the words of the teacher, and falls thus into gross and ridiculous blunders. Dr. Albani, in Dresden, gives a ludicrous instance of a pupil who wrote after the words "among the heavy-armed," *in der Mühle des Grafen Armaturae;* the teacher had given the Latin *inter milites gravis armaturae.* Books, therefore, of exercises to be translated into Latin are now being extensively adopted, and

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some excellent ones have been published recently. As to Latin *versification*, we must take care not to compare their method with that pursued in the English schools, where a daily practice, continued for years, is designed to make the pupil a versifier. In Germany this exercise is only one of the many wheels of the whole machinery. Just as the Latin exercises generally are merely to give practice and thereby firmness in the rules of syntax, etc., so the metrical exercise serves merely to give the pupil an intimate acquaintance with the ancient metres and the laws of prosody; these verses are always the means, never the end. For this reason also, we shall not find in the gymnasia such a complete system of instruction in versification as we find in Eton. "Nonsense-verses" are unknown there, and would be regarded with horror, and whilst we find in all other instruction a very slow mode of progression, in this we see them leap numerous stages which appear indispensable in the English system. The results are apparent enough. It is not often that Latin verses are made public in Germany, but if those that appear occasionally, were compared with those that proceed from Oxford and Cambridge, it would be found that the former are made by the ear, and the latter by the eye.

The subjects for Latin *composition*, are always assigned by the teacher, and that to a whole class the same subject. They are sometimes of a purely grammatical nature; certain rules or a cycle of rules are to be explained or illustrated by examples occurring within a certain amount read by the student; or they are a coherent philosophical development of a certain set of rules. Sometimes it is a detailed interpretation of a section of some classical writer; or an account of the contents of a larger part of a historian, or the analysis of a speech, of a letter, etc. Most frequently the subject is taken from the literary history of antiquity; this also, of course, is generally connected with what has been read in the class.

The authors most generally read, are the following:—Latin: Cicero, Cæsar, Horace, Virgil, Ovid's Metamorphoses and Tristia, Phædrus, Nepos, Terence, Tacitus, Quintilian, Curtius, Livy, Sallust, Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius. Greek: Homer, Xenophon, Thucydides, Arrian, Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, Plato, Demosthenes, Plutarch, Aeschines, Lucian. French:

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Voltaire, Barthélemy, Fénélon, La Bruyère, Rollin, Montesquieu, Racine, Lamartine, Sue, Lafontaine, Delille, Mirabeau, Rousseau, Boileau, Molière, Buffon, Marmontel, Delavigne, Diderot, etc.* The editions used are mostly without notes. Latin is not made use of as a spoken language, except in the highest classes, during the lessons in which Latin or Greek historians are read. Large portions of Latin and Greek writers, both prose and poetry, sometimes the whole course of a class, are committed to memory, and frequently recited and declaimed. Diplomatic criticism is generally avoided, except in the highest classes, where a variety of editions in the hands of the students sometimes calls it forth; and then the teacher generally states the case, and leaves the criticism to his pupils; this is rare, however.

Before we proceed, it may perhaps be necessary to answer a question which may have arisen in the mind of many a reader of the foregoing lines: What are the results obtained by this system? The answer to this question is not so easy, on account of the different points of view from which it may be regarded. We may answer it, by giving an account of the final examination which every one that passes from the gymnasium to the university must undergo, in order to matriculation in the latter; or we may attend a recitation, and observe how he answers questions put to him when engaged in the full course; or we may ask, what does the student know, when leaving any class but the highest? We shall endeavour to reply to each of these inquiries, and shall take the last first. Let us inquire, then, what must one know, in order to enter the highest class. The answer is so much easier, as there is particular provision made for those who have pursued a course in private, and in order to have something of the routine of the gymnasium for the final examination, enter *Prima*, or the highest class. The abilities of one of this class are tested as follows: In Latin, he must be able to give a fluent translation of Livy, Sallust, Virgil, and a select number of Cicero's Orations, and must possess a sufficient knowledge of history and antiquities to explain these authors; he

* None of these authors, whether Latin, Greek, or French, is read entirely; of by far the greater number, exceedingly small portions alone are read. Homer, however, should be excepted, for the whole of the Iliad and the Odyssey are read in many gymnasia.

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must write an exercise free from mistakes in the accidence, and the principal rules of the syntax and idiomatic expressions, and also an *extemporale* corresponding to the requirements preceding. In Greek, he must readily translate Xenophon's Anabasis, Plutarch's Lives and Homer; difficult passages with preparation, easier ones without it; he must be thoroughly acquainted with the accidence, with the principal rules of the syntax, and with most of the Homeric forms. In German, he must be able to write compositions of the narrative, didactic, and epistolary style, correct, clear, coherent and logical, to make hexameters, pentameters, trimeters, &c.; he must be acquainted with the literary history of Germany, as far as the time of Luther, and have read some of the more prominent authors. In French, he must be able to read correctly and translate an easy prose writer fluently; he must possess a knowledge of the accidence of the language, inclusive of the irregular verbs, and have the ability to translate from the German into French, with the aid of the grammar and dictionary. In Hebrew, he must know the letters, vowels, reading-signs, the principal accents, the pronoun, the rule concerning the article, the principal rules of gender, number, and *state*, the noun with suffixes, the numerals and the chief particles, the verb, and read fluently. In Religious Instruction, he must be acquainted with the most important articles of faith and practice, with the books of the Bible generally, and more particularly with the historical books of the New Testament. In History, he must be able to give a general view of ancient history, as well as of that of the middle ages, and must show a thorough acquaintance with the history of Greece and Rome, Germany and Prussia. Geography: descriptive, mathematical, and physical; of political, mainly that of Europe, Germany and Prussia. In Mathematics: arithmetic, equations, with several unknown quantities, simple and quadratic; continued fractions, indeterminate analysis, demonstration of the binomial theorem, when the exponent is a whole number, arithmetical and geometrical progressions, theory and use of logarithms. Geometry: 1–4, 6, 11 and 12th books of Euclid; plane trigonometry. The elements of natural science, chemistry, electricity, magnetism, etc. The elements of Logic.

This appears like a formidable catalogue of requirements

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from a youth of sixteen or seventeen, especially if we consider that these German examinations are very strict and minute. Yet it is certainly true that no one will be admitted into the first class, unless he has really acquitted himself creditably in all these branches, and none will be promoted from *Secunda*, (the class next to the highest,) to *Prima*, of whom his teachers do not believe that he would give full satisfaction, if examined in these subjects. But as we observed before, there is another aspect to the matter. Let us put the student to the test whilst in class, and listen to one of his ordinary recitations. Will he there show himself superior to one of his age in an educational institution out of Germany? Let us suppose that a section of Livy has just been finished, relating the affairs in Spain; the next chapter again narrates the progress of events in Italy. The teacher questions concerning the connection of the new chapter with what preceded; some of the better scholars will now give perhaps the whole of the preceding chapter from memory, but none will be able to point out the connection. The teacher then may give a close analysis of the whole book, perhaps, and particularly of the passage under review, and at another similar occasion the same point may be again referred to, and perhaps gone through with again. But at the end of the year, very few, indeed, will be able to point out the connection of the different incidents, or even to distinguish the framework of the history from the less essential parts. Isocrates' Panegyric Oration is to be read, and the lesson to be recited is the history of Greece at his time. Let the teacher now ask, When was the peace of Antalcidas concluded? and between whom? These questions will probably be answered correctly. But should he ask, Which were the most important events in the history of Greece at the time of Isocrates? or, What events during his lifetime induced Isocrates to advise to harmony and concord? he will probably receive no, or at best no correct answer. A dialogue of Plato's is read; at the beginning of the recitation, the teacher asks, What was the conclusion of the last lesson? Many a one will readily tell perhaps every thing contained in the last twenty or twenty-five lines. But if he should ask for the prominent points in the argument, so that light might be thrown on the conjunctions, particles, or pro-

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nouns at the beginning of the new lesson, he will hardly ever receive a satisfactory reply. *C'est tout comme chez nous!* What phrenologists call individuality, does not appear to be the property of youth. But then, though these questions are asked, the teacher is fully aware that the matter of them is after all not belonging to the training to be imparted; for, then, reading a translation ready made would be much better, and cost less time and labour; but the object is the employment of the pupil's mind in the most efficient manner—no more; the acquisition of things and facts is merely incidental. And thus, though there appears to be no difference between a pupil of a German gymnasium and any other pupil, as far as a recitation just described is concerned, yet the difference in the end is manifest to all. Perhaps this is owing in a great degree to the steadiness of movement with which these gymnasia advance in the path which ages of experience have taught them leads to their goal, and to the full consciousness which they have of their own activity, and of the real object after which they strive. The teacher does not merely hear recitations, but he teaches, and the pupil learns—learns really, in the fullest and truest sense of the word; he does not imitate, he learns. Now, both teaching and learning are dependent on conception and apprehension; these, as all thinking, are operations of the mind; thought is immaterial, language is its body, the only instrument by which it acts or suffers. "*Jam verò domina rerum eloquendi vis, quam est praeclara, quamque divina! quae primum efficit ut ea quae ignoramus, discere, et ea, quae scimus, alios docere possimus. Deinde hac cohortamur, hac persuademus, hac consolamur afflictos, hac deducimus perterritos a timore, hac gestientes comprimimus, hac cupiditates iracundiasque restinguimus; haec nos juris, legum, urbium societate devinxit: haec a vita immani et fera segregavit.*"* To this catalogue we might add the saying of Luther, that *language is the sheath containing the sword of the Spirit.* Therefore the principal object of the gymnasium is to teach *language*, not *a* language, not the language of one people or another, of one author or another, but that "immaterial emanation of the human

* Cicero, De Nat. Deor. II, 59. Cf. Quintil. De. Inst. Or. II, 16.

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mind" which presents itself to us, universally as the outward form of the inward thought.

It is the distinct recognition of this principle which induces the teacher to consider the ancient languages merely as the palæstra of the mind where its athletic powers are to be evoked and employed. Difficulties, therefore, so far from being removed, are sought in order to be encountered.

An instance will illustrate this. *The gymnasia teach the Greek accents;* not only the doctrine concerning them, or in a superficial manner, but they are made an integral and essential part of the pupil's acquisition. *Pronouncing* Greek according to the accents, and not according to quantity merely, is the uniform practice, as far as our knowledge extends. (Matthiae illustrates this mode of pronunciation by a musical diagram; Bloomfield's criticism on it is certainly shallow, to say the least.) Now we do not intend to discuss the question which pronunciation is the proper one to be followed, the German or the American; but the subject of the accents is doubtless one by far too much neglected in this country. Porson's strong language as quoted in one of our grammars is this: "*Siquis igitur vestrum ad accuratam Graecarum literarum scientiam aspirat, is probabilem sibi accentuum rationem quàm maturrime comparet, in propositoque perstet, scurrarum dicacitate et stultorum derisione immotus.*" The whole matter appears to stand precisely on the same ground as the Hebrew vowel-points; and yet, whilst we hardly find one or two small denominations among the legion of them in the land, whose theology rejects the points, we find the philology of all united in rejecting the accents, practically at least. If we must pronounce Greek at all, why not in a manner as near as possible to the ancient mode?—Longinus quotes a passage from Demosthenes: Τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὥσπερ νέφος—and says of it: ὅλον ἐπὶ τῶν δακτυλικῶν ἵσταται ῥυθμῶν.—But now the pronunciation current in this country will bring no "dactylic rhythm" into this clause; on the contrary, such words as ψήφισμα, κίνδυνον, παρελθεῖν, ἐποίησεν—all of which have the penult long either by nature or position, would vitiate Longinus's argument. Nor can we accept such a close measuring off and dividing of words and syllables as Clarke undertakes, for that

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would be neither prose nor verse. What Longinus appears to us to mean is, that as Demosthenes spoke it, the dactylic measure was heard, just as when we speak of the hexameters in the English Bible: Husbands | love your | wives and | be not | bitter a- | gainst them; Art thou | he that should | come or | do we | look for an- | other; or the second part of one: || and | wasted his | substance with | riotous | living—precisely like: ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας;* that is, the sentence does not consist of dactyls arising from the quantity of the syllables, but merely from the varying stress on them in pronunciation, what Quintilian would call the *numerus dactylicus*, in contradistinction from the *pes dactylicus*. But this dactylic rhythm is obtained by the pronunciation according to the accents; for παρελθεῖν is either an anapaest and belongs thus to the dactylic measure, or Longinus meant it for a dactyl with the secondary accent somewhat more marked than usually; the next ι, the augment, almost loses its character as a syllable in the rapid pronunciation of the orator, and between two long syllables, whilst περιστάντα would not invalidate Longinus's dictum, since he does not say that *the whole* sentence consists of dactyls, but ὅλον, *as a whole*.—The rest of the passage is also very instructive on this point. He goes on to speak of the fitness of the dactylic measure for epic poetry, as it imparts both harmony and force (εὐγενέστατοι καὶ μεγεθοποιοί); therefore to change the position of the words in the sentence from Demosthenes, or to substitute one word for another would impair both, so that we could not substitute ὠσπερεὶ νέφος for ὥσπερ νέφος.—But this can only be true, if we pronounce ὠσπερεί with the accent on the ultimate; for the American pronunciation would only change the solemn stride and stately stalk of the spondaic termination into the bounding and hastening, yet more usual (and perhaps more pleasant) hexameter cadence.—Plutarch tells us that Demosthenes was charged with pronouncing Ἀσκληπιός incorrectly with the accent on η, whilst this is considered correct by the

* Such hexameters are to be discovered occasionally in Cicero; Tacitus commences his history with a hexameter; Livy begins his with the first four feet of a hexameter; this last instance is mentioned by Quintilian and blamed: *Versum in oratione fieri, multo fœdissimum est totum; sicut etiam in parte, deforme.* But tastes differ.

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method adopted among us. Dionysius Halicarn. says that the first syllable in ὁδός as well as that in ἐόδος is short, and yet that it is longer in ἐόδος than in ὁδός. He says it is owing to the letter ἐ preceding, but it is much more reasonable to suppose that he mistook in this instance *accent* for *quantity*, pitch for time, height for length.

But our original intention was merely to show how these accents are managed in the school, and that there is certainly no part of the grammar more easy, more simple and more adapted to lead the mind to think than these dreaded accents. Let us take the change of accent and accentuation in declension. If the pupil looks at those variations offered in the paradigm without a guide, he will doubtless soon become bewildered; but let him know the few and simple rules by which these changes are regulated, and he has opened to himself an abundant source for the exercise of his reasoning faculties, whenever he declines a Greek word. Supposing, then, that he is acquainted with the three or four *general* rules of accent, the only rules for the declensions will be: (1.) The accent remains on the syllable on which it is in the nominative, as long as the quantity of the final syllable permits it. (2.) If the accent in the genitive and dative is on the ultimate, it must be the circumflex, if that syllable be long by nature. *Exception:* monosyllables of the third declension accent the ultimate of the genitive and dative. *Apparent exception:* The genitive plural of the first declension is always perispome (owing to contraction.) This is nearly all the pupil needs to know for years after he has commenced Greek. Now a word is given him to decline and the teacher asks: What will be the changes of accent in the declension of θεός? "None, except that the genitives and datives of all numbers will be perispome." Why? "Because the accent remains on the same syllable on which it is in the nominative, that is, the ultimate, and the genitives and datives have that syllable long by nature." What will be the changes in ναυίας? "I do not know that." Why not? "I do not know the quantity of ι." Does not the accent tell you that? "No; the accent only shows that the ultimate is long, as then the accent on the penult must be the acute, whether that syllable be long or short." It is short, then. "In that case the

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only change will be in the genitive plural which in the first declension is always perispome." Suppose ω were long. "The additional change would then be in the nominative and vocative plural, and in the vocative singular, which would have the circumflex on the penult." Why? "Because words with the ultimate short and accented penult long are perispome." Why would the penult be accented? "Because the accent remains," etc., (Rule 1.) "What is the termination of the nominative and vocative plural? "Αι." What do you call that? "A diphthong." What is the quantity of diphthongs? "They are long." Can a word, then, terminating in αι be properispome? "Yes, because αι and οι final are considered short as regards accent." Would not then the dative *dual* also be properispome? "No, for the rule says: αι and οι *final;* not in the final syllable;" etc. etc. And so it is all through the declension of substantives and adjectives. In the conjugation of the verb there is but a single rule; *The accent is placed as far back as possible.* To this there is hardly more than a single exception, if the right view be taken. So that, whilst in declension it is necessary for the pupil to have the accent of the nominative given to him, nothing of the kind is necessary with the verb; and the variety of deductions is much greater in the latter, where the accent is variable by the rule, than in the noun where its *tendency* is to be stationary. In this manner the pupil learns to deduce from a single *principle* perhaps what at a superficial view appears to be nothing but arbitrary and capricious freaks of an endless variety. The answers to such questions as those given above—and they may be varied and multiplied indefinitely—enable the teacher at the outset to become fully acquainted with the capacities of his pupils, so that he knows how much or how little he can tax them; and the advantage to the faculties of the pupil is certainly superior to that arising from the working out of the most complicated problem in algebra, as that is generally done from a known or given formula, where the imitative propensities of the mind are often merely proceeding on a beaten track.

It is true, in our illustration of this catechetical mode of instruction we have supposed the pupil to be firm in the rules of the accent, and possessed of tolerable capacities. But supposing

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him not to be well prepared, or of a somewhat dull comprehension, the advantages of this method have become still more apparent. In fact, it is used when subjects entirely new to the pupil are to be taught him, and that not only in grammar, but also in other branches, and especially in mathematics. Of course, this *heuristic* method, as the Germans call it—because the pupil finds the truths, as it were, by himself*—is a dangerous instrument, and can only be wielded successfully by a skilful instructor, or rather educator; for it will produce the same results and effects now, which it produced in the days of Socrates, after whose name it is most generally called. It will sometimes make the pupil shudder in anticipation of the exposure of his weakness, and the ensuing mortification. It will sometimes make the teacher unpopular, and even hateful in the eyes of the pupils. What Grote says of men generally, is fully applicable to boys. "To convince a man that—of matters which he felt confident of knowing, and never thought of questioning, or even of studying—he is really profoundly ignorant, in so much that he cannot reply to a few pertinent queries without involving himself in flagrant contradictions, is an operation highly salutary, often necessary, to his future improvement; but an operation of painful surgery, in which, indeed, the temporary pain experienced is one of the conditions almost indispensable to the future beneficial results. It is one which few men can endure without hating the operator at the time; although doubtless such hatred would not only disappear, but be exchanged for esteem and admiration, if they persevered until the full ulterior consequences of the operation developed themselves." (History of Greece, vol. viii.) We cannot refrain from adding the words of another able writer, who, speaking of Socrates, says, that in his conversations with intellectual youths who repaired to him for instruction, we see him using his peculiar method, "not for the purpose of perplexing them, though it has that effect most perfectly, but of eliciting their own latent strength and vigour—of developing their faculties in the search for truth—and of not merely teaching them truth, but teaching them the yet more difficult art of finding it

* The term *zetetic*, sometimes heard in this country, probably refers to the same thing.

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for themselves. . . . The stimulus which it (this method) imparts, is a sufficient explanation of the fact, that they become more attached to such instructors than to a graver and more didactic pedagogue."* And this is invariably the case with more gifted and more industrious pupils.

Our limits oblige us to break off, rather than to close, at this point, and to postpone, for the present at least, the further account of the gymnasia, their method of teaching other branches besides those mentioned, their influence on the social, and especially religious life of the nation, their latest history, and other matters of interest to both teachers and preachers of all grades and stations; for to all of us, in our manifold private and public relations, applies the word of the German poet:

Willst du dich selber erkennen, so sieh, wie die Andern es treiben;
Willst du die Andern verstehn, blick' in dich selber hinein.

ART. III.—*Laws of Latin Grammar.*

A LIBERAL and friendly critic, in the Princeton Review, for July 1852, after bestowing upon the "Exposition of some of the Laws of the Latin Grammar" by Dr. Harrison, very flattering commendation, proceeds to point out some of the particular instances in which he differs from the author, and questions his conclusions. This is done in a kind and candid way, so as every way to claim the respect and confidence of the author, who finds in the censure, as well as in the approval of the reviewer, the considerate, and fair-dealing judgment of an upright and kindly disposed mind.

Had he the time and space requisite for the task, the author would be glad to set forth more fully some of the doctrines called in question, having a strong confidence that he would be able to satisfy his learned and candid reviewer of their truth. As it is, he proposes to note briefly some of the instances in which he thinks that a more careful examination of the author's views will satisfy the reviewer of their correctness,

* Ed. Rev., vol. lxxxvii., p. 188, Am. ed.

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and to introduce such remarks on the topics of the Review as may seem proper. It best suits the convenience of the writer to follow, with one or two exceptions, the order of the Review.

The illustration employed at p. 399, would be likely to mislead as to the doctrine of the use of the subjunctive in marking result or effect, at least in one particular of some little moment perhaps, though not involving the main question. The example proposed is substantially this: a person shot a man with a pistol so that he expired. The reviewer observes properly, that the English language affirms directly that the pistol-shot killed the man; but adds, "whilst the Roman would yet think it possible that the man died of apoplexy." This would seem to convey the idea that, in the Roman conception, there was no acknowledged relation between the force employed and the result it produced, between the cause and effect. If the force, power, or cause be a pistol-shot, and the result or effect be a killing, then, if the Roman so regard the matter as to think it possible that there was no killing at all, or that, the killing being positive, it was caused not by a pistol-shot, but by apoplexy, it is plain that in the former case he does not perceive that the effect answers to the cause, in the latter, that the cause stands definitely related to the effect, so that a certain cause shall produce a certain effect. But, if the author be right in his explanation of *ut* with the subjunctive, to denote result or effect, the whole phrase is an accusative of measure, showing how far the action of the chief proposition goes; that is to say, result or effect is the measure of the action or force employed. In the above example, the pistol-shot is the action or force, the killing is the result or effect, and the latter is the measure of the former, and, of course, stands in a positive relation to it. Hence, a Roman would no more conceive it possible that apoplexy did what a pistol-shot was seen to do, than an Englishman would; he would no more doubt that the killing followed the pistol-shot than that he saw the pistol-shot, and saw the killing. The indeterminateness, therefore, which so remarkably characterizes the Roman way of stating a result or effect, is not to be found in any want of perception on the part of the Roman mind of an actual relation between the cause and the effect, but rather in the fact that it regarded a result or effect

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merely as a natural or reasonable measure of the action upon which it follows, as something that, however real in itself, could only be represented indeterminately, not as an objective truth; very nearly, if not precisely, in the same way that the subjunctive is used with *quum* in the sense of "since." What the author would wish to note may, then, be stated thus: In the Roman way of expressing result or effect, viz., by the subjunctive with *ut*, the relation between cause and effect is not represented doubtfully, but, on the contrary, the distinctly marked effect of an unambiguous cause is represented as a natural and just measure or result of its action, and expressed indeterminately for the reason that the speaker would have it regarded rather subjectively, as belonging to the obvious relations of things, than as an objective reality.

To the statement of the author, that "in the multiplied forms which constitute a family of words, a certain part remains, in every important feature, the same," the reviewer objects, at p. 400, that, while it is to a great extent true, it may, from not being qualified, and from the fact that "the opposite truth (?) is nowhere touched upon," lead astray and into the mistake of thinking "that words utterly different, in every letter perhaps, could not belong to the same family." The author, besides having no idea that, after avowing and establishing a proposition as generally true, he was bound to guard it by admitting or treating of the "opposite truth," had supposed that the general doctrine taught was sufficiently qualified by the definition of the limits within which letters may interchange—the very end to which almost the whole discussion of the chapter is directed—and that it would be unsafe to admit, unless by way of mere exception, any other qualification. The causes of so much fruitless labour in etymology, if he mistakes not, have been twofold; 1st, the admission of a common etymological origin upon the ground of like signification, where the letters composing the forms had no relationship; 2dly, the admission of a common etymological origin upon the ground of likeness of form, where the sense represented by the forms had no real relationship; while, on the other hand, the largest and best results for etymology had been attained by observing, that forms *apparently* very or wholly different were *really* alike,

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since they had for their elements letters capable of interchange, together with a common signification. The reviewer will readily agree, it is presumed, that the moment we omit in an etymology either of these two elements, community of form and of signification, it becomes mere guess work and the creature of fancy. The author is afraid that his reviewer's first example is to be alleged in proof of this. "The Latin *oculus* and the modern Greek μάτι, Engl. *eye*," he says, "are lexically and etymologically identical." This is true for Lat. *oc-ulus*, Pol. *ok-o*, Sanscr. *aksch-i*, Ger. *aug-e*, Engl. *ey-e*, Fr. *œ-il*, &c., which all have the same radical with the Greek οπ-τομαι, ομ-μά &c.; for the vowels and diphthongs *o*, *e*, *a*, *au*, *œ*, admit of interchange, according to the rule; so do the consonants *c*, *k*, *g*; and these may be softened into *y*, or even dropped, so as to leave only the vowel or diphthong of the root; this too according to the rule. So that the radicals *oc*, *ok*, *aug*, *aksch*, *ey*, *œ*, are really the same. The case is very different with the mod. Greek μάτι, which, according to the rule, ought not to be the same with *oculus*, *eye*, &c., and in fact is not. The truth is, that μάτ-ι has for its radical merely the verbal ending ματ, seen in so many Greek nouns, as Gen. ομ-ματ-ος, ονο-ματ-ος, &c., and, as used in mod. Greek, is a fragment of ομ-μα, Gen. ομ-ματ-ος, the radical ομ, a euphonic variation of οπ seen in οπ-τομαι having been lost. And this radical, according to the rule, may be the same with *oc*, *ok*, &c. Thus μάτι, properly considered, is neither in form nor sense the same with *oculus*, and is no more related to it than to *poema*. The second example is hardly more fortunate. The Lat. *boves*, and Engl. *kine* are given by the reviewer in proof that words different in every letter, perhaps, are really the same. Now *bov* the root in *bov-es*, the Sanskr. *gô*, Engl. *cow* and *ki-ne*, are fairly to be considered the same, according to the general rules of etymology stated by the author; for this admits the similarity of *b* and *g*, and, with far more caution, of *b* with *c* and *k*. As to the third example of the reviewer, "Lat. *anas*, Engl. *drake*," these should be proved to be the same before being alleged as an example against the general rule. The French *jour*, the fourth example given, may be shown to have the same radical with the Lat. *dies*, Germ. *tag*, &c., but only by admitting the rule which the

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author contends for; for *jour*, and more clearly *journée*, is a mere shortening of *di-urnus*, only *diur* being retained; and *di-ur-nus* has for its radical *di* or *die* in *dies*: compare *noct-ur-nus*, Greek νυκτ-ερ-ινος. The proper radical in *jour* is *j*, which, according to the rule, may be the same as *di*, or perhaps *die* in *dies*, Engl. *day*. The German *tag* is, by the rule again, equivalent to *di* or *die*, and to *j*, with the addition, however, of a soft guttural *g* at the end, corresponding to the *y* which terminates the English *day*. Such an addition may be seen in the radical *much* in English, *mag* in Lat. *mag-nus*, μεγ in Gr. μεγ-ας, &c., compared with *mo*, in Engl. *mo-re*, *mo-st*, *ma* in Lat. *ma-ior*, *ma-vis*, and in the Pol. *snieg*, Lat. *nig* in *nix*, *ning-ere*, with Germ. *schnee*, Engl. *snow*, Lat. *niv* in Gen. *niv-is*, &c. The reviewer's fifth example is equally unsuitable for his purpose. In this he considers the French *âne* to be utterly different in its letters from the Polish *osiel*, and yet to be the same word. It has the same radical, and is related; but it is equally true that the letters composing the proper radical of both are essentially the same: so that, by the general rule, the words ought to belong to the same family. The Fr. *âne* (= *asne*), is a mere abridgment of the Lat. *asin-us* (*asin*, *asn*), which is related to *asellus* (rad. *asel*), both having the simple radical *as*; and the connection between *asell-us* and the Polish *osiel* is obvious enough.

Thus, it may be assumed as true, that the reviewer's examples, when they come to be examined, go right against the doctrine of his criticism, and strongly confirm that of the author.

In the remarks to be found on pp. 400–1, the reviewer seems to consider the doctrine of the signification of the cases incomplete, and in part, perhaps, because the author has not conformed his views to any one of the three theories of the origin of the case-meanings referred to; although, upon this point the critic does not care to insist. Perhaps the author should observe, that it was no part of his purpose to aim at establishing any theory of general grammar, nor to make the use of the Latin language conform to any such theory. His object was to give the generalizations afforded by the Latin language, under the guidance of the common principles of induction. If the generalization, in any case, be true for the Latin language, it

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will remain true, whether the existing theories be true or not; it may confirm or refute them, it cannot be altered to suit them. For the author holds, that a people may have its own peculiar ways of regarding the relations of things, and that their use of language is the index to it; yet, that this does not go so far as to render impossible a general theory of language, including etymology. But, apart from any incompleteness on this point, the author is not aware of having overlooked any remarkable use of any case that is not fairly comprehended in the leading significations assigned to it. That of the genitive with *interest* was not distinctly considered, but may be readily explained in the same way with the genitive of the noun with *refert*. Krueger (§ 348,) has already shown that the possessive pronouns *meā, nostrā*, &c., occurring with *interest*, may be considered as ablative cases, just as after *rĕfert;* only *re* must be supplied.

The author had attempted to show the distinction between the genitive and ablative of quality, and after giving to Krueger's interpretation what he considered its true meaning, showed that, although in the main correct, as far as it went, it was yet not complete, nor in fact quite accurate. Founding his distinction between the genitive and ablative, in this particular instance, upon the proper nature of the cases themselves, the author ventured to correct what seemed to him somewhat erroneous in Krueger's view, and to supply what was defective, chiefly in regard to the genitive case. For, as to the ablative, he does refer it to its proper place, by assigning to it the power of marking the accompanying circumstances of an action; while he fails, the author thought, to see the true ground of distinction between it and the genitive, by not seizing the proper notion of the latter case. The reviewer, p. 401, undertakes the defence of Krueger's views, but, as it appears to the author, without success; for admitting his interpretation of Krueger's words to be right, it leaves the question pretty much as the reviewer found it. The matter may be stated thus: Krueger distinguishes the genitive of quality as marking properties essential and characteristic, the ablative as marking properties which the speaker describes as belonging merely to the appearance of the subject of discourse—the former class of properties are contrasted with the latter as being essential, and

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inherent, in opposition to those that claim only a present and momentary attention, by which an object is for the occasion distinguished; the former describes an object as it is, the latter as it appears. The question remains, how does the genitive serve this turn, and how the ablative? For the latter, Krueger answers correctly, though not fully, by assigning to it the power of deciding the accompanying circumstances; for the former, he offers no answer beyond saying that it is to be explained by the *genit. possessivus.* This, the author aimed to supply, by showing how this use of the genitive consists with the primary signification of the case.

As to the omission on the part of the author, to say why the genitive and ablative thus used, require an attending adjective, it ought not perhaps to have been made, although it may be easily supplied by the more experienced scholar. The adjective is introduced simply because the occasion demands a distinct classification of objects, for which the noun by itself was not sufficient. Objects, men for example, are to be arranged, for the present purpose of description, into classes, such as, "men—of great genius," "of ugly noses," "of black eyes," "of singular virtue." The English language can omit the adjective of quality by which a class is marked, in contradistinction from others, at least to some extent, where the mind can easily supply it. Thus we say, "men of genius," "men of virtue," "men of strength," through a limited list; but always with a kind of ellipsis, for "men of (great) genius," &c. The Latin does not allow such omission of the quality by which the particular class is distinguished from other classes, and consequently always requires the adjective. That this is the true reason, may be shown further by the fact, that whenever such distinct classification by generic or circumstantial properties is not to be made, the genitive and ablative are employed without an accompanying adjective. Thus, *Ciceronis domus, turris altitudo, gloria præstans, &c.*

The reviewer is of opinion, p. 401, that none of the explanations of the dative given by the author, apply to the "dative of the agent with the passive voice." Reference is had, it is presumed, to the dative occurring in such phrases as *mihi constitutum est,* "I have decided," "it is decided by me," *hoc*

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nobis faciendum est, "we have to do this," "this has to be done by us." Passing by the objection to calling this a dative of the agent, sanctioned though it be by use, it may be observed that the latter of these datives has been explained, in passing, at least, at p. 205 of the Exposition, as being employed conformably to its general sense, and as depending upon the notion of obligation or necessity contained in the fut. pass. participle. The former use of the dative is referable to the same general notion of this case, that suggests the use of it with *utilis* and the like. The proposition is *constitutum est*, "it has been decided," and to mark, not the agent, properly speaking, but the person to whom the act of deciding is to be referred as the object affected by it, beneficially or otherwise, the term *mihi* is added "for me," I being the person whom the decision ultimately affects, who am concerned in its being made. The difficulty, if there be any, in distinguishing the proper sense of these datives, arises from attempting to interpret the Latin through the medium of the English. The reviewer has seemingly encountered this in the case of the gerund also, and of the tenses.

The reviewer, pp. 401–2, objects to the author's explanation of the ablative case, that he makes the signification of position in space "the more prominent, and really, as it appears, the primary" one, therein offending against the "well-founded judgment of Bopp," and pronounces (rather dogmatically?) that this "of course, can lead to no great clearness in the particular applications." He gives the ablative after the comparative as an instance of such want of clearness.

Now the candid and liberal critic will find, upon a more careful reading, at least the author hopes so, that more prominence has been given to position in space, as one of the leading meanings of the ablative case, including its derivative significations, in no other sense than is implied in allowing the language to have its own way, and to adopt its own uses. The author does not compare this signification in point of eminence with the wholly independent meaning of the point from which motion proceeds, and assign it the priority. He does not make the one sense secondary or derivative, the other primary and antecedent. The language itself presents the former signification

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in more varied applications than the latter, and, as a distinguished writer has said in a like case, the author could not help that. In this, then, the reviewer has done the author an unintentional injustice. He should find fault with the language. And if his views differ herein from those of Bopp, it is the author's misfortune. Yet he assures himself that, if the reviewer can be satisfied that the reasons for these views are sound, he will not make it a ground of condemnation.

That the ablative after the comparative is an example of its power to mark the circumstances in which a step or quality is admitted as existing, seems too clear to admit of a doubt. Nor, as it appears to the author, does it need much argument to show that the genitive in Greek after the comparative admits most obviously of the explanation which he has given it. Can the ablative in Latin and the genitive in Greek, when so used, be satisfactorily explained by assuming them to have the signification of the point from which motion proceeds? If the reviewer had not assured the public that it could be done, and if there were not, impliedly at least, the authority of Bopp and others for it, the author would not hesitate to answer in the negative. The argument from the use of other languages, French, &c., supposing, what is at least questionable, that it has been rightly interpreted as showing that the qualification of the comparative by a succeeding noun had its origin in the notion of point of departure, settles nothing for the Latin or Greek language, will not prevent a Roman or a Greek from conceiving and representing this relation in his own way. The question is not what is true for other languages; that can be used only in illustration; but what is true for a particular language. Different nations have different ways of regarding and expressing the same relations, of course within certain limits. One language, especially of kindred origin, may illustrate, but cannot furnish the rule for, another.

To the objection that the same explanation ultimately is to be given to the two ablatives that often follow the comparative, the proper answer is, that the want of clearness, or the ambiguity in the application, is not in the explanation, but in the variety of uses of the language, and that the same objection may, with the same propriety, be alleged against every attempt

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at generalization; nay, the wider and more extensive the generalization, the stronger lies the objection. We have many and seemingly different varieties of the genitive case as marking the specific class to which an object is to be referred; but that does not constitute a valid objection to showing that they all have one generic sense. So with regard to the ablative of circumstance. The very thing the author aimed at, was to find the common principle involved in many apparently differing uses; and he would deem himself peculiarly unfortunate, if, admitting he was successful in attaining his object, he should incur the critic's censure, just at the point where he might fairly have hoped for his approval. In truth, however, the example proposed by the reviewer, admits of the easiest possible explanation. *Tanto* Pompeius *superioribus ducibus* præstantior fuit *gloria*, quanto Cæsar omnibus præstitit. "Pompey was as superior *in glory* to the commanders who went before him [i. e. was superior, *in the case of* the commanders who went before him,] by [i. e. *in*] *as much* as Cæsar was superior to all commanders."

In the example given, p. 402, *Obscuriora* sunt Datamis gesta pleraque, the reviewer fails of the solution by overlooking the explanation given by the author at p. 84. c.

The author is not quite sure that he understands what the reviewer means by saying, p. 402, that "it is only in the grammars we meet with the comparison, *magnus*, *major*, *maximus*."

Although the author does provide for exceptions to the statement, that the radicals in *l* form the superlative in *imus*, doubling the *l*, he owes thanks to the reviewer for pointing out, p. 402, the too absolute way in which it is made. He should have said, that some roots in *l* take *imus* simply for the sign of the superlative, and then double the *l;* while many have the formative *s*, &c.

The reviewer, pp. 402–3, is hardly able to be patient with the author's treatment of the gerund and, so called, gerundive. Perhaps a further consideration of the grounds of the explanation may yet bring him to be reconciled to it. The author has not a doubt that, upon a calm review of the whole doctrine, he will find it so much simpler and more consistent throughout

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than the old favourite, as really to embrace it; and this, though he knows well how difficult and painful it is to surrender one's early impressions. The author was first led to search into the true nature of the gerund, in its simple and in its attracted form, by finding it impossible to understand the old doctrine himself, and, of course, to make it intelligible to his pupils. The reviewer will not object to the attraction of the relative and antecedent, in Latin and Greek, as being founded in the disposition we have to secure uniformity, or, perhaps, a better word would be harmony, of sound; nor to the same thing in the phrase *ante diem tertium kalendas Aprilis*, for *die tertio ante kalendas*, &c.; nor to the same thing in Greek, in at least one remarkable instance that has baffled the skill of the grammarians. See Exposition, p. 172. Admitting, then, the doctrine of attraction, the difficulty suggested, that by the author's explanation an abstract noun is made to become plural, disappears of itself. But the old opinion has its difficulties, which the reviewer has not attempted to remove. One is enough, that it confounds hopelessly things so wholly irreconcilable in sense as the gerund and fut. pass. participle; and this for no better reason than because they look alike. For the same reason precisely that we used to call *belli* 'in war,' *Romæ* 'at Rome,' genitive cases. How can it be that in the phrase, *ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt*, 'they considered that the space of two years was sufficient for the accomplishment of this,' *conficiendas* is any thing but a gerund? Taken as such, the explanation is clear and simple, merely because it keeps apart things that are distinct in sense, and admits an acknowledged principle of the language; in other words, because it is true.

The reviewer, p. 403, finds the author's view of the tenses incomplete, and ventures to supply the reason, namely, that we depend for our philology on the Germans, who are trammelled by the imperfections of their own verb; accompanying the suggestion by a gentle hint, that a fuller comprehension of the English would have helped to better results. The author is very far from claiming for his view of the tenses any thing like perfection; but would beg leave to say, that he cannot lay the blame of its defects at the door of the Germans. For, although he has, he trusts, derived no small benefit from their works, he

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has chosen to think for himself; and not finding their doctrine of the tenses satisfactory, was obliged to present views of them materially differing from what he has met with in these writers. The reviewer demands that the tenses shall be taught through the medium of the English, and plainly enough intimates that the author has failed to understand the force and compass of the English. Here a question arises as to what is meant by teaching the Latin tenses through the medium of the English. Does it mean that the renderings of the Latin tenses shall be made in appropriate and accurate English? If so, then it would be right on the part of the reviewer to justify his censure by showing that the author's renderings are not so made. And this he has attempted in two instances, namely, the Imperfect and the Present Indicative; yet so as to show that he himself egregiously mistakes the use both of the Latin and of the English. For the reviewer so far mistakes the Latin use as to say, that *scribebam* can never be translated by 'I wrote,' except in certain verbs; and so far mistakes the English use as to involve the assertion that *I wrote* can never convey the sense of repeated, habitual action, and of continuing, abiding state, so common to the Latin Imperfect. An example or two from Cæsar's Memoirs, occurring within a few chapters, and taken up almost without search, will show him his error. Cæsar suos a prœlio *continebat* ('*held in*'), ac satis *habebat* ('*counted it enough*') in præsentia hostem rapinis prohibere. Bell. Gall. I. 15.—Sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia *suppetebat* ('there *was* not a sufficient supply.') Ib. I. 16. Cæsar hac oratione Dumnorigem designari *sentiebat* ('*perceived*'). Ib. I. 18. Omnes clientes, quorum magnum numerum *habebat* ('of whom he *had* a large number'). Examples of the present tense in a corresponding sense, 'I write,' are to be met with every where; and the author is utterly at a loss to imagine how the learned reviewer could possibly overlook so obvious and so incessantly recurring a fact, both of the Latin and of the English language.

Or, does the teaching the tenses through the medium of the English mean, that the sense of the Latin tenses should be accurately described, and then the forms of the English in use be invoked to express this sense? This would be the more scientific method, and at the same time, the more useful; for it

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would put it in the power of the student to apply, for himself, all the knowledge he may acquire of the English language to express the ideas he has learned to be embraced in a tense. Thus, if the Latin Imperfect be shown to have for its sense, as in the above examples, past time, and action continued, repeated, habitual, or a state continuing or abiding, and the student know, as he ought to know, that the English expresses this sometimes by "kept writing, "was writing," and sometimes by "wrote," "used to write," &c.; as for example, "whenever he met a lady he *took off* his hat," or, "*would take* off his hat;" "he *was* a merchant, and *employed* many clerks," he would be able to adapt his English phrase to the Latin, and his Latin to the English. This is the method that the author has endeavoured to follow; and against his interpretation of the tenses, in this sense, through the medium of the English, the reviewer has alleged but one instance of error. He thinks the author has omitted to include in his view the indefinite sense of the preterit or aorist. The author has been unfortunate in conveying his meaning, or he has sufficiently provided for this case. He expressly attributes to the preterit or aorist the sense of "momentary" action, *i. e.* of completed action without continuance, and has illustrated it by examples. If the reviewer prefer the term *indefinite*, the author will not strive, although he does not see much to be gained by the change. True, he considers this sense as a mere variety of that of completed action proper to the aorist or preterit tense, and in this may have dissatisfied the critic. If so, he regrets that he cannot abandon his view without some reason to convince him of his error.

These embrace all the specific objections alleged by the reviewer, against the author's view of the tenses, and he is glad to find that what seemed so very unsatisfactory, is so easily freed from every other ground of censure, except the imaginary one of its being derived from the German philology.

Perhaps the author ought to count among the objections to his explanation of the tenses the view which the reviewer has furnished from the English. But, in fact, the only suggestion that strikes him, as remarkable, and not already embraced in his scheme, is the notion of "more than completed action," which, just in the sense intended, he could not embrace in his

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view, because he does not understand it. Following Weissenbon and others, he has spoken of a relatively completed action, and this is, he presumes, what the reviewer was aiming at, when he allowed himself to be bewildered by the complexity of the sense.

Of the comparative completeness of the English and Latin forms for the expression of tense, it was beside the author's purpose to speak, and he will not enter upon the question here. His business was to set forth the actual meanings of the Latin tenses; distinctly marking the several ideas embraced in each, employing the English merely as the means of interpretation.

Omitting some few things, which, but for the length to which this paper has extended, he would have wished to note, the author feels impelled by a sense of justice to himself, to remark upon the kind, no doubt, but careless way in which, at p. 400, the reviewer gives him credit for furnishing, in the etymology and accidence, "the well-digested views of Bopp and Pott," and, in the syntax, those of Ramshorn, &c. One would suppose, from this representation, that, provided he had read the authors referred to, he would have already what the author's book contains, only in a more diffused form. And yet, if he should make the trial, he would be surprised to find that the reviewer had greatly misled him. The author has endeavoured to show his obligations to these and other authors for much that his book contains. And he owes it to the German philologists to say, that without the instruction derived from their works, he could hardly have accomplished the very little he has done. But he is frank enough, at the same time, to say, that he has shown a truer respect for their teachings than could be manifested by mere compilation, by venturing to rely somewhat on his own efforts; and that for a large proportion of the opinions he has put forth, both in the etymology and syntax, he is not aware that he can claim the sanction of any authority.

G. H.

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ART. IV.—*The Apostles' Creed.*

Rufini Aquileiensis Presbyteri Commentarii in Symbolum. Opp. Tom. I. pp. 169—194. Parisiis, 1580.

Explicatio Symboli Apostolici, ex Codice Seculi circiter XI. Scriptorum Veterum Collectio Vaticana. Tom. IX. p. 384, &c.

Bellarmin. Explication du Symbole des Apôtres. Catéchismes Philosophiques, Polémiques, &c., &c. Annotées et Publiées par M. L. Migne. Tome II. p. 270, &c. Paris, 1842.

Usserii Archiepiscopi Armachani de Symbolis Diatriba. Works. Vol. VII. p. 308, &c. Dublin, 1847.

Gisberti Voëtii. de Symbolo Apostolico. Sel. Disp. Theol. Pars Prima. Ultrajecti, 1648.

Gerardi Joh. Vossii de Tribus Symbolis. Theses Theologicæ et Historicæ. Hagæ Comitis, 1658.

Joh. Henrici Heideggeri Dissertatio de Symbolo Apostolico. Diss. Sel. Tom. II. Tiguri, 1680.

Hermanni Witsii in Symbolum. Exerc. Sac. Opp. Tom. IV. Amstelodami, 1697.

The History of the Apostles' Creed: with critical observations on its several Articles. (By Lord Chancellor King.) London, 1702.

The Apostles' Creed: Mercersburg Review. Vol. I., 1849.

THE first act of the Christian life is, "I believe." In this act, the soul awakes to the consciousness of a new life. It enters on a new creation; old things are passed away, behold all things are become new. It passes from death to life. It is delivered from the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son. It is pardoned, justified, has peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, has access into this grace wherein it stands, and rejoices in hope of the glory of God. The love of God is poured out within it by the Holy Ghost. And now begins that marvellous inward history which, through sore conflicts, and "groanings which cannot be uttered," finds its true consummation at last, in "the manifestation of the sons of God."

And as the Christian life begins in faith, so it is sustained,

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advanced, and completed by it. The Christian "walks by faith," "works by faith," "endures by faith," and finally "dies in faith." As the first act of his inward life is, "I believe in the Lord Jesus Christ," its last is a recollection and re-affirmation of that faith, "I know whom *I have believed.*"

Heathenism had no faith, because it had no truth. Its notions of supernatural things were expressed by such terms as ἐννοιαι and γνωμαι; but πιστις was unknown to its religious phraseology. Christianity was from the first distinguished as the Faith, the Faith in Christ, the Christian Faith. This was at once, the reproach of its enemies and the glory of its disciples. They were called, and called themselves, *believers* and the *faithful.**

As it stands in the Christian system and history, faith is truth apprehended and received on the testimony of God. When it is so apprehended and received, truth passes into the subjective form and becomes faith. In both forms it is the gift and operation of God. "*Truth* is the word of God," (to transpose the terms of our Saviour's declaration,) and "faith is the gift of God." Christ is at once, "the Truth" and "the Author and Finisher of Faith."

All the great deeds of holy history have been achieved, and all its renowned characters formed "through faith." (Heb. xi.)

To beget this faith is the distinct object of the history and all the various revelations of the Gospel. "These things are written that ye might believe."

This faith, however, so "precious," and of such wondrous might, is not a mere mental act. It must find its way forth in the form of utterance or confession. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."

How large a part of the acts and teachings of our Lord, his precepts, rebukes, and commendations, his whole discipline in a word, had a distinct and special reference to the production, strengthening, and manifestation of faith! "Wherefore is it that ye have no faith? O thou of little faith, wherefore didst

* The very use of these terms shows the general impression made on the world, and the consciousness of the church herself, that the essential claim of Christianity was to be derived immediately and wholly from God.

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thou doubt? Be not faithless but believing. Verily I say unto you, have faith in God. Only believe; all things are possible to him that believeth. Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldst believe, thou shouldst see the glory of God? Believe in God, believe also in me. He that believeth in me hath everlasting life and shall never perish, but I will raise him up at the last day. He that believeth in me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do." What vast blessings, what divine might in faith!

To draw out this faith into manifestation and confession, was also, on many occasions, his special and evident object. Thus, when he delayed and apparently slighted the prayer of the Syrophenician woman, till her faith showed itself too strong and persevering to be disheartened by slights and delays, and then exclaimed, (as if faith were an admirable spectacle to the Son of God himself,) "O woman, great is thy faith! be it unto thee even as thou wilt;" and when the centurion said that diseases waited on his omnipotent "word," even as disciplined soldiers on the command of their officer, "Jesus turned to his disciples, and said, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel!" And yet more distinctly, when he proposed such questions as these, "Believest thou this? believest thou on the Son of God? believest thou that I am able to do this? believest thou not that I am in the Father and the Father in me?"

Each of these questions was intended to elicit a creed or confession of divine and saving faith. The responses to each was (where it is given) such a creed. Of such creeds the Bible contains great store. Some of these are short and simple indeed. "Abraham believed God." His creed was comprehended in one word. His faith embraced one fact, "that God was faithful who had promised." But what a mighty and prolific faith was that! "It was imputed to him for righteousness. He became the father of all them that believe;" and "through" that "faith there sprang of one, and him as good as dead, so many as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea-shore innumerable." The creed of Peter (for which he was "blessed" and honoured to be the first to proclaim the rock on which the church was to be built, and to

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receive his name from it,) consisted of but one article, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." On another occasion it was amplified by the additional clause, "Thou hast the words of eternal life." Nathanael's creed was, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel." That of Martha, "Yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world." That of the restored blind man, "Lord, I believe" (i. e. "in the Son of God," see verse 35.) That of the disciples, collectively, is thus expressed by our Saviour, "They have believed that thou didst send me." All future sharers in the benefit of his intercession are described as "those who shall *believe on me* through their word." And the award of the last day will bestow glory and honour and immortality on those who *confess Christ* before men.

In the Apostolic Church and ministry, we find the same necessity, virtue and power awarded to faith, the same importance attached to its confession, the same methods employed to elicit it. Philip said to the Eunuch of Ethiopia, "if thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest." "And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And Philip baptized him, and he went on his way rejoicing." "King Agrippa," said Paul, "believest thou the prophets?" Alas! that this noble interrogation and confiding solicitation to faith should only have called forth "almost" a confession of it! The Gentile world were admitted into the Church through "a door of faith." Acts xiv. 27. And here is Paul's statement of "the word of faith which we preach:" "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus Christ, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."

Do we inquire into the philosophy of this divine energy and these incomparable virtues and benefits of faith? All must be finally resolved into this: "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight!"

"This faith in the promises of God, this relying and acquiescing in his word and faithfulness, the Almighty takes well at our hands, as a great mark of homage, paid by us frail creatures, to his 'goodness' and 'truth,' as well as to his 'power',

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and 'wisdom;' and accepts it as an acknowledgment of his peculiar providence and benignity to us. . . This oblation of an heart fixed with dependence on, and affection to him, is the most acceptable tribute we can pay him; the foundation of true devotion, and life of all religion. . . . This is the way that God deals with poor, frail mortals. He is graciously pleased to take it well of them, and give it the place of righteousness, and a kind of merit in his sight, if they believe his promises, and have a steadfast relying on his veracity and goodness."*

Subjectively considered, the marvellous energy of faith lies in this, that it opens and first makes visible and real to the soul a new world of sublime and certain truth, invisible to sense and undiscoverable by reason, and therefore before unknown, but to the objects and persons of which, the believing soul finds that it stands even now in the most intimate relations, and that at the extinction of this mortal breath, it will enter on them fully, and leave all else behind. In the world which faith discloses, God stands fully revealed to the believer as his Father, Christ as his Redeemer, Advocate, Friend, Teacher, Brother, the Holy Spirit as his Sanctifier, angels as ministering spirits to him, life as a state of tuition and discipline, heaven as his home, glory and honour and immortality as the proper and only worthy objects of his ambition. He sees at his feet the precipice over which he himself, till awakened and rescued by grace, was about to fall into endless misery. He sees his fellow men blind and unconscious as he once was himself, in danger of the same perdition. These things may doubtless be professed by those who in works deny them; they may be preached with the tongues even of envy or strife, or for filthy lucre, or dominion over the flock of God; and though they be thus preached "with the tongues of men and angels," and with such a confidence of their truth as "to remove mountains," never send one transforming ray into the deceiving and self-deceived soul. But where they are seen and felt and "believed in the heart," they must appeal to every faculty and energy of man with a power which will make "the things that are seen

* Locke. Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures, p. 88. London, 1791.

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and temporal" fade away into utter insignificance before "those which are not seen and are eternal."

With such ideas of faith and of its confession, bequeathed to her by her Lord and his inspired apostles, we are not surprised to find that the early Christian church turned all her thoughts and energies towards awakening faith in the minds of men, and drawing it forth in confession. In this work, she had all the wisdom, might, and magnificence of the world against her; its learning, its habits, its political organizations and religious establishments, its pride and sensuality. To all this array of material and intellectual power, she had nothing to oppose but the divine verities, and unconquerable energy of her faith. The weapons of her warfare were not carnal, yet were they mighty through God to the pulling down of fortresses, the overthrow of reasonings and every high thing that exalted itself against the knowledge of God. She was victorious in the conflict; and "this was the victory which overcame the world, even her faith."

In this purely spiritual form of church extension, she had almost overspread the world and won to Christ all its centres and citadels of influence and civilization before a solitary church edifice had been erected on the face of the earth.*

Surely, then, her maxims and methods are worthy of our deepest attention. Have we not the same truth in our possession, the same objects before us, the same promises of Christ's presence? The work and conflict of the church is and ever must be, through all outward changes, substantially the same; the setting up of the kingdom of God, a purely spiritual and "inward reign," the kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. The weapons of her warfare are the same, the sword of the Spirit, the armour of light, the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left. The pro-

* "The first instance recorded of the Christians assembling in what would now be called a church," is about A. 229. Barton Ecc. Hist. p. 496. So little has the whole matter of "Ecclesiology" and church-finery to do with the true power and majesty of Christianity. Ἐκκλησία, says Chrysostom, οὐ τόπος, ἀλλὰ τρόπος. "The church, not the place, but the character" (temper, influence which it should form and exert.) "Do walls make Christians?" said Victorinus. (Ergo parietes Christianos faciunt?)

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cesses by which this warfare are carried on must therefore be substantially the same. This is still the victory which must overcome the world, if it is overcome at all, "even our faith."

By her preaching,* reading,† exposition,‡ catechesis,§ and circulation of the word,‖ the primitive church laboured to impart to the souls of men that truth which is the seed of the new life, the mould of Christian character, the object and the life of faith. With equal solicitude, she sought, in the preparation of her converts and catechumens for baptism and at their admission to that initial seal of her communion, to elicit the "faith" which had thus "come by hearing," in the form of sincere, intelligent, individual and appropriative confession. It was this "utterance together," (ὁμολογία) with the church, (not only of such of her members as were then assembled with them, but of all the faithful dispersed over the earth, of the whole community, in fact, both militant and glorified) of her divine faith, which made them Christians. Nor did her labour and care end when they were thus "added to the church." They were still "nourished up in the words of faith and sound doctrine,"¶ warned and guarded against harmful fellowship with "the unbelieving," called back with rebukes and discipline when they "erred from the faith," exhorted to "hold fast to," and "stand fast in the faith," to "abound in faith," and to "*add* to their faith virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly-kindness and charity," aiming at nothing less than complete Christian knowledge and virtue.¶

How exact was the conformity of these methods to the parting command of our Lord, "Go ye and *teach* (μαθητεύσατε) all nations, *baptizing* them in the name of the Father, and of the

* Λύξοντες εἰς πλεον το κηρυγμα και τα σωτηρια σπερματα της των οἰραιων βασιλειας ἁπα πασαν ἐπισπειροντες την οἰκουμενην. Eus. Ecc. Hist. III. 37.

† Scripturarum tractatio plenissima et lectio sine falsatione. Iren. Adv. Hær. IV. 63.

‡ Γραφων θειων ἐξηγησις. Dionysius (2d Cent.) quoted by Eus. Lib. IV. c. 23. Routh, Rel. Sac. Tom. I. p. 130. Secundum Scripturas expositio legitima et diligens. Iren. Adv. Hær. IV. 63.

§ Ἡ μεν γαρ κατηχησις εἰς πιστιν παιδαγωγει. Clem. Alex. Pæd. I. 6.

‖ Την των θειων ευαγγελιων παραδιδους γραφην. Eus. Ecc. Hist. III. 37.

¶ Routh p. I. 172.

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Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."

Here then was the type or delineation of Christian doctrine. Here was in brief form, the truth which, "believed in the heart," "confessed with the mouth," and that confession sealed and publicly ratified by baptism, constituted a Christian. "He who" thus "believeth and is baptized, shall be saved." He "enters into the kingdom of God," "born of water and of the Spirit." He is "saved by the washing (laver λουτρῷ) of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." He is one of that Church for which Christ gave himself; which "having cleansed with the washing of water by the word," it is his purpose "to sanctify and to present unto himself a glorious Church, having neither spot nor wrinkle nor any such thing, but holy and without blemish."

Having become "a disciple" he was still under the tuition of the Church, whose faithful labours had made him so. Those who had "taught" and "baptized" him were still to "teach him all things whatsoever Christ had commanded."

This was the faith into which the Church was to *disciple* the nations. This was the full course of Christian education, "teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."

Here then was the original outline, or frame-work of the Christian Creed, "I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost." Every expression of the Church's faith, every manifestation of her life was, in truth, a Creed. Her letters of mutual edification, her apologies to emperors and nations, her homilies, her hymns, her litanies, doxologies,* and benedictions, all were confessions of her faith; and all retained this original and divinely impressed form with surprising distinctness.

As particular aspects of heathenism pressed upon her, as Judaism sought to intrude its obsolete and abolished peculiarities into her faith, as heresies arose within her own bosom, other ideas and phrases were inserted or added, exegetical or completive of these great linear verities of the Creed. These

* Clem. Alex. Paed. Lib. III. end.

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ideas or phrases were added on the authority and from the teaching of the Scriptures. They were such as to assert more fully or distinctly some particular truth of Christianity in the face of some particular error or corruption.

The only creed in full of Christians (and this idea we find most distinctly recognized in their earliest writings,) was Christianity itself,* as delivered in the teachings of our Lord and in the inspired writings generally of the Old and New Testaments.† It was from this common source they derived their "one and the same faith" expressed in "dissimilar languages and phrases."‡ The divine beauty and truthfulness of the Church's early life is, in fact, chiefly discerned in the variety and freeness of manifestation and expression combined with unity of faith.

The only recognized *formula* of that faith was, at first and for a long time, that which Christ delivered at the institution of baptism. This was undoubtedly "the immovable rule of truth" which Irenaeus says, the convert to Christianity "received by baptism."§ Even as late as the fourth century (and the beginning the fifth) it was so recognized. Gregory of Nyssa (4th cent.) says, expounding "the faith of Christians,"‖ "We believe even as our Lord unfolded the faith to his disciples, when he thus spake,¶ 'Go ye and teach all nations, bap-

* Ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ πίστις. Clem. Rom. ad Cor. i. 22, immediately and largely developed from the words which "himself spake to us by the Holy Spirit." Ἡ χριστιανῶν συντάξις· Ἡ οὐρανίος πηγὴ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἐξιόντος ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ. It was to this the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons gave their ὁμολογία and which "refreshed and fortified" them amidst torture and death. See their deeply affecting letter cap. 6 and 11, and in fact throughout. Routh, Rel. Sac. Vol. I. p. 267, &c.

† Dei voluntas in Scripturis tradita, fundamentum et columna fidei nostrae. Iren. adv. Hær. I. 1.

‡ Loquelæ dissimiles, . . . una et eadem fides. Iren. I. 3.

§ Regulam veritatis immobilem quam per baptismum accipit—and he adds, on the same line, "the contents of the Scriptures" (quae sunt ex Scripturis) as the source and test of truth which he accepted by the adoption of this *regula*. Adv. Hær. I. 1.—near the end.

‖ Fides Christianonum.

¶ Credimus quemadmodum suis discipulis Dominus fidem exposuit, sic locutus, *Euntes docete*, &c.

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tizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of Holy Ghost.' This is the word of the mystery,"* &c.

Chrysostom on Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, says that in this passage, our Lord "gave a charge to his disciples, relating partly to doctrines and partly to precepts."† . . . "He commands them," he adds "to disperse over the whole globe of the earth, *and commits to them a compend of doctrine to be communicated through baptism.*"‡ To fulfil this two-fold *charge*, he says, was "the whole apostolic work,§ nor need the private Christian," he adds, "attempt (or look for) anything beyond it."‖

Athanasius, (who in time preceded those just mentioned,) says, "The sum and body of our whole faith is contained in the words of baptism, and is founded in that Scripture,¶ 'Go ye,'" &c.

Basil (of Cæsarea), in his two admirable books on Baptism, begins with this passage, and unfolds from it the whole Christian doctrine and life, without the remotest allusion to any other summary or formula.**

And Augustine, (early in the fifth century,) says, "the creed consists of words of the gospel."†† And, in his sermon on the Creed; "This norm of faith the Lord Jesus Christ himself drew up,‡‡ and none but an impious man doubts concerning that rule of the catholic faith, which he to whom the faith itself is owed, dictated. Our Lord Jesus Christ himself, therefore,

* Hic est sermo mysterii. Greg. Nyss. Opp. Or. I. cont. Eun. p. 253. See below.

† Partim de dogmatibus, partim de præceptis mandans. We have some of his Commentaries only in the Latin version.

‡ Compendiariam quæ per baptismum fieret doctrinam. Chrys. on Math. xxviii. 19, 20.

§ Hoc opus est Apostolicum.

‖ Nec plusquam tibi opus sit exquiras.

¶ Cont. Greg. Sabell. quoted by Voëtius p. 66. Summa et corpus totius nostræ fidei continetur in verbis baptismi, et fundatur in illa Scriptura, Ite &c.

** Opp. (Ed. Bened. Gaume) Tom. III. p. 887. He says, "The things which are here laid down by the Lord, *in the way of outline*, (τα Κυριω ὑποτυπωσεως προτεταχθεντα) are in other places fully delivered." Lib. I. Cap. 1.

†† Symbolum constat verbis Evangelicis. Cont. Donatistas, Lib. 6, c. 25, quoted by Voëtius.

‡‡ Hanc fidei normam ipse Dominus noster Jesus Christus instruxit. Aug. Serm. de Symbolo, quoted by Voëtius, ibid.

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when he rose, now glorified, from the dead, and was about to ascend to heaven to the Father, left these mysteries of faith to his disciples, that is, the Apostles. For he saith, 'Go ye and baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Whether the candidate for baptism was required to repeat this passage aloud in the form of a creed, ("I believe in the Father," &c.) as a confession of his faith, or to give his assent to it in reply to certain questions, does not certainly appear. The latter method is implied by Cyprian* and Augustine,† and as respects the Roman Church, is distinctly affirmed by Rufinus.

In almost all the writings which remain to us from that early period, we meet with summaries, here and there, of Christian doctrine; as in Clement of Rome,‡ Justin Martyr,§ Irenæus,‖ and Tertullian.¶ These are simply given as *first aspects*, or prominent lines and points of truth. When such terms as *regula fidei*, *regula veritatis*, *lex veritatis*, &c., or such epithets as *una*, *immobilis*, *irreformabilis*, ἀσάλευτος, and the like are applied to them, it is obvious that these names and epithets were meant for *the whole truth*, *from which these points stood prominently forth*. This is quite manifest from two facts: 1st. No one of these summaries is ever appealed to as an acknowledged and authoritative *formula*, having the sanction of the Church or any part of it, but its derivation from Christ or from the Holy Scriptures is asserted and proved, and thus its true ground and authority intimated: and 2d, *No two of*

* Ep. 69 and 70. Opp. p. 297 and 301. Bp. Fell's ed. Some explanatory questions are there inserted. The whole is called in a general way, "ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in baptismo."

† Si dixerimus catechumeno, Credis in Christum? respondet, Credo.

‡ I ad Cor. Cap. 46.

§ Ad Græc. Cohort. and twice in his Apol. II. pro Christ. Opp. pp. 9, 56, and 60.

‖ Adv. Hær. Lib. I. Cap. 2d and 19th, and Lib. IV. Cap. 52 and 62, the Greek of which latter is preserved in one of the Fragments in Codice. Ed. Feu-Ardentii. Paris, 1639.

¶ De Virg. Veland. C. I. De Præsc. Hæret. C. 13, end. Adv. Prax. C. 2, beg. and other places. P. Mos inibi servatur antiquus eos qui gratiam baptismi susceperi sunt, publice, id est, fidelium populo audiente, symbolum reddere. Ruf. p. 170.

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these summaries are the same, either in contents, order, or phraseology, in any two writers, nor even in the same.

The second century was the age, emphatically, of Apologies for Christianity. Quadratus presented one to Adrian, about A. 126; Aristides, to the same emperor, in the same year; Justin Martyr to Antoninus Pius, about A. 140, and a second to Marcus Antoninus, about A. 162; Melito, to Marcus Antoninus, A. 170; Apollinaris, to the same emperor, probably a little later; Athenagoras, to Marcus Antoninus and Commodus, about A. 177; Miltiades, to Commodus, about A. 180. The Oration of Tatian to the Greeks, about A. 172, and the Books of Theophilus to Antolycus, about A. 180, belong to the same class. Tertullian addressed his Apology to the Roman Magistrates,* near the close of the second or beginning of the third century.

Most of these apologies have descended to us entire or nearly so. Of the rest, we have only scraps or allusions, in Eusebius and Jerome. Their express object was to exhibit, explain, and vindicate the Christian Faith; to correct misrepresentations, and to answer objections. Had any recognized formula or summary of that faith been then in existence, we could scarcely have failed to meet with it or hear from it, in some of these works. They contain, however, nothing of the kind.

An equally profound silence reigns through the third century in respect to any received symbol, or formula of the Christian Faith.

Nor do the early historians of the church, Hegesippus in the second century, and Eusebius in the fourth, mention any.

In the course of the fourth century, some of the *first truths* of Christianity were collected and arranged in the form of symbola. There has been infinite dispute about the sense in which the Greek word, σύμβολον, was applied to these documents. The most general use of it by the ancients, and therefore the most probable application of it by the Christans, was in the sense of a *tessera* or badge of mutual recognition.† The acceptance

* Vobis, Romani imperii antistites. Cap. I.

† Ut singuli fideles tesseram et indicium haberent. Heidegger. p. 679.

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of the formula marked a disciple of "the common faith," and distinguished him from those who took or kept the name of Christianity, while they rejected more or less of its truth.

These summaries, symbols, or creeds were all constructed on the frame-work of the original baptismal doctrine of faith, (Matt. xxviii. 19). They varied largely as it respects fulness of detail, but "the first principles of the doctrine of Christ" were the same in all. The churches of Jerusalem, of Rome, and of Aquileia, at least, had each a creed of its own.* Rufinus specifies differences between the creeds of the Eastern† and Western churches. He points out several differences between the creed after which he had been baptized, in the Church of Aquileia, and that of the Roman Church. In fact he has one statement which is curious and interesting. "In other churches," he says (besides that of Rome,) "on account of various heretics, certain articles seem to have been added (to the creed) by means of which, the tenets of the new doctrine might be excluded." How plain, therefore, that each church drew up its own summary of truth to suit itself, and altered it to meet its own exigencies! All this occasioned no suspicion of schism, no fear of damage to Christian unity—so long as the particular creed harmonized with "the common faith."

Ursinus,‡ in a learned historical notice of the early creeds, enumerates the following as "catholic or universal, that is, received by the consent of the whole orthodox Christian Church, namely, the Apostolic, Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesine, Athanasian, and Chalcedonian."

Vossius and Heidegger, in their elaborate creed-histories, reduce the number received by the whole church, both Eastern and Western, to three, viz., "the Apostolic, Athanasian, and Nicene, or Niceno-Constantinopolitan."

The shortest, simplest, most comprehensive, and most

* That of Jerusalem is given in the 18th Catechesis of Cyril. Those of the Churches of Rome and of Aquileia, are given by Ruffinus.

† E. g. He says of the article "He descended into hell," non in orientis ecclesiis habetur hic sermo, p. 179.

‡ Admon. Neustad.

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strictly scriptural* of these is, without doubt, the Apostolic creed.

The term "Apostolic," however, was by no means exclusively applied to this particular creed. Cyril calls the creed of the church at Jerusalem "a confession of the holy and *Apostolic* faith."† Epiphanius says, in introducing the Nicene creed, "This faith was delivered from (or by) the holy Apostles."‡ "By the Western churches also," says Arch. Usher, "that longer form of the creed which went under the name of the Nicene, was also reckoned *Apostolic*." And he quotes the "Ordo Romanus" before the institution of baptism, which calls it "inspired by the Lord, *instituted by the Apostles*."‖ "And in the celebration of the holy Supper," he continues, "the Latin Missal, which was in use about the beginning of the ninth century, speaking of the same (Nicene) creed, adds these words, '*the Apostles' creed* being ended, the priest shall say,'" &c.

So that the distinctive title of "the Apostles' creed" as applied to this symbol, is not of very high antiquity, even in the Roman Church. It has of late, however, become general.

When it reached its full form, as it now stands, cannot with certainty be determined. "The creed of the Roman Church,"§ as it stood at the time of Rufinus, and is compared by him with that of his own church of Aquileia, differs in several phrases, from that which passes under the name of the Apostles' Creed, and is now claimed as the special and ancient creed of the Roman Church, being often thus appropriated under the title of "Credo (or Symbolum) Romanum." We give them in parallel columns, with marks to indicate the omissions in the earlier creed:

* Heidegger thinks he can find every phrase of it in the Scriptures. Vossius says, præ aliis symbolis, verbis etiam gaudet Apostolorum et Evangelistarum; Diss. prim., p. 17. And Ursinus, totum fere ex verbis Scripturæ constat. Exp. Cat. 2. 23.

† Ἁγίας καὶ ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως. Cat. 18th.

‡ Αὕτη ἡ πιστις παρεδόθη ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, quoted by Arch. Usher, p. 314.

‖ A Domino inspiratum, ab Apostolis institutum.

§ Ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolum. Ruf., p. 179.

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"Symbolum Romanæ Ecclesiæ," in Rufinus.	*Symbolum Apostolorum, from the Roman Breviary.**
Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem . . . . . et in Christum Jesum, unicum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum: qui . . . . . natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine, ... crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato . . . . et sepultus, ... tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris, ... inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, ... et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam . . . . . remissionem peccatorum, hujus carnis resurrectionem.	Credo in Deum, Patrem Omnipotentem, Creatorem cœli et terræ, et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum; qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus; descendit ad inferos: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis: ascendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis: inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam æternam. Amen.

It will be seen by a comparison of the two that "the creed of the Roman Church" as it stood in the fifth century differed from "the Apostles' Creed," as follows. From the first article† the creed of the Roman Church omits "creatorem cœli et terræ;" from the third, "conceptus;" from the fourth, "passus" and "mortuus;"‡ from the fifth, the entire clause, "descendit ad inferos;"§ from the sixth, omits "omnipotentis" after "Patris;" from the eighth, omits "Credo," before "in Spiritum Sanctum;"‖ from the ninth article omits "Catholicam"

* Breviarium Romanum ex dec. S. S. Conc. Trid. restitutum, S. Pii V. Pont. Max. jussu editum, &c. Paris, 1842.

† We follow the "Catechismus Conc. Tridentini," in the division and numbering of the articles. Pars I. Cap. 2—13.

‡ It must be allowed that *passus* is sufficiently expressed by *crucifixus*, and *mortuus* implied in *sepultus*.

§ Rufinus says "this clause is not contained either in the Creed of the Roman Church, or in those of the Eastern Churches; the meaning of the expression, however, appears to be the same with this, that he was *buried*." Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habetur hic sermo, vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sepultus dicitur, p. 179.

‖ Vossius remarks (p. 28), that this word was sufficiently *understood* from the beginning of the Creed, and that the insertion of it here tends somewhat to give it the appearance of another creed. But he adds, "Cum initio solum sit, *Credo in Deum Patrem et in Jesum Christum et in Spiritum Sanctum;* postea etiam, multis insertis, remansit vetus formula, *et in Spiritum Sanctum:* cui posteriores τὸ *credo* quod ἀπὸ κοινοῦ antea erat supplendum, majoris claritatis causa, præmiserunt."

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after "Ecclesiam,"* and the latter clause entire, "sanctorum communionem;" and ends with "hujus carnis resurrectionem," omitting entirely the last or twelfth article, "et vitam æternam."†

The question respecting the history and structure of this creed assumes a far higher than merely historical interest from the theory which the Church of Rome has put forth respecting it, and the pretensions which she has founded upon it.

That theory, as it stands in the highest authority known to the Roman Church,‡ is as follows:

"The doctrines which Christian men ought first to hold, are those which the guides and teachers of the faith, the holy apostles, inspired by the Divine Spirit, have marked out in the twelve articles of the Creed. For when they had received from the Lord a command that, in discharge of their commission from him, they should go forth into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature, they determined to compose a formula of the Christian faith, to the end that all men might think and say the same thing, and that there might be no schisms among them whom they called to the unity of the faith; but that they might be perfect in the same mind and in the same judgment. This profession of the Christian faith and hope, composed by themselves, the Apostles denominated a creed (symbol): either because it was formed of the various sentences which each con-

* So the edition before us, Paris, 1580. Pamelius added *Catholicam;* against the authority of ancient copies, says Vossius. Aliter libri veteres: and adds, quid mirum si non legatur apud Rufinum, cum nec habuerit Augustinus? Nec adeo levis est momenti. Imo Apostolorum ætate nondum obtinebat consuetudo, ut Christiani dicerentur *Catholici.*

If *Catholicam* had stood in the original text of Rufinus, that prolix and churchly commentator would surely have expounded it in his commentary, *which he has not.*

† And Jerome states that it stood there in his time. In symbolo fidei . . post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem Ecclesiæ, *omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione includitur.* Hier. ad Pammachium, adv. err. Io. Hieros. Opp. Tom. II. p. 59. (Ed. Erasmi.)

‡ Catechismus Concil. Trident. issued with the bull of Pius V., and with the usual complement of Papal anathemas, threatening "the wrath of Almighty God, and of the blessed Peter and Paul against any man who should rashly dare to oppose it." (Ausu temerario contraire.) Pars I. and bull at the end of the volume. We quote from the fine edition "ad usum seminariorum." Lyons and Paris, 1848.

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tributed, or because they used it as a mark or badge, whereby they might easily distinguish deserters or false brethren, privily brought in, who adulterated the gospel, from those who bound themselves by the oath of the warfare (army) of Christ."

This creed is thus propounded as the product of inspiration, the rule of Christian faith. It is constantly affirmed by the highest Roman authorities to contain *all that is essential for a Christian to believe.** And as the creed is not contained in the canonical books, but has been handed down by church tradition, the Papacy founds thereupon its theory of *tradition* or the oral transmission of truth and law of Christ, in the bosom of the Church and under its auspices and control, and that the doctrine and precepts so handed down have the same authority with those revealed in the Scriptures.

This theory, therefore, simply puts the creed in the place of the Bible.

The illustrious Protestants whose names stand at the head of our article, (with many others) have assailed this theory with an erudition which had left almost no document of ancient or mediæval times unsearched or untaxed. To us their onset seems like a war of giants, to demolish a pigmy; so utterly destitute of historical basis is the Romish figment which they attacked. But the labour was by no means unnecessary in their day. Under the long and absolute sway of the Papacy, this notion had been so *drilled and soldered* into the minds of men, that even after the Reformation, not a few intelligent Protestants were found (as Voëtius assures us) who could, with difficulty, be disabused of the impression which invested the creed *formally* with a sort of divine and inspired authority. And so long as this impression lingered among men, how was it possible to restore the word of God to its primitive and just supremacy in the church?

If the creed was composed by the Apostles, why is it not mentioned among the "Acts of the Apostles?" Why never alluded to in the Epistles? If it was composed by the Apostles, under divine inspiration, it must have formed a part of the canonical Scriptures, which has never been pretended. If it

* Tous les mystères qu'il importe de croire. Bellarmin. Pref. p. 1.

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was composed by the Apostles, it must have been in the Greek language, and of course would have been received and carefully preserved by the Greek churches, but they were not in possession of it (by the plain statement of Rufinus) some time after the beginning of the fifth century. If it was composed by the Apostles before their separation, it must have been drawn up at Jerusalem, and of course, the church of Jerusalem would have first received and ever retained the precious deposit, which it did not, but had a creed of its own, as we have seen. Of all the early ecclesiastical writers who have narrated the acts of Christ and his Apostles, and the Confessions drawn up by Synods, antisynods and councils, no one has ever mentioned a creed composed by the Apostles. Hilary in his first book on the Trinity, appeals to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed, in support of the doctrine, but never mentions the Apostles' Creed. In his sixth book he enumerates all the Confessions of the Christian faith, but the list does not contain the Apostles' Creed. If it was composed by the Apostles, it would have been delivered to all the churches of the world; how then was it unknown to so large a part of them in the fifth century? how did it exist with so many variations for several centuries afterwards?* why was it necessary for the fathers both of the eastern and western churches, to draw up so many symbols and confessions on the rise of various heresies, (which are quite inferior to it in simplicity and precision,) if they could have fallen back on so venerable and unquestionable an exposition of the faith as an "Apostles' Creed?"

Such are some of the arguments by which "the might of" Vossius, Usher, and their compeers, have demolished the curtain which the Papal "builders" had been, for ages, erecting between the Church and the Bible.

Shall we add a mite of our own to a stock already so ample?

The ancient Christians were in the habit of reading, beside the Holy Scriptures, the pious remains of yet earlier times (as

* Arch. Usher produces a creed which he found written in the Latin Psalter of King Ethelstane, and another from the end of an old MS. of the Acts of the Apostles, in the Oxford library, both of which differed not inconsiderably from "the Apostles' Creed." So did another cited by Etherius, a Spanish bishop, A. 785, mentioned by Heidegger, p. 642.

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Eusebius and others tell us) not indeed as of authority, but for edification in their religious assemblies; but neither among inspired nor ecclesiastical writings so read, is there any mention of an Apostles' Creed. There is the same unbroken silence respecting it alike in the assailants and apologists of the early church; in the heretics who forsook and afterwards attacked, and the orthodox who defended her faith.

One unquestionable fact concentrates the force of all these arguments, and is of itself sufficient to overturn the whole Papal theory and the vast structure of traditional imposture which has been built upon it; "*the Apostles' Creed,*" *either in name or form, was unknown to the Christian Church, for at least four hundred years after Christ.*

Witsius, speaking of Usher, Voëtius, Vossius, and Heidegger, remarks that "the almost measureless reading* which they all brought to the discussion of this subject has left nothing for other men to do." But no subject was ever yet exhausted. Truth and error alike change their aspects and relations as ages roll on. The whole front and issue of this question has, within a few years, so totally changed, that the artillery of these renowned defenders of the faith, sweeps over a now almost unoccupied field.

The new Creed Theory, forming a part of the system of "Development," as maintained by Moehler in Germany, Newman in England and Dr. Nevin in this country (and others in both,) is so remarkable that we shall leave Dr. Nevin to state it in his own language.

With regard to the historical era of the completion of the creed, Dr. Nevin expresses himself as follows:

"His (Irenæus's) whole manner may be taken as evidence that no fixed formula of this sort, as afterwards settled in our present Apostles' Creed, was then," (in the second century,) "in ecclesiastical use."† He speaks of "all its variations in the second century,"‡ and expresses his admiration "that it should rise into view gradually, now one article, now three, and now twelve,

* Maximi viri Usserius, Voëtius, Vossius, et Heideggerus, omnes immensæ propemodum lectionis, &c. p. 1.

† P. 113. ‡ P. 220.

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. . . that it should appear under so many editions and phases, . . . that it should be so loose a deposit, apparently, in the hands of the Church, *from the first century to the fourth*, and after all, assume *in the end, the settled form it now carries, &c.*"

And yet on the page opposite our first quotation, he says: "the probability is certainly strong that *early** in the second century, *if not before*, nearly all the particulars now embraced in it (the creed) were found more or less in current use." And again more distinctly, "we meet the several parts of the creed under full revelation in the second century."

The reader is just as able to put these statements together in an intelligible and self-agreeing form, as we are.

As it regards the source of the creed, however, Dr. Nevin is entirely clear.

"The creed does not spring from the Bible. The early Church got it not from the Bible, but from the fact of Christianity itself, which must be allowed to be in its own nature older even and deeper than its own record under this form.† . . The divine tradition, which starts from the original substance of Christianity itself, as it underlies the Bible, meets us under its clearest, most primitive and most authoritative character, in the Apostles' Creed."‡

Nor is the creed the work of the Apostles. It is not "a bound scheme of words, handed down from the Apostles."§ The creed is no work of mere outward authority, imposed on the Church by Christ or his Apostles. It would help its credit greatly in the eyes of some, no doubt, if it could be made to appear under this view. Their idea of Christianity is such as involves prevailingly, the notion of a given or fixed scheme of things to be believed and done,‖ propounded for the use of men, on the authority of heaven, in a purely mechanical and outward

* Irenæus was *late* in the 2d century. Tillemont dates his work Against Heresies about 190, and says he died in 202.

† P. 337. ‡ P. 339. § P. 221.

‖ Tertullian seems to have had a very similar "idea." "This I lay down," he says, "among first principles; that there was *one fixed scheme instituted by Christ*, which all nations must, under all circumstances, believe." In primis hoc propono: unum utique et certum aliquid institutum esse a Christo, quod credere omnimodo debeant nationes. De Præsc. Hæret. IX. Opp. p. 205.

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way. . . It is plain, however, that no such origin as this can be asserted in its favour. . . In no such form could it be the glorious Christian *creed*, which we now find it to be in fact.*

"In the next place, it is no product of *reflection*, . . no result of joint deliberation and discussion. This last view, especially, would suit the taste of many; more particularly, if it could be made to appear that the Bible had been taken as the source and rule of all evidence in the case, and that the formulary was exhibited, throughout, as an extract simply, and summary, of what is to be found in its inspired pages; . . . if that famous synod at Jerusalem, for instance, or some other . . were known to have taken the matter in hand, (after the fashion of the great *world convention* in London,) and to have produced . . what they conceived to be . . a truly *scriptural*† platform of Christian doctrine." "'The articles of agreement' of the *late* "Evangelical Alliance'" are instanced, and that new creed lately originated for the use of the Protestant Armenian Church, in Constantinople. We can see and understand easily how *that* was made; the missionary goes into his upper room, takes the Bible into his hands, &c., &c. . . All this we miss in the creed which bears the name of the Apostles. . . . It is not the work of any mind or set of minds . . reducing the contents of Christianity to logical statement for the understanding."

Whence, then, *is* this "glorious Christian Creed," which is neither from the Bible, from Christ, nor from the Apostles, nor yet the "product of reflection" or "joint deliberation," nor even "the work of any mind or set of minds?" The reader may go through Aristotle's Categories of space, or Plato's world of "things movable and things immovable," or even range over "the things which are in heaven and on earth and under the earth," and not find it. We do not wonder that, after all these negations, Dr. Nevin says, "No one can tell exactly whence or how it comes."—He essays the difficult task however.

"The immediate substance of Christianity," he says, "as it comes to a real revelation in the first place directly for faith

* Pp. 201, 2.

† All the italics on this page are Dr. N's.

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forms the contents, and furnishes us with the true idea of the ancient creed. . . Its propositions are the utterance only of what is immediately at hand in the proper Christian consciousness itself. . . It owes its origin to the faith of the church . . in the way of free, gradual progress and growth. . . The creed, we say, sprang in the beginning, from the faith of the church as a whole. It is the product of the Christian life, in its general and collective capacity. . So in the early life of nations, we meet with creations continually, products of the spirit that seem to shoot forth spontaneously, by a sort of inward organic force, from the substance of the national mind itself. . . This may serve to explain what we mean when we say that the creed is to be taken as the full, free outbirth of the Christian faith as a whole. . . . The mere letter of Christianity, even as it stands in the New Testament itself" he represents as ("for a thoughtful mind") "something secondary to its living substance as exhibited in the actual mystery of Christ and his Church. . This mystery is actualized, . . comes to its revelation as the supernatural in the form of faith, by means of the Church. . . *The primitive form of this revelation is presented to us in the creed.* . . It must be taken as the grand epos of Christianity itself, the spontaneous poem of its own life unfolded in fit word and expression from the inmost consciousness of the universal Church." . . It is "the free, spontaneous product of the life of the Church as a whole, the self-adjusted utterance of its faith. . . . It is the free spontaneous externalization of the Christian consciousness, the substance of living Christianity as a whole, in its primary form of faith. . . The creed was not *made;* it *grew*, self-produced, we may say, out of the great fact of Christianity itself. . . Its contents thus come from within, and not from without." Again he calls it "the ancient creation of the church."* On the *authority* of the creed, Dr. Nevin is quite up to the highest point of Papal orthodoxy. . . . "To reject it is to reject the ancient faith; to make light account of it is to make light account of the very substance of Christianity, as it stood from the beginning. If the *regula fidei* of Irenæus and Tertullian, is to have any reality or be of

* P. 221.

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any force for us whatever, we must own its presence in the Apostles' creed. We shall have for it most certainly but a figment of our own minds, if we pretend to find it any where else."*

This is philosophical catholicism. It is a combination of the mystical philosophy of our own age with the Romish idea of the Church. It is the helping hand stretched forth by the infidel philosophy to the Papacy, in the hour of her agony. It comes too late, it is true, to save her claim of infallibility. The Council of Trent, as we have seen, and the earlier Roman doctors (Bellarmin among the rest,) insisted that *the Creed was composed by the Apostles themselves, under divine inspiration.* This "old wife's fable" they were not ashamed to repeat to children, long after full grown men perceived its ridiculous inconsistency with history. But this figment is no longer necessary.† Romanism, since her marriage with the modern philosophy, is quite ashamed of it. Dr. Nevin distinctly repudiates it. He is "not disturbed‡ in the least by the difficulty some urge against the creed, on the ground of its outward history, as showing it to be vague and uncertain in its origin. . . . The outward history of it shows clearly enough that it did *not* pass at once into the complete form in which it became finally established." (A cruel thrust at the infallibility of the Council of Trent, and of Pius V.; in fact, at the truth of the whole testimony of the Roman Church, including councils, popes, catechisms and doctors, as to the history of the creed, down to our own times.) "The very circumstances which go with some to invalidate the credit of the Apostles' creed, in what regards the manner of its origin, *we hold to be of special weight in its favour.*"§ Certainly, the modern doctrine of

* P. 201—221.

† It is however, still taught in the Roman Catechisms. So Bellarmin. "Les Saintes Ecritures ne pouvant être lues en entier, ni comprises dans toutes leurs parties, les apôtres, établis par Jesus Christ maitres de l'univers, ont extrait du corps des Ecritures et réduit à douze courtes sentences tous les mysteres qu'il importe de croire. . . On l'appelle *Symbole des apôtres* parceque les apôtres, avant de se séparer pour aller prêcher l'Evangile dans tout l'univers, laissèrent aux fidéles cet abrégé de la doctrine; et ce symbole est composé de douze articles, nombre égal à celui des douze apôtres qui le composèrent."—*This edition is of* 1842.

‡ P. 218. § P. 220.

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"development" is far more convenient and pliable for Papal purposes. The creed *was*, according to the old Roman doctrine, "an extract from the Holy Scriptures;" it is now "a product of the Spirit," "shooting forth spontaneously, by a sort of inward organic force, from the substance of the church itself; the full, free outbirth of the Christian faith." It *was* a rigid formula uttered, perhaps penned, by inspired Apostles; but now it is itself "the primitive form of revelation," "the self-adjusted utterance of the church's faith," "the substance of living Christianity as a whole." It *was* held to a somewhat close and uncomfortable relation to the "mere letter of Christianity, as it stands in the New Testament itself;" now, that "mere letter of Christianity" is "made (for a thoughtful mind,) *secondary* to its living substance as exhibited in the actual mystery of Christ and his church," and "this mystery is actualized," "comes to its revelation as the supernatural in the form of faith by means of the church, and the *primitive form* of this *revelation* is presented to us in THE CREED." On the old Roman system, it was enough that the authority of the church, should be *co-ordinate* with that of the Scripture.* It is now held to be *above* it; "the mere letter of Christianity as it stands in the New Testament" being "(for a thoughtful mind,) something *secondary* to its *living substance.*" The Bible is thus *secondary*, the creed "the primitive of the revelation of the supernatural." And this "creed was not *made;* it *grew*, self-produced, the spontaneous product of the life of the church. Its contents come *from within*, and not *from without.*" It is "the ancient *creation* of the church." Antiquity was once regarded as the exclusive claim and necessary imprint of Catholicism. It is so no longer. Her own "substance," "spirit," "life," "faith," is the "womb unmeasurable and boundless breast" which "teems and feeds" an endless progeny of "outbirths" and "creations." Unwritten traditions handed down by mysterious transmission from the days and lips of the Apostles, were once affirmed as the warranty of Papal innovations; but "young Rome" turns out of doors without ceremony that

* Omnes (scriptores pontificii) *parem* illi (symbolo) authoritatem tribuunt cum Scriptnris canonicis. Voëtius, p. 67.

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hoary imposture and absurdity, or keeps its beard only to overawe children with; the creed is now claimed as her own "creation," "the externalization of her consciousness," "the free spontaneous product of her life," "the *self-adjusted* utterance of her faith," "the full, free outbirth of her life;" and of course, she can "create," "externalize," "produce," "adjust," and "bring forth" whenever, whatever, and how much soever she likes; for her *vis genitrix* cannot be other than inexhaustible, her "living substance" being as Dr. Nevin affirms, "divine."* The χροῦς ἀρχαῖος, the *antique mould* which of old time gave the creed and other "products" of "the church" so much of their reverence and authority, is thus brushed away without hesitation, for lo! beneath it, under the magic touch of the modern philosophy, there appears the bloom of perpetual and self-renovating youth. "It is this *living* character precisely, its *self-conserving* and *self-determining* power which clothes it" (the creed) with its chief title to respect.†

One difficulty, however, meets us. As the creed came to its present size "in the way of free gradual progress and growth,"‡ why may it not continue to "grow?" Why may not this "trunk" put forth more shoots, more "living branches?" Dr. Nevin decides that it cannot, at least that it will not; having reached "the round symmetrical beauty of its *last* settled form," "its proper *ultimate* and *constant* type."§ By what authority he thus pronounces the process of "free growth" and "externalization" arrested, *ended, and determined*, he does not inform us. Is it because it has reached the apostolic number of twelve? But let us dispense with conjecture. It is quite needless that the creed should "grow" any more. It is now large enough. That single article, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," with the Papal interpretation, is a gate large enough for "an army with banners" to pass through. What an interminable line of shaven monks, begging friars, lying Jesuits, and inquisitors keen on the scent of heretical blood—what rites, orders, and ordinances ("which the Lord commanded not, neither came it into his mind,") interdicts and indulgences, anathemas and canonizations have already emerged through that ample portal and are ever on the march, a new line defiling at

* P. 217. † Ibid. p. 221. ‡ p. 215. § p. 220.

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every order from the Vatican. Verily, the "merchandize" that passes in and out at that portal, is great—"the merchandize of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen and purple, &c., and souls of men"—and all under the sacred auspices and unquestionable sanction of "the *holy* Catholic *Church*."

Never was so bold a theory of church power and supremacy propounded before. Even the Jesuits, who paid divine honours to the Pope,* held that the creed was "an extract from the Holy Scriptures," "the commandments of the Church based on the law of God" and "the Pope the vicegerent of Christ upon earth." But here is "a *regula fidei*," "a primitive form of faith" "externalized from the inmost consciousness," "created from the substance" of the Church herself.† And yet, "to reject *it*, is to reject the ancient faith; to make light account of *it*, is to make light account of the *very substance of Christianity*." "If the rule of faith is to have any reality, or be of any force for us whatever, we must own its presence in *the Apostles' Creed*. We shall have for it" (Dr. Nevin warns us,) "most certainly but a figment of our own minds, if we pretend to find it *anywhere else*"—even of course in "the mere letter of Christianity as it stands in the New Testament."

It is but little to say of this system that it antiquates the

* "Gregory XV. went to visit the dying Cardinal, (Bellarmin,) who addressed him in these words, *Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof*, (*Domine, non dignus sum ut intres, &c.*) *words which prove to what point Cardinal Bellarmin carried his respect for the Vicar of Jesus Christ.*" Vie de Bellarmin, by M. Abbé Migne. pref. to his Cat. "Must not all serious believing Protestants," says Dr. Schaf, (Prin. of Prot., p. 103,) "feel themselves more closely related in spirit to a Bellarmin . . than to . . a Bruno Bauer?" If we are called upon to choose between an idolater and an atheist, our hesitation is not long. We say *neither*. Blessed be God, we have a better alternative.

† We cannot wonder then, that Dr. Nevin lays down the following order of precedence, (and in doing so, distinctly takes the side of Rome in the great central issue between her and Protestantism,) "*First the Church, and then the Bible.* So in the creed, 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church,' not 'I believe in the Holy inspired Bible.' Not, certainly, to put any dishonour on this last, but to lay rather a solid foundation for its dignity and authority in the other article." (p. 339.) To lay a solid foundation for the dignity and authority of the Bible, in the faith of the Church!!

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Scriptures, it nullifies inspiration,* it removes the Church from its ancient foundation "of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone," and hangs it, self-poised, in mid air. It makes it the source of law, faith and life to itself. What reverence does it leave, what significance even, for those glorious and precious revelations, "Thy word is truth. I am the Life. Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world;" or what force in those precepts, "Search the Scriptures, for *in them ye think ye have eternal life.*" "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly." What shadow of respect for that divine communication, (appended alike to the "law which was given by Moses" and to "the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ;") "Ye shall not *add* unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God." "If any man shall *add* unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book."

The issue here is of no less magnitude than *the source and derivation of Christian truth.* The Papal theory, in whatever form, makes the "Apostles' Creed" a *separate, subsequent* and *sufficient* revelation of Christianity. Whether, with some of the eminent Papal writers, you hold it to be the composition of the "hundred and twenty" including the Apostles,† (Acts i. 15) or of the twelve Apostles, immediately after the descent of the

* It is well known that the Mystical Philosophy holds that a revelation being ex necessitate rei, made to the intuitional faculty, a verbal revelation is a sheer impossibilty, and a transmission of the contents of a revelation from one mind to another, of course, yet more so,—and therefore the ideas that "holy men of God *spake* as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," and that all *Scripture is given by inspiration* of God" are just to be regarded as among the myths of the world's childhood. (Dr. Nevin, however, holds to inspiration. He thinks that Ursinus was inspired. "In a deep and true sense," he says, (Hist. and Gen. of the Heid. Cat. p. 129,) "we may even say that he was inspired. He spake not of himself nor from himself simply: but *it was the life of the Church, (which is always truly a divine life,) that sought and found expression through his words.* It is this pre-eminently that imparts to the Catechism its power and glory." The Church, then, it seems, can inspire, though the Head and Creator of the Church cannot. Of course, if she can "create," "produce from her own substance" and externalize from her own consciousness a creed, she is quite competent to *inspire* a catechism. Whether Ursinus would have laughed at the nonsense or shuddered at the blasphemy of such "philosophy," we will not pretend to decide.)

† Antonius Nebrissensis, cited by Vossius, p. 3.

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Holy Spirit at Pentecost,* or of the twelve, with Paul and Barnabas, (making, of course, fourteen authors and articles,†) or of the twelve in the second year of Claudius, before they fled to escape the persecution of Herod:‡ — whether it was *written* by the Apostles, or orally delivered and committed to the memory of the faithful:—whether it was a collect from the Scriptures,§ or given by inspiration of God, apart from all previous or other revelations;‖ whether its sentences were contributed singly or severally by the Apostles, Peter, (of course,) beginning, "I believe in God the Father Almighty," John adding, "Maker of heaven and earth," James, &c., &c.;¶ whether it was drawn up to preserve their own unity,** or to serve as an invariable and perpetual formula†† of the faith to Christians throughout the world and to all future time, it is, through all these modifications, *an independent revelation of Christianity, apart from and unknown to the inspired Scriptures, bearing in itself the contents of the Christian faith*—"the things which Christian men ought to hold," and is so finally ruled and settled by the supreme authority of the Papacy.

* Ante conversionem Pauli, of course. Bonaventura, cited by Vostius, p. 66.

† Whose fourteen *sententiæ*, like so many osiers, were woven into a holy *basket* by Peter, quasi cophinum contexuit Petrus. Albertus Patav. quoted by Vossius. p. 4.

‡ Baronius, in Heidegger. p. 640, 1.

§ Extrait du corps des Ecritures. Bellarm. Pref. to Cat. Paschasius Rath. also quoted by Vossius, p. 4.

‖ This is the general opinion of the Papal writers. Sententia est vulgatior, Vossius, p. 4.

¶ Each Apostle contributing his *bolus*, and all together making a *σύμβολον*, or *epulum spirituale*, as they call it, with a ridiculous disregard of the meaning of the word, not *σύμβολον* but *συμβολὴ*, signifying such a *collatio*.) And what, for four hundred years, became of half the *bolus* of Thomas ("he descended into hell") and for nearly the same length of time of the same portion of the *bolus* of James the son of Alpheus, "the Holy Catholic Church?" And yet this silly story has been adopted by Baronius; "ex Augustino supposititio." Heidegger, p. 640, "a sermon falsely attributed to St. Austin." Lord King, p. 26. The passage is now given up on all hands.

** So some after Rufinus "normam *sibi* futuræ prædicationis in commune constituunt, ne forte alii alio adducti, diversum aliquid his qui ad fidem Christi invitabantur, exponerent, p. 1. As if the illumination of the Holy Ghost were not sufficient to secure the Apostolic unity!

†† Certa et constans formula; such is the general account of its design.

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In the later and far bolder form of the Papal theory, advanced by Dr. Nevin and the men of "development," that namely, which holds it to be neither "got from the Bible,"* nor "imposed on the Church by Christ or his Apostles,"† but "a growth from within,"‡ "a creation of the Church," "owing its *origin* to the faith of the Church," vivified, as she is, by the incarnation of the Son of God, and so made "the bearer" and "depositary of supernatural powers,"§ and yet "the primitive form of revelation," to which "the mere letter of Christianity, even as it stands in the New Testament, is something secondary," "the substance of living Christianity as a whole, in its primary form of faith,"‖ in this form we say, there is a yet more distinct renunciation of all dependence of the Church on the Scriptures, and all necessary connection between them.¶ If this theory be true, the creed ought forthwith to take the place of the Bible throughout the whole Christian œconomy. Instead of "searching the Scriptures," men must henceforth *search the creed.* Instead of having the "word of Christ dwell in them richly," they must have *the creed dwell in them richly.* Instead of going to "the Scriptures all-inspired of God," they must go *to the creed created by the Church,* for "doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness." Instead of being "sanctified by the word of God," they must be *sanctified by the creed of the Church.* All things must be changed to suit. Preachers, instead of taking a text from the Bible, must henceforth take a text from the creed.** The Church, instead of singing,

"Thy word is everlasting truth,"

must sing

My creed is everlasting truth!

The change would greatly abridge the cost and labour of our

* P. 337. † P. 201. ‡ P. 219.

§ Dr. Nevin. Antichrist, p. 52.

‖ "All Christianity starts in the realities of the Creed, and is of no force any farther than these continue to be felt in the way of faith." Antichrist, p. 67.

¶ So the Romanist Mœhler, though by no means so boldly as Dr. Nevin, "when ecclesiastical education in the way described, takes place in the individual, *the Sacred Scriptures are not even necessary.*" Symbolism, p. 350.

** Rather scanty material, but by the wise men of this school, *preaching* is thought to have been *overvalued.*

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Bible Societies, which would then have only to print creeds instead of Bibles. It would quite supersede the voluminous emissions of our Boards of Publication. How light would be the burden of the colporteur! It would effectually tame the restless energy of our republicanism, and prove an absolute panacea for "the virulence of the *sect-plague*." Instead of the process ("full of peril") of *thinking* and *inquiring*, Christians would only have to *believe*.* In a word, in place of the Bible, through all the relations of Christianity, would be installed the Creed; from forth the ninth article of which, "the Holy Catholic Church" would "externalize" all matters of faith and practice, and (in the gateway of that article stands the Papal throne) would legislate† once more to Christendom and to the world.

Catholic instrumentalities, too, would be restored to full operation. Instead of an "Evangelical Alliance" to promote unity of faith, we should have an Inquisition; instead of gospel preachers, cowled monks and shaven priests; instead of "reasonings of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," racks and thumb-screws; for evangelists, begging friars; for "the Bible and God's Spirit,"‡ Papal bulls, anathemas, and indulgences. The citizen would become a *peasant* again, and the Christian a *Catholic*. The Church and the world would be replaced as they were under the midnight glories of the Dark Ages. This is "the great Millennium, the Church of the Future," after which Dr. Nevin tells us, "very many truly Catholic souls are *silently* breathing an impatient, *How long, Lord?*§

Of all the millennarian schemes of our age, we like Dr. Nevin's millennium of darkness and retrogression, the least.

* "Faith," says Dr. Nevin "goes before *all thought* and lies at the ground of it." "Our creed *precedes* and *underlies* our *intelligence*."

† "What a conception is that of Christianity, which excludes from its organic jurisdiction the broad, vast conception of the commonwealth or state!" Catholicism, p. 14.

‡ "Few seem to have the least fear of schism, if only they can lay claim in their own way, to *the Bible and God's Spirit*." Ant. p. 84. Cf. John v. 39, and 1 John ii. 20, 27, both from the *mystical* Apostle!

§ Antichrist, p. 71 and 76.

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Is it not, in every aspect, a new Christianity—"another gospel?"

The theory may seem ridiculous, but it is a grave matter, associated and identified as it is, with this still vast and powerful Papacy. On that stock it has grown. If the germ of mysticism had been "graffed" into any branch of vital and scriptural Christianity, it would have withered and died at once: for the stock and scion being of different genera, the bud would not take. But inserted in "Catholicism," it has vegetated with a prodigious luxuriance. It is, indeed, a vast advance on any earlier "stadium"* of that system. Yet it is strictly and legitimately a development of it. The Roman Church began her apostacy, by claiming powers which the word of God did not grant nor even permit to any part of the Christian Church; she next prohibited the Scriptures because they rebuked and exposed her corruptions of Christian truth, and encroachments on Christian freedom; the Creed was a great assistance to her in this matter, serving in her abuse of it to antiquate (as summaries often have done) the volume from which it had been compiled. She at length took courage to contradict and *nullify* the plain and acknowledged precepts of the word of God;† and now at last, if she betakes herself to the encampment prepared for her by German mysticism—and she seems on the march to do so—she fully and for ever *forsakes* and renounces the word of God, shakes off what slack allegiance she has hitherto professed to hold to it, and proclaims her Creed "the primitive revelation," and herself the "Creator of the Christian faith."

This is certainly, a new phase in the "revelation" of "the

* "The Church is never stationary, but always passing forward from one stadium of perfection to another." Antichrist, p. 35. What "Church" is that whose every successive *stadium* is a further departure form the word of God? What will be her last *stadium*?

† So in the Council of Constance, "Decretum est Sept. xiii. circa S. Eucharistiæ Sacramentum quod '*licet* CHRISTUS *sub utraque specie instituerit, eundemque administrandi modum Ecclesia Primitiva retinuerit*, HIS TAMEN NON OBSTANTIBUS, *consuetudo* ECCLESIÆ, *qua sub specie panis tantummodo a laicis suscipitur*, ET OBSERVANDA.'" Cave, Scrip. Eccles. Sæc. Synodale, p. 150. What was this canon less than a declaration of open revolt from Christ, and at the same time repudiation of Christian antiquity?

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man of sin and the son of perdition." Never before has he so dictinctly taken the position of Antichrist; never before so boldly "seated himself in the temple of God, boasting himself that he is God." For who less than God can (either in the objective or subjective sense,) *originate and create faith?*

May God speed forward that revelation *in his time!* For "the day of Christ shall not come till that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming."

Dr. Nevin does not attempt to bring from the Bible any testimony to its own degradation below the Creed. But he does claim for his theory—a theory never heard of by Christian, Pagan, or Infidel, till the time of Strauss*—the sanction of every thing that is venerable in the history of that Christianity of which it strikes at the very foundation.

"It, (the Creed,) forms," he says, "the basis of all sound Christian profession in the Protestant, no less than in the Roman Catholic Church."†

"It lay at the foundation of all Christianity with Luther himself . . It was a necessary means of grace with him, he tells us himself, to repeat the creed with the Lord's Prayer, throughout his life." "*The creed with the Lord's Prayer!*" Here is Luther's own enumeration: "The Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Faith, some of the Psalms,‡ &c., I recite with myself early in the morning, and as often as I

* Dr. Nevin acknowledges, in the following passage, (p. 217,) to what notable source the Christian church is indebted for the *first hint*, which, by "thoughtful minds," has been wrought out into this new theory. "The main use of this work of Strauss, if it can be allowed to have any, *is found just in this*, that *it serves*, for a thoughtful mind, to *make the mere letter of Christianity, even as it stands in the New Testament itself, something secondary to its living substance, as exhibited in the mystery of Christ and his church . . So much of truth, however, may be allowed to it*, that this mystery . . comes to its revelation . . by means of the church . . The primitive form of this revelation is presented to us in the Creed." A fitting master, verily, to teach the Church of Christ such a lesson! When she goes to school to such "filthy dreamers" as Strauss, she may expect to come back with the discovery that the word of her Lord is "something secondary" to her own consciousness!

† P. 122.

‡ Orationem Dominicam, Decem Præcepta, Articulos Fidei, Psalmos aliquot, &c., Cat. Maj. Præf. Hase. Lib. Sym. p. 392.

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have a little leisure;"—and he goes on to discourse of "the power of the word of God," and "the blessedness of daily meditation upon it," saying, that "no perfume is more precious, no odour more efficacious against devils and bad thoughts, than if thou handle by constant use the word and precepts of God, mixing therewith familiar discourses upon it, singing and meditating the same. This, verily, is that *holy water* and true *sign** (of the cross) whereby Satan is put to flight, and which he dreads above all things."†

So much for Luther's "necessary means of grace" in private, which were somewhat more ample than Dr. Nevin's *abridgment* would seem to imply. "His (Luther's) sense," Dr. Nevin adds, "of the authority that belongs to the ancient catholic faith altogether, was very earnest and deep." Undoubtedly it was; but not of that "catholic faith" of which "the creed is the primitive revelation." Hear his own words:

"By what sign, then," he says,‡ "shall I know a church? For some visible sign must be given, whereby we may be gathered together to hear the word of God. I answer, the necessary sign is Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and, most of all, the Gospel.§ These are the three signs, badges, and characters of Christians . . . . . Where thou seest that the Gospel is not, (as we see in the synagogue of the Papists,)‖ there thou mayest not doubt, *there is no church*, even though they baptize and eat from the altar . . . But there thou mayest know is Babylon, full of witches, owls, cormorants, and other monsters.¶ . . . The Gospel, before Baptism and the Lord's Supper, is the one surest and noblest sign of a church, since by the Gospel alone, it is conceived, shapen, nourished, brought forth, brought up, fed, clothed, adorned, strengthened, armed, preserved,—in brief, *the whole life and substance of the church is in the word of*

* Hæc vere aqua illa sanctificata, verumque signum.

† Ibid. p. 393.

‡ Resp. ad Lib. Ambros. Catharini. Luth. Opp. Tom. II. p. 147. Wittenbergæ. 1546.

§ Omnium potissimum, Evangelium.

‖ Sicut in Synagoga Papistarum videmus.

¶ Babylonem ibi esse scias, plenam lamiis, pilosis ululis, onocrotalis, aliisque monstris.

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God, even as Christ says, 'man liveth by every word which proceedeth from the mouth of God.'"*

"The Reformed Church here," says Dr. Nevin, was of one mind with the Lutheran. Thus, in Calvin's Catechism," &c.

Calvin's intention in following the order of the Creed, and his view of the Creed itself is nowhere so fully stated as in his Institutes. "Thus far," he says, at the close of the second book, "I have followed the order of the Apostles' Creed; because, since it sketches in few words, the heads of redemption,† it may serve to us the purpose of an index,‡ in which we behold distinctly and severally, the Christian subjects which deserve our attention. I call it the Apostles' Creed, little concerned meanwhile, about its authorship.§ . . The only point of importance, I hold to be placed beyond controversy, that the whole history of our faith is therein set forth succinctly and in clear arrangements, and that nothing is contained in it which is not sealed by solid testimonies of Scripture."‖ And again, "A creed must be a complete summary of our faith, into which *nothing may be infused, which is not derived from the purest word of God.*¶ And, "since we see the whole sum of our salvation and even its several parts comprehended in Christ, *we must beware lest we derive even the minutest portion of it from any other source.*"**

"So," continues Dr. Nevin, "in the admirable symbol of the Palatinate, the Heidelberg Catechism, it is 'the articles of our catholic and undoubted Christian faith,' as comprehended in the same Creed which are made to underlie the doctrine of salvation from beginning to end." And again,†† "it" (the Heidelberg Catechism) "is based directly upon the Apostles' Creed, *with the sound and most certainly right feeling, that no Protestant doctrine can ever be held in a safe form, which is not so*

* Breviter, tota vita et substantia Ecclesiæ est in verbo Dei.

† Capita redemptionis.

‡ Vice tabulæ nobis esse potest.

§ De auctore interim minime solicitus.

‖ Nihil autem contineri, quod solidis Scripturæ testimoniis non sit consignatum. Inst. II. 16. § 18.

¶ Nisi ex purissimo Dei verbo petitum. II. c. 16, § 8.

** Cavendum ne vel minimam portiunculam alio derivemus. II. 16. § 19.

†† Introduction to Williard's Ursinus, p. 15.

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held as to be in truth, a living branch from the trunk of this primitive symbol in the consciousness of faith."

The Heidelberg Catechism consists of three parts. The *second* of these follows the order of the Apostles' Creed. What it is that *underlies the doctrine of salvation*, to the apprehension of the author of the Catechism, (Ursinus,) is best learned from his own words. He inserts the Creed in his Catechism, with these and the like preliminary cautions. "Faith is borne upon the whole word of God and firmly assents to it.* . . *Human traditions*, edicts of popes and decrees of councils are excluded"† (from the ground of faith.) "*For faith can rest on the word of God alone, as its immovable foundation.*‡ Christians therefore, are neither to form for themselves matters of faith, nor to embrace what is formed or handed down by men, but *to believe the gospel.*"§

And with regard to this theory of a church-created creed, if Ursinus had been gifted with prescience to foresee that combination of Popery and mysticism, he could not have struck it with greater precision than he has done in the following words.

"Certain it is that no Church, whether of angels or of men, has power to frame new laws concerning the worship of God, or *new articles of faith binding the conscience.* For that belongs to God alone. Nor are we to believe God on the testimony of the Church, but the Church on the testimony of God."‖

Dr. Nevin claims also the sanction of the "Gallican," "Belgic," and "Helvetic Confessions," and "the Articles of the Church of England"¶ in support of his creed theory. A short citation from each will show what these "good confes-

* Fides igitur fertur in omne Dei verbum, eique firmiter assentitur.

† Excluduntur traditiones humanæ, &c.

‡ Solo Dei verbo tanquam immoto fundamento. Exp. Cat. Q. 22.

§ Supported by Mark i. 15.—1 Cor. ii. 5.

‖ Certum est, nec angelorum, nec hominum ecclesiam habere potestatem condendi novas leges de cultu Dei, aut novos articulos fidei obligantes conscientiam. Id enim est solius Dei. Neque Deo propter ecclesiæ, sed ecclesiæ propter Dei testimonium credendum est. Exp. Cat. Q. 23.

¶ Pp. 123, 4.

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sions" "witness before" the world to be the fountain of Christian truth and the rule of Christian faith.

The Gallican Confession, (after the list of the canonical books,) declares as follows.

"We recognize these books to be canonical and the certain rule of our faith,* not so much by the common harmony and consent of the Church, as by the testimony and interior persuasion of the Holy Spirit, who makes us to discern them from other ecclesiastical books, on which, though they yet be useful, no man can found any article of faith."†

"And since it" ("the word which is contained in these books and proceedeth from God‡") "is the rule of all truth,§ containing all that is necessary for the service of God and our salvation, it is not lawful for men nor even for angels to add thereto, nor to diminish or change it. Whence it follows, that neither antiquity, nor customs, nor multitude, nor human wisdom, nor judgments, nor sentences, nor edicts, nor decrees, nor councils, nor visions, nor miracles, must be opposed to that Holy Scripture, but on the contrary, all things must be examined, proved and reformed according to it.‖ And in this view,¶ we acknowledge the three symbols, to wit, of the Apostles, of Nice, and of Athanasius, because they are conformed to the word of God."**

The Belgic Confession is admirably full and clear "de auctoritate"†† and "de perfectione‡‡ Sacræ Scripturæ." We cite but one sentence: "Since the whole method of that divine *cultus* which God requires from the faithful,§§ is therein most exactly and copiously described;‖‖‖ for no man, though he

* Règle tres certaine de nostre Foy.

† Sur lesquels (encore qu' ils soyent utiles,) on ne peut fonder aucun article de Foy. Conf. Fid. Gall. Art. IV. Niemeyer, Coll. Conf. p. 314.

‡ Procédée de Dieu.

§ La règle de toute vérité.

‖ Ainsi au contraire, toutes choses doyvent estre examinées, reiglées et reformées selon icelle.

¶ Suyvant cela.

** Pour ce qu' ils sont conformés à la parole de Dieu. Art. V.

†† Art. III. and V. ‡‡ Art. VI.

§§ Omnis divini cultus ratio, quam Deus a fidelibus exigit.

‖‖‖ Exactissime et fuse descripta.

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be endowed with Apostolic dignity, nor even for any angel sent down from heaven, as holy Paul speaketh, is it lawful to teach otherwise than we have been already taught in the sacred Scriptures."*

In the article on "the most Holy Trinity" it says, "we freely receive those three symbols, namely, the Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian."† The Helvetic Confession is particularly exact and full on the relation of church doctrine, whether brought out in the shape of interpretation, tradition or creed, to the Scriptures.

"The Canonical Scripture," it declares,‡ "which is the word of God, delivered by the Holy Spirit, and set forth to the world by prophets and apostles, is the most ancient, perfect and exalted philosophy§ and alone contains all|| that conduces to the true knowledge, love and communion of God, to genuine piety and to the ordering of a devout and holy life.

"This holy, divine Scripture, is interpreted by none other than itself, and is cleared up by the analogy (under the guidance) of faith and love."¶

"So far as the holy fathers have not gone aside from this kind of interpretation, we not only receive them as interpreters of Scripture, but revere them as chosen vessels of God."**

"For the rest of the traditions of men, however specious and universal, which lead us aside from God and the true faith, we say in the words of the Lord, in vain do they worship me, teaching the doctrines of men."††

The doctrine of the Reformed Church of England on the subject of "the Holy Scripture" and of "the Creeds" is as follows:‡‡ "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be

* Aliter docere quam jampridem in Sacris Scripturis edocti sumus. Niemeyer, p. 361, &c.

† Recipimus libenter, &c., Art. IX. Niem. p. 365.

‡ Art. I. Niemeyer, p. 105.

§ Die aller älteste, volkomneste und höchste leer.

|| Begrifft allein alles das, das zu warer erkantnüss, liebe und eer Gottes, &c.

¶ Erklärt werden durch die richtschnur des glaubens und der liebe. Art. II.

** Art. III. †† Art. IV. ‡‡ Articles VI. and VIII.

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proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

"The Nicene Creed and *that which is commonly called* the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; *for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.*"

What then was the "warrant" by which the creeds themselves were to "be proved," what was the "basis" of Protestant doctrine, the "trunk" from which it grew and depended, the only "safe form" in which it could be "held," is abundantly evident from these citations. And every time the Reformed Church uttered her voice on this subject, whether it was among the mountains of Switzerland or in the Universities of Germany and England, or a century later, in the Synod of Dort and the Assembly of Westminster, it was to proclaim that *the word of God is the sole and all-sufficient rule of faith and life to the Christian Church.*

And her voice in this grand and unanimous utterance of it, was a distinct reverberation of that which came down to her, weakened and confused somewhat, but never extinct, through the lapse of ages, from her elder sister, who in *voice* as well as *feature*, bore a strong family resemblance to her, the Primitive Church. And yet Dr. Nevin claims the sanction of this too, for his theory of a "growing," "expanding," "self-adjusted," "church-created" Creed.

"That such an Apostolical rule, as to inward substance, existed and had force, as the unity of the universal Christian faith, in the early Church, no one who does not choose to put out his own eyes, can for a moment doubt; *and yet, it is just as clear that this living rule embodied itself finally, and became permanent and fixed, in the Creed* as we now have it. . . . If the *regula fidei* of Irenæus and Tertullian, is to have any reality, or be of any force for us whatever, we must own its presence in the Apostles' Creed."*

Now, we should be sorry to "put out our own eyes," for this, among other reasons, that then we might *fall into the ditch* with

* Apostles' Creed, No. III. p. 221.

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this *blind guide.* But having our eyes open, and Irenæus and Tertullian before them, we confess ourselves amazed at the temerity of this citation.

Shall we summon Erasmus to try conclusions with Dr. Nevin on this point? Here is his testimony: "Irenæus fought against the troop of heretics with arguments (munitions) drawn *from the Scriptures alone.*"*

But let the good bishop of Lyons, (or Presbyter, for as to the matter of fact, we firmly believe it is of no consequence which title we use, *since he uses both indifferently,*) expound himself on this point.

Irenæus mentions no *regula fidei.* The phrase does not occur in his writings. "Regula veritatis," "principia Evangelii," and the like expressions, he uses often; by these *objective* denominations of the substance or material of the Christian faith, denoting that, to his apprehension, the "contents" of that faith came *from without, and not from within.*† In what sense he uses these expressions, we shall allow the reader to judge for himself.

"He who has the immovable *rule of truth* in his possession, which he receives by baptism, will recognize the names, phrases, and comparisons, which are from the Scriptures; but the blasphemous reasoning of those men he will not recognize. . . But reducing every one of their assertions to its proper rank, and *applying it to the indivisible substance of truth,* he will strip their figment and reveal its weakness. . And by this demonstration may we know that firm truth which is preached by the Church, and that falsification of it which is contrived by these men."‡

* Irenæus *solis scripturarum præsidiis* adversus hæreticorum catervam pugnavit. Eras. Epist. prefixed to the books of Irenæus.

† "From within, and not from without," says Dr. Nevin. Merc. Rev. Ap. Creed. No. III. p. 219.

‡ Qui *regulam veritatis immobilem* apud se habet, quam per baptismum accipit, hæc quidem *quæ sunt ex Scripturis,* nomina et dictiones et parabolas cognoscet: blasphemum autem illorum argumentum non cognoscet. . Unumquemque autem sermonum reddens suo ordini, et aptans veritatis corpusculo, denudabit, et insubstantivum ostendet figmentum ipsorum. . . et ex ostensione [cognoscere est] eam firmam, quæ ab Ecclesia prædicatur veritatem, et ab iis id quod fingitur falsiloquium. Iren. adv. Hæreses, Lib. I. Cap. 1, near the end. It is scarcely

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And again: "While we hold the *rule of truth*, that is, that there is one God Almighty, who formed and arranged all things by his word, and from that state in which there was nothing, has brought this, in which all things exist, *as the Scripture declares*, "for by the word of the Lord were the heavens made," &c. (where he cites Ps. xxxii. 6, and John i. 3.) . . . "So long as we hold *this rule*, therefore, though they (the heretics) utter very many and various things, *we easily convict them of deviating from the truth.*"*

Once more for the *regula veritatis* of Irenæus. "When they (heretics) are refuted from the Scriptures, they turn to the accusation of the Scriptures themselves, as if they were not well expressed, or not of authority . . . . . which without doubt, is most impudently to blaspheme their own Creator."†

"These are *the first principles of the Gospel*, that there is one God, the Creator of this universe, the same who was announced by the prophets and gave the ordering of the law by Moses, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they know no other God nor any other Father."‡

"The Gospel is the pillar and strength of that church which is scattered over the whole earth, and the breath of its life."§

"The Gospel lifts men up and bears them on its wings to the heavenly kingdom."‖

"Those who side with Valentinus, being destitute of all reverence, have gone to such a length of audacity, as to denominate that a true Gospel *which in nothing agrees with the Gospels of the Apostles*, so that the Gospel itself has not escaped their blas-

necessary to remind the reader that we only have Irenæus in an old Latin translation, which is rude and often obscure.

* Cum teneamus autem nos regulam veritatis, id est, &c. *quemadmodum Scriptura dicit. . . . Hanc* ergo tenentes *regulam*, licet valde varia et multa dicant, *facile eos deviasse a veritate arguimus.* Adv. Hæreses, Lib. I. Cap. 19, beginning.

† Cum ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non recte habeant, neque sint ex authoritate. . . . Quod quidem impudentissime est blasphemare suum factorem. Adv. Hæreses, Lib. III. Cap. 2, beginning.

‡ Hæc quidem sunt *principia Evangelii*, &c. Adv. Hær. III. 11.

§ Columna et firmamentum Ecclesiæ est Evangelium et Spiritus vitæ. Ibid.

‖ Evangelium, elevans et pennigerans homines in cœleste regnum. Ibid.

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phemy.* . . . All who will, may perceive that it (their gospel) is unlike those which have been delivered to us by the Apostles, since it is plain from the Scriptures themselves, that it is not that Gospel of truth which was delivered by the Apostles."

The following passage is as remarkable for its beauty as for the distinctness of its testimony. But for the barbarous Latin, it might easily be mistaken for Melanchthon's.

"The church every where preaches the truth, and she is the seven-bowled candlestick, bearing the light of Christ.† Those, therefore, who forsake the preaching of the church, inveigh against the unskilfulness of holy presbyters,‡ not considering how much better is a religious simpleton than a blasphemer or an impudent sophist. Such, however, are all heretics, and those who think they have found out something beyond the truth, following ambiguous utterances, and making a bewildered and feeble progress, *not always having the same minds on the same subjects*,§ but blind themselves are led about by the blind . . . . . The opinions of such we must avoid, and look well to it, that we be not inveigled by them; but we must betake ourselves to the church, and be brought up in her bosom, and *nourished by the Scriptures of the Lord.*‖ For the Paradise of the church has been planted in this world. 'From every tree of Paradise,' therefore, 'thou shalt eat,' saith the Spirit of God, that is, feed on all the Scripture of the Lord."¶

* Hi qui sunt a Valentino . . . in tantum processerunt audaciæ, uti . . Veritatis Evangelium titulent, in nihilo conveniens Apostolorum Evangeliis, ut nec Evangelium quidem sit apud eos sine blasphemia. Ibid.

† Ubique Ecclesia prædicat veritatem, et hæc est ἀπτάμυξος lucerna, Christi bajulans lumen. An allusion to Ex. xxv. 31, &c.

‡ Imperitiam sanctorum Presbyterorum arguunt. You will look in vain for this passage, (or any others of the many in which *Presbyteri* occurs in Irenæus,) in the Index locupletissimus of Feu-Ardentius. *Episcopi* is duly honoured. It would not have been edifying, to be sure, to have directed the attention of good Catholics to Irenæus's declaration that "the tradition from the Apostles is preserved in the church, *per successiones Presbyterorum*, (Lib. III. c. 2,) or to the startling fact that he uses *Presbyteri* and *Episcopi* interchangeably. Cf. e. g. Lib. V. c. 20 with Lib. III. c. 2.

§ Multiforme et imbecille facientes iter, *de iisdem non semper easdem sententias habentes.*

‖ Confugere ad Ecclesiam, et in ejus sinu educari et dominicis Scripturis enutriri.

¶ Id est, ab omni Scriptura dominica manducate. Adv. Hær. Lib. V. c. 20.

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And thus he expresses the transition in his argument from the Gospels to the Epistles.

. . . "Having then examined* the sentiment of those who delivered the Gospel to us, (from their own fountains,†) let us now come to the rest of the Apostles, and inquire into their teaching —and to conclude all let us hear the very words of our Lord."

Thus does the champion of the church's faith in the second century muster the war against errorists of every badge and banner. With him the *regula veritatis* is identical with the *principia Evangelii;* the *nomina, dictiones, parabolæ quæ sunt ex Scripturis* are the *Corpusculum veritatis*, the contact of which, like a powerful talisman, distinguishes *the firm truth which is preached by the church* from the *falsifications of heretics. The preaching of the church* is *the light of Christ. The food of her members* is *the Scriptures of the Lord.* All the weapons of his warfare "against heresies," are included in this inventory —"*the doctrine of those Apostles who delivered the Gospel to us —that of the other Apostles*—and *the very words of our Lord.*"

Then, as to the *regula fidei* of Tertullian. He can surely be no great authority for any thing, who in his latter years departed and revolted from the Christian church, and fell into the incredible folly of Montanism. But his authority, such as it is, is all against Dr. Nevin.

The phrases *regula fidei, lex fidei, regula fidei aut spei, regula Scripturaram, regula Dei*, often occur in his writings. *And they are used to denote the same thing.* But as Dr. Nevin is partial to the *regula fidei*, let us briefly notice the way in which Tertullian speaks of it. Unhappily for Dr. Nevin's argument, the books of Tertullian in which the *regula fidei* is mentioned, were principally written after he was thrust out of the bosom of the Catholic Church, and the *sect-plague* was fairly developed on him. But Dr. Nevin must look after that. As our faith is not derived from the Church," nor from "the Fathers," the authority of Tertullian the Montanist is with us much the same with that of Tertullian the Catholic, as far as determining the *regula fidei* is concerned.

The following passage occurs in his book "de Præscriptione

* Lib. III. c. 11, end. † Ex ipsis principiis ipsorum.

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Hæreticorum:"* "The *rule of faith*,† that we may at once declare what we defend, is that whereby it is believed, that there is one God alone, and no other beside the Creator of the world, who brought forth all things from nothing by his own Word first of all sent down; that this Word was called his Son, who under the name of God was variously seen by the Patriarchs, who was always heard in the prophets, was afterwards conveyed by the Spirit and power of God into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, was born of her Jesus Christ,‡ thereafter preached a new law and a new promise of the kingdom of heaven, wrought miracles, was fastened to the cross, on the third day rose again, was taken up to heaven and sat down at the right hand of the Father, sent forth the vicarious power of the Holy Spirit to actuate all who believe, will come again with glory to take his saints to the fruition of eternal life and the promised joys of heaven, and to award the wicked to eternal fire, both being resuscitated with the resurrection of the flesh. *This rule, instituted by Christ*, as will be proved, has no questions among us, but those which heresies introduce and which make heretics.§"

Again in his book "Adversus Praxeam"‖ we have a *regula fidei* different in form and order from the former, and less full, but *containing the article of the Paraclete.*¶ He immediately adds, "*this rule has descended from the beginning of the gospel.*"** There too, occurs the famous maxim, that "what was ancient and original in Christianity was true; what was later, was corrupted."††

* Tertulliani Opp. p. 206. Paris, 1664.

† Regula est autem fidei.

‡ Ex ea natum egisse (al. exisse) Jesum Christum. So Theophilus of Alex. "de virginali utero, quem sanctificavit, *egressus homo*. Lib. Pas. I in the end of Erasmus's Jerome.

§ Haec regula a Christo, ut probabitur, instituta, p. 207.

‖ Opp. p. 501.

¶ This was after Tertullian had embraced the strange delusion that Montanus was the Paraclete, whatever sense he attached to that name.

** Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decucurrisse.

†† Id esse verum quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum quodcunque posterius. A maxim which in itself includes his testimony against a "growing and expanding creed." This maxim is memorable for having stirred up the soul of the immortal Usher to patristic studies. "He determined to read *through* the fathers

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Again, in his book "de Virginibus Velandis," written also *post lapsum*, we meet with the following *regula fidei*. "The rule of faith, indeed, is assuredly *one, only, immovable, incapable of change*,* namely, that of believing in one Almighty God, the former of the world, and in his Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised from the dead on the third day, received into heaven, to come again to judge the living and the dead through the resurrection also of the body. *This law of faith abiding*,† other things, pertaining to discipline and conversation, admit of change and amendment;"‡ (This looks a little, it must be allowed, like the modern doctrine of *development*. Let it be observed however, that Tertullian learned this after he had fallen into "sect and schism." Observe, too, of what sort were the *first fruits* of this doctrine of development, for to the above words, Tertullian immediately adds,) "the grace of God operating and advancing even to the end. For while the devil is ever active, and suggests daily to wicked minds, how can we suppose that the work of God should cease or halt in its progress? *The Lord has therefore sent the Paraclete, that as the limited capacity of man could not take all things at once, Christian discipline might, by degrees, be directed, shapen, and carried to perfection, by that vicarious Holy Spirit of the Lord.*"§

and ascertain whether the claim of Stapleton (the defender of Romanism) was founded in fact. The task employed him eighteen years, from the 20th to the 38th year of his age." Life, pref. to his works. Dublin 1847. The conclusion to which the search led him is well known.

* Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola, immobilis, irreformabilis. Opp. p. 173.

† Hac lege fidei manente.

‡ Admittunt novitatem correctionis.

§ Ab illo vicario Domini Spiritu Sancto. The treatise "de Virginibus velandis" is reckoned among the writings of Tertullian after he became a Montanist. The subject and strain of it favour that supposition. If it be so, the above passage alone shuts out the charitable suggestion of Mosheim, that "the Paraclete which Montanus pretended to be, was not the Holy Ghost;" that "however weak this heretic may have been in point of capacity, he was not fool enough to push his pretensions so far;" and that "this will appear with the utmost evidence to those who read with attention the account given of this matter by Tertullian, who was the most famous of all the disciples of Montanus." (Ecc. Hist. Vol. I. p. 192. Note.) On the contrary, in the above sentence, Tertullian speaks of the *Paracletus* as identical with *ille vicarius Domini Spiritus Sanctus*. We do

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Thus the first attempt at *innovation*, and *amendment* ("novitas correctionis") in Christianity, even in secondary matters ("disciplinæ et conversationis") produced the blasphemous *ineptiæ* of Montanism. It was the doctrine of *development* that made the good Catholic Tertullian a "sectary," a "heretic," and a Montanist. He advances the doctrine however, cautiously. ("Strauss" had not yet appeared to help him out with it.)

The *law of faith*, (*a Christo instituta*) must *abide*. It is only in matters of "discipline and conversation" that *development* is admissible; and even in these it must be carried forward by "the operation of *the grace of God*," not of the "life," "the organic force," "spontaneously shooting up" of "the Church." Even in his wildest aberrations, Tertullian never dreamed of such folly. His very Montanism was far more sober and reverential than the "Catholicism" of Dr. Nevin.

While in the full communion of the Catholic church, his glowing pen recorded the following sentiments, (and many more like them) on the source and authority of Christian doctrine.* "To us (Christians) it is lawful to introduce nothing

not see how the learned Chancellor relieves the case much by supposing Montanus to have given out that he was ("not the Holy Ghost") but a divine teacher pointed out by Christ under the name of *Paraclete* or Comforter, who was to perfect the gospel by the addition of some doctrines omitted by our Saviour and to cast a full light upon others which were expressed in an obscure manner." Did Christ point out any other *paraclete* or *comforter* than "the Comforter which is the Holy Ghost?" Were not all *his* operations to be divine? Was he not to "teach *all things*" and to "abide with Christians *for ever?*" In our humble opinion, the man who undertook "to perfect the Gospel" &c., and "to cast a full light upon" things already illuminated by the Light of the world, was "fool enough" for anything—as much later instances than that of Montanus abundantly show. Few things have been more harmful to Christianity than the palliation of manifest departures from the truth of God. That Tertullian, who was undoubtedly one of the most splendid and powerful intellects of his age should have fallen into the delusion of "this ignorant fanatic" (as Mosheim calls him,) is indeed, matter of equal grief and wonder. It touches in fact, not more the sanity of his *faith* than that of his *reason*. But it only proves (and the whole history of the Church scarcely affords a more affecting lesson of the fact,) that when a man steps off the *rock* of God's word, there is no telling whither the waves of error may toss him.

* De Præsc. Hæreticorum. Opp. p. 202, &c. It is surprising that any should doubt (as Moreri seems to do) whether this book was written before his lapse. In the 52d chapter he distinctly calls the tenets of Montanism *blasphemy*.

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from our own mind. We have the Apostles of the Lord as our examples, who derived nothing which they taught from their own mind, but *faithfully made over to the nations the system received from Christ.** Therefore, if an angel from heaven should preach otherwise, he must be called accursed by us."

Of heresies he says, "these are the *doctrines of men* and of devils,† born with itching ears from the wisdom of this world, which the Lord pronouncing folly, has chosen the foolish things of the world to the confusion of its own philosophy. For that (philosophy) is the material of worldly wisdom, a rash interpreter of the divine nature and government.‡ The heresies themselves derive their substance from philosophy.§ . . . The same material is worked up by heretics and philosophers, the same doublings (self-contradictions‖) involved. . . . What is there in common with Athens and Jerusalem? What has the Church to do with the Academy? What have Christians to do with heretics? *Our institution is from Solomon's porch,*¶ and Solomon himself had taught that the Lord must be sought in simplicity of heart. Let them beware who have brought forward a Stoic, a Platonic and a Dialectic Christianity.** *To us there is no need of curiosity, after Christ, nor of inquiry, after the gospel.*†† When we have believed (that), we desire nothing more to believe."

"*All things spoken by our Lord were laid down for all.* Through the ears of the Jews they have passed to us."

"Thou must, therefore, seek till thou find, and believe when thou hast found:‡‡ and nothing more must thou do but keep

* Nobis vero nihil ex nostro arbitrio inducere licet. Apostolos Domini habemus auctores, qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio, quod inducerent, elegerunt: *sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus adsignaverunt.*

† Doctrinæ hominum et dæmoniorum.

‡ Temerarius interpres divinæ naturæ et dispositionis.

§ Ipsæ hæreses a philosophia subornantur.

‖ Retractatus.

¶ Nostra institutio de porticu Solomonis est.

** Viderint qui Stoicum et Platonicum et Dialecticum Christianismum protulerunt.

†† Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post Evangelium.

‡‡ Could there be a plainer expression, at once of the *right* and the *duty of private judgment.*

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what thou hast believed;* believing this too, that nothing else is to be believed, and therefore nothing to be required, since thou hast found and believed what was established by him who commands thee to *look after nothing else than what he has established.*"

"This limit has he himself fixed for thee who will not have thee to believe *any thing else than what he has laid down.*"†

"*What Christ has taught*, what must be sought after, *what is necessary to be believed.*"‡

"Heretics themselves treat of the Scripture, and reason from the Scripture. Could they, in fact, speak *of the things of faith* from any other source than from *the letters of faith?*"§

"It is evident, therefore, that the whole doctrine which harmonizes in faith with those Apostolic, maternal and original churches is to be reckoned a part of the truth; containing as it does, without doubt, *what the churches received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God;* and that all doctrine is to be prejudged of falsehood, which is contrary to the truth of the churches and of the Apostles and of Christ and of God. . . This doctrine of ours, *the rule of which* we have given above," &c.

The master-piece of his genius, also, his noble "Apology"‖ abounds in passages of the like import.

He holds out to "the rulers of the Roman empire,"¶ and to "the nations"** the Scriptures as the sole fountain of the Christian doctrine, and their divine origin as the sole authorization of the Christian faith. In a masterly contrast between them and the pagan mythologies and philosophies (with which he shows himself profoundly acquainted,††) he demonstrates the

* Custodiendum quod credidisti.

† Hanc tibi fossam determinavit ipse qui te non vult aliud credere, quam quod instituit.

‡ *Quod Christus instituit*, quod quæri oportet, *quod credi necesse est.*

§ Aliunde scilicet loqui possent de rebus fidei quam ex litteris fidei?

‖ Apologeticus adversus Gentes. It stands at the head of his works and was by the consent of all, written before his heresy.

¶ Romani imperii antistites, Cap. 1.

** Adversus Gentes.

†† It is not too much to say, that the early Christian apologists discover a far deeper knowledge of the ancient system, in history, thought, and life, than the Pagans themselves. Where, among the ancients, shall we find such profound

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antiquity, majesty, purity of the "Holy Scriptures," "our letters," the "divine letters," the "holy voices," the "voices of God," "the teaching of God our Master."* Of the Old Testament, he says, "whosoever betakes himself to it will find God: he who contrives to *understand* it, will be compelled to *believe* it too.† The highest antiquity claims for those documents the first authority. The latest of them are found to be not later than the earliest of your sages, lawgivers, and historians. . . We present a yet higher claim, the majesty of the Scriptures, if not their antiquity. We prove them *divine*, even if you deny them to be *ancient*.‡"

"The disciples scattered over the world, obeyed the teaching of their Master, God."§ "The Son of God, the Arbiter and Master of our discipline, the illuminator and guide of the human race."‖

"We come together to refresh our remembrance of the divine letters. *With the holy voices we feed our faith*, we exalt our hope, we confirm our trust. . . . Your brethren we are too, by the law of nature, our common mother. But how much more worthily are they entitled and esteemed brethren, who acknowledge one Father, God; who drink one spirit of holiness, and *feed on one light of truth!*"¶

expositions of these as in the "Apologeticus" of Tertullian, and Justin Martyr's ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ and ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΙ? The higher ground of Christianity gave them a *wider* as well as a *juster* view of these systems.

* Scripturæ Sanctæ, Cap. 39, litteræ nostræ, 23, litteræ divinæ, 39, Sanctæ voces ibid, voces Dei, 31, præceptum magistri Dei 21.

† Qui adierit inveniet Deum. Qui etiam studuerit intelligere, cogetur et credere. Cap. 18. Very different from Dr. Nevin's statement that "our creed *precedes* and *underlies* our intelligence." Merc. Rev. May 1847, p. 211.

‡ Majestatem Scripturarum, si non vetustatem. Divinas probamus si dubitatur antiquas, Cap. 20.

§ Discipuli quoque diffusi per orbem, præcepta Magistri Dei posuerunt.

‖ Disciplinæ arbiter et Magister, illuminator atque deductor generis humani, Filius Dei, 21.

¶ Qui unum patrem Deum agnoverunt, qui unum spiritum biberunt sanctitatis, qui ad unam lucem expaverunt veritatis, 39. A beautiful conception at once of the unity of the Church ("the brotherhood" 1 Pet. ii. 17,) and of the source of that faith, life, and love, which make them *one*! It is impossible to read so fine a passage without a sigh that one who was so *egregie Christianus* should ever have been *developed* into a Montanist. We cannot but hope that some kind historical Coroner may find this *felo de se* the result of *mental aberration*.

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The reader has long ago been satisfied that Tertullian, quite as little as Irenæus, is inclined to dispute with "Strauss" the paternity of the idea which "for a thoughtful mind, makes the mere letter of Christianity, even as it stands in the New Testament itself, something secondary to its living substance as exhibited in the actual mystery of Christ and his Church—which mystery comes to its revelation as the supernatural by means of the Church—the primitive form of which revelation is presented to us in the Creed." Of all the "Heresies" attacked by Irenæus, none wore a front of so deadly hostility to the Christian faith. Among all the follies into which Tertullian fell, he never wandered so far, nor fell so low, as to conceive of a "Creed," "the primitive form of revelation," "unfolded in fit word and expression from the inmost consciousness of the universal Church!" No other parentage than "Strauss" and "the Papacy" could have generated such a progeny.

We have drawn largely on the reader's patience by citations from Irenæus and Tertullian, because Dr. Nevin appeals to them by name. But every link in the "Catena Patrum" is just as distinctly against him.

"Clement," says Irenæus,* "saw the Apostles themselves and conversed with them, and had in his view the yet audible preaching and tradition of the Apostles." . . "Under this Clement, the Church which is at Rome wrote a powerful letter to the Corinthians—declaring the traditions which they had lately received from the Apostles." Let us turn then to this "powerful letter" written, if Irenæus be correct, from one Christian Church to another in the first century.† It contains not one word or hint of any other tradition or *regula fidei* than the Scriptures, the study of which it enjoins with affectionate urgency as "the true utterances of the Holy Spirit." "Thus saith the holy word,"‡ "thus saith the wisdom which includes all virtue,"§ and similar formulæ introduce its citations from the Sacred Volume, and support alike its statements of truth and its exhortations to duty.

* Adv. Hæreses, Lib. III. Cap. 3.

† That fact has, it must be allowed, a very Puritan look. So has the "powerful epistle" itself, which is addressed, "From the presence of the Church of the Romans." Ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας γραφῆσα. Cot. Pat. Apost. Tom. I. p. 145.

‡ Cap. 56. § Οὕτως γὰρ λέγει ἡ παναρέτος σοφία. Cap. 57.

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From the second century, we have heard Dr. Nevin's own authorities. Nor is the testimony of Justin Martyr, (earlier in the same century,) at all less clear or explicit. He takes his ground and weapons in his controversy with Trypho the Jew, in these few words, "I am going to cite the Scriptures to you,"* and distinctly declines any "apparatus of argumentation," "for," he adds, "I have no skill of that sort, but grace from God alone has been given me for the understanding of *his Scriptures*,† of which grace I exhort all to become free and unstinted partakers." And to the Greeks he says, "*the teachers of our religion have delivered to us* nothing of their own human understanding, but *all things from the gift bestowed upon them by God from above.*‡

The testimony of Origen will doubtless be accepted in behalf of the third century. It is delivered in the beginning of his book "on First Principles," with a clearness and force which has never been surpassed. "All who believe and are sure that *both grace and truth are by Jesus Christ* and who know that Christ is truth, according to what he himself has said, 'I am the truth,' *receive the knowledge which guides men to a holy and happy life, from no other source than from the very words and teaching of Christ.*"§

He speaks of the "miserable audacity"‖ of those who attempt to "rectify the Scriptures and to add or take away such things as may seem good to themselves."

His fourth book "De Principiis," treats expressly of "the Inspiration of the Divine Scripture and how it is to be read and understood." And he enters on this demonstration for the following reason. "Forasmuch as in the treatment of so important subjects, we are not satisfied to rely on general

* Γραφὰς ὑμῖν ἀνίστορεῖν μέλλω. Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. Opp. p. 281.

† Εἰς τὸ συνιέναι τὰς γραφὰς αὐτου.

‡ Ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν αὐτοῖς παρὰ Θεοῦ δοθείσης δωρεᾶς. Ad Græ. Coh. p. 11.

§ Omnes qui credunt et certi sunt quod et gratia et veritas per Jesum Christum facta sit et Christum veritatem esse norunt, secundum quod ipse dixit: "Ego sum veritas," scientiam quæ provocat homines ad bene beateque vivendum non aliunde quam ab ipsis verbis Christi, doctrinaque suscipiunt. (We give the translation of Rufinus, as the original Greek is here incomplete.) Περι Αρχων Origenis Opp. Tom. I. p. 47, (Ed. Bened.) Paris. 1740.

‖ Τόλμης μοχθηρᾶς. In Math. xix. 16, &c. Opp. Tom. III. 671.

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ideas and the operation of visible things,* we must draw the proofs of those things which we affirm from those Scriptures which are believed by us to be divine, &c. Let us therefore state some of the reasons which lead us to the belief that they are divine."

"*The one Guide*‡ of those things which are truly agreeable to reason,§ *is the Word*, the teachings of which, to those who have no ears to hear, seem to manifest discrepancies,‖ but they are, in truth, most harmonious. For as the chords of a psaltery or harp, each of which has its own sound, and one which seems to be at variance with that of another, appear to one who is unskilled in musical harmony to be discordant on account of the dissimilitude of sounds, so, those who are not capable of hearing the harmony of God in the sacred Scriptures¶ think that the Old Testament is out of tune** with the New, the Prophets with the Law, the Gospels with one another, or an Apostle with the Gospel, or with himself or another Apostle. But whosoever draws near, taught in the harmony of God,†† and wise in deed and speech, . . . he shall draw forth from them a strain of divine music, having learned to strike in time,‡‡ now the chords of the law, then those harmonious§§ ones of the Gospel, at one time the prophetic strings and again the like-toned‖‖ apostolic, and so the apostolic with the evangelical. For he knows that *the whole Scripture is the full-toned and harmonious organ of God, giving forth from many sounds one saving strain to all who will apprehend it.*"¶¶

"The fourth and fifth centuries," are Dr. Nevin's especial boast. "The fathers of this glorious period" he assures us,

* Περὶ τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς θείας γραφῆς.

† Οὐκ ἀρκούμενοι ταῖς κοιναῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ τῇ ὑφηγήσει τῶν βλεπομένων; which shows his conviction that men have no alternative but these and the teachings of Scripture.

‡ Lit. "Shepherd" (Ποιμήν.) § Τῶν λογικῶν.

‖ Δόξαν μὲν ἐχόντων διαφωνίας.

¶ Οἱ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι ἀκούειν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς ἁρμονίας.

** Ἀνάρμοστον. †† Πεπαιδευμένος τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ μυστηρίων. ‡‡ Κρούων ἐν καιρῷ. Συμφώνως. ‖‖ Ὁμοτόνους.

¶¶ Ἓν γὰρ τὸ τέλειον εἶδε καὶ ἁρμοσμένον ὄργανον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἦχοι πᾶσαν τὴν γραφὴν, μίαν ἐντολοῦν ἐκ διαφόρων φθόγγων σωτήριαν τοῖς μανθάνειν θέλουσι φωνήν. Comm. in Math. v. 9. Opp. Tom. III. p. 441.

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"knew nothing of the view which makes the Bible and private judgment the principle of Christianity or the only rule of faith* . . . *The order of doctrine for them was the Apostles' Creed.*"

The distinct and manifest voice of history, never met a more flat and palpable contradiction, than the above assertion.

To accumulate citations is a wearisome task, and to read them scarcely less so. But the generous reader must have a little patience in this matter. These good "fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries," have had hard usage at the hand of Dr. Nevin for some time. They have had all sorts of

* Thus does Dr. Nevin *misstate* what he is labouring to undermine and render odious. Who ever held "the Bible *and private judgment*" to be "the principle of Christianity" and "the only rule of faith;" or, as Dr. Nevin elsewhere charges in the same piece, "the only source and rule of faith?" The doctrine of the Protestant and Primitive Church (for they are indeed *one*, and in no respect is their unity more clearly and beautifully revealed than by their unanimity on this point,) is simply this, that the inspired and written word of God is the only source and rule of the Christian faith—that the truth revealed in it shines by its own light, and needs no ecclesiastical or popish spectacles to behold it; that to apprehend and imbibe that heavenly light requires only the open eye of the soul, the spiritual apprehension; and that this is the gift of God, by the operation of his Holy Spirit. Here lies the *controversiæ summa*, as Melanchthon expresses it, the very pith and point of the dispute between Rome and all true, free and living Christianity, whether it lived before the corruption of the Papacy, struggled and gasped under its dark dominion, or broke forth again into glorious and powerful life at the Reformation. Melanchthon's own words taken from the same passage will be accepted, we doubt not, as a fair exposition of this doctrine. "Here is, as I think, the sum of the controversy. And now I ask you, my masters," (he addresses the *theologasters*, as he terms them, of the Parisian University,) "has the Scripture been given in such form that its undoubted meaning may be gathered without exposition of Councils, Fathers, and Schools, or not? If you deny that the meaning of Scripture is certain by itself, without glosses, I see not why the Scripture was given at all, if the Holy Spirit was unwilling to define with certainty what he would have us to believe. Why do the Apostles invite us at all to the study of the Scripture, if its meaning is uncertain? *Wherefore do the fathers desire us to believe them no farther than they fortify their statements by the testimonies of Scripture?*" (A sufficiently plain evidence of what Melanchthon considered the *regula fidei* in the early Church!) "Why too did the ancient councils decree nothing without Scripture, and in this way we distinguish between true and false councils, that the former agree with plain Scripture, the latter are contrary to Scripture?.... Since the word of God must be the rock on which the soul reposes, what, I pray, shall the soul apprehend from it, if it be not certain what is the mind of the Spirit of God?"—Phil. Melanthonis Apologia pro Luthero, adv. furiosum Parisiensium Theologastrorum Decretum.

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things laid to their charge; such as *not holding the Bible to be the only source and rule of faith, denying the right of private judgment, looking directly towards Romanism, standing in the very same order of thought that completed itself afterwards in the Roman or Papal Church, acknowledging*, in fact, *the central dignity of the Bishop of Rome*,* (which might about as well be affirmed of the seven sages of Greece.) They have, in the meanwhile, been in no case allowed to speak for themselves, (though few men ever lived who were better able to do so.) It is right, therefore, that some of them should be allowed to give their deposition, in their own language, in relation to the source of truth, the ground and rule of faith, the supreme and sole tribunal before which all controversies pertaining to the Christian doctrine and life, must be tried and decided.

Athanasius thus commences his "Synopsis of the Sacred Scripture." "The whole Scripture of us Christians is inspired of God."†

In his Oration against the Gentiles, he says, that "the whole science of piety and of truth shines forth (manifests itself,) more brightly than the sun, through the teaching of Christ,"‡ and that "the holy and divinely inspired Scriptures are sufficient of themselves to the annunciation (indication) of the truth."§

And thus he concludes that noble discourse: "Rejoice, O thou that lovest Christ,‖ and be of good cheer, for immortality and the kingdom of heaven is the fruit of faith and piety towards him, *only if thy soul be adorned in conformity with his laws*."¶

In his disputation with Arius before the Council of Nice,** when challenged by Arius to the controversy, he replies:

* Merc. Rev. Early Christianity.

† Πᾶσα γραφὴ ἡμῶν Χριστιανῶν θεόπνευστος ἐστιν. Athan. Opp. Tom. II. p. 61. Ex. Off. Comm. 1600.

‡ Ἡ μὲν περὶ τῆς θεοσεβείας καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀληθείας γνῶσις . . ἡλίου λαμπρότερον ἐκτεῖνε διὰ τῆς χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐκφαίνεται. Tom. I. p. 1.

§ Αὐτάρκως γὰρ ἐσὶν αἱ ἁγίαι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν. Ibid.

‖ Ὦ φιλόχριστε.

¶ Μόνον ἐὰν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ νόμους ἡ ψυχὴ κεκοσμημένη γένηται. p. 36.

** Opp. Tom. I. p. 82—110.

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"There are great men in the house of God, but if you wish to discuss the matter with me, who am only the least,* I will cheerfully meet you in this inquiry, only let us enter on it in the love of truth, and not act contentiously towards *the inspired words*† alleged by one another." (A sufficient indication of the rule and arbiter of faith to which both were expected to appeal in that august council, composed of bishops assembled from every part of the world within the jurisdiction of Constantine, who sat in its deliberations as a private Christian.)

Athanasius then lays down the Christian doctrine of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which he *maintains, unfolds* and *defends against the objections of Arius, solely by by Scriptural authorities, appealing to no rule, formula, or tradition, but to the word of God alone.*

When he attests the unity of the Son with the Father, Arius retorts, "You are a Sabellian."‡ Athanasius replies, "Is our Lord then, a Sabellian, when he says, I and my Father are one?" "There appears to me," said Arius, "much discordance§ in the Scriptures on this point." "God forbid," replied Athanasius, "that man should accuse the divine and inspired Scriptures‖ of not uttering all these things with mutual harmony; for as an even balance,¶ so do all the Scriptures agree to one another."

"On what authority," demanded Arius, "do you call the Son eternal?" "*I have learned,*" answered Athanasius, "*from the divinely inspired Scriptures that the Son of God is eternal.*"**

When he defends acts of direct adoration of the Holy Spirit against the objections of Arius, *he neither appeals nor alludes to any church rule, tradition, nor usage, but reasons solely from the Scriptures.*††

In his letter to the bishops of Ægypt and Lybia against the errors of Arius, he says, "Our Lord himself has said 'Search

* Μη τὸν σμικρότατον μόνον.

† Τα θεόπνευστα ῥήματα προσφέρωμεν.

‡ Αὕτη ἡ αἵρεσις Σαβελλίου ἐστίν.

§ Ἀσυμφωνία.

‖ Μὴ γένοιτο ἵνα ἄνθρωπος κατάλῃ τῶν θείων καὶ θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν.

¶ Ζυγὸς ὥσπερ δίκαιος.

** Ἀπὸ τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν ἐμάθον, ὅτι υἱός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ.

†† P. 109, citing, with many other passages, the θεῖαι ὑμνῳδίαι, in Isaiah vi. 3.

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the Scriptures, for they are they that testify of me.' *How then shall* men confess the Lord who have not, before-hand, searched the Scriptures?"*

Hilary, (of Poictiers,) reasoning against the Manichæans on the person of Christ, says, "*If the church knows from herself*, then bring against her the charge of rashly claimed knowledge; but if she has *learned from her Lord*,† allow to the Son a knowledge of his own nativity. Now, *these things have been so made known to her by the only-begotten God*,‡ that the Father and the Son are one."

Of the Manichæan system, he says, "This aberration of human folly has come of men's knowing from themselves rather than from God.§ . . . Have done, have done, nor falsify the heritage of the church's faith by deceptive fancy and agitating assertion."

"Those churches within which the word of God has not been wakeful,‖ have been shipwrecked."

"To corrupt the purity of the Gospels, and to deflect the straight rule of the Apostles," he uses as equivalent phrases,¶ so that it is quite clear what *he* regarded as the true and only *Apostolorum regula*.

Victorinus, (of Africa,) by no means stood in the first rank among the writers of the fourth century. But his testimony is interesting, because he was not converted to Christianity till far advanced in life, and, (as Jerome says,**) was so inveterate

* Πῶς ἂν ὁμολογήσωσι τὸν κύριον μὴ προφαπτόμενοι τὰς γραφάς. Tom. I. 113. Could the authority of the Scriptures, and the duty and necessity of private judgment be more plainly asserted?

† Hilar. Pict. de Trinitate. Lib. VI. Opp. p. 883, 4. Ed. Bened. Si ex se scit (ecclesia,) infer calumniam temerariæ usurpatæ scientiæ; si vero de Domino suo didicit, &c.

‡ Hæc ita ei a Deo unigenito comperta sunt.

§ Dum quod sapiunt, ex se potius quam ex Deo sapiunt, p. 886.

‖ Intra quas verbum Dei non vigilaverit—Though the remark occurs in his comm. on our Lord's miracle, Matt. viii. 23, yet it is not easy to tell whether he speaks of the *Word* in a personal way or no. This is often the case with the early writers, especially Origen. See above.

¶ Evangeliorum sinceritatem corrumpere et rectam Apostolorum regulam depravare. Ad Const. August. Lib. I. 3. Opp. p. 1220.

** Cat. Script. "Victorinus Afer." Augustine, (Conf. Lib. VIII. c. 2,) has given a very interesting account of the conversion of Victorinus, from the relation of

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a philosophiser as to be an unintelligible writer and commentator. Yet the Christian sentiment and habit which acknowledged the word of God as the only rule of faith, (as yet universal in the church,) appears in no writer of the age, more evident than in this philosophizing Christian. "Edocet Scriptura," with him, announces an authority to which he reverently bows himself and anticipates no opposition from others. After a series of quotations from Scripture, in support of what he asserts of the works and attributes of God, he adds, "*This, spoken as it has been by the divine Spirit, must be believed.* The rest of our positions we shall maintain by reasons drawn from nature."*

Cyril (of Jerusalem) gives his testimony on this subject in so many and such impressive forms, that the only difficulty his works present is that of selection. One of the topics of his Fourth Catechesis is "concerning the Divine Scriptures."† The good father states that he "founds his instructions on the divinely inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. For," says he, "there is one God of both Testaments, who preannounced Christ in the Old Testament and revealed him in the New." And then adds this counsel to his catechumens: "*Read, therefore, the Divine Scriptures.*§ *Read not the Apocrypha. Have thou nothing to do with the Apocrypha.*"‖

And yet, if possible, more positively, in his 18th Catechesis. "We declare to you candidly, that we use not human and mod-

Simplicianus. He calls him "doctissimus senex, omnium liberalium doctrinarum peritissimus . . doctor nobilium senatorum," &c. He says, "the Holy Scripture" was the first means of leading him to Christianity and God." The work from which we quote is entitled "Pro religione Christiana contra philosophos physicos." It is contained in the magnificent "Scriptorum Veterum collectio Vaticana." Tom. III. It certainly is not liable to the charge of obscurity on the part of Jerome. His account of our Lord's early life is especially just and beautiful.

* Hoc a Divino Spiritu dictum credendum est; cetera physicis rationibus paucis comprobemus. Cap. 27. p. 161.

† Περι των θειων γραφων.

§ Αναγινωσκε τας θειας γραφας.

‖ Προς δε τα ακαθαρτα μηδεν ἐχε κοινον. These counsels, be it remembered, were addressed to catechumens, just receiving baptism. How do they bear on the question, not only of the necessity and sufficiency of the Scriptures, but of *private judgment and Church-tradition*, aside from Scripture?

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ern inventions; for it is unprofitable. But we recall to your minds *only the things which are drawn from the Divine Scriptures.* For that is infallible: after the example of the blessed Apostle,* who also saith, 'which things we speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth.'"

Gregory of Nazianzum, in his funeral oration on Basil†, (his intimate friend and companion of his retirement in Cappadocia,) tells us that "Basil profoundly studied the Holy Scriptures in his solitude, and *drew from thence* the weapons with which he intrepidly and indefatigably contended for the refutation of errors."

The same discourse contains a fine eulogy of classical and various learning,‡ which, he says, "many Christians reject as delusive and misleading, but which Gregory defends for this especial reason, that "we learn from the worse to appreciate the better§ and on the very weakness and imperfection of those systems, to maintain the power of the word which is in our possession,‖ even as the divine Apostle says,¶ "bringing every thought (all intellect**) into captivity to Christ.'"

Gregory Nyssen gives his deposition with no less clearness and force.

"The faith of Christians," he says, "which by the command of the Lord, was preached to all nations on the whole globe of the earth, is 'not from men, neither by men, but by our Lord Jesus Christ;' who is the word of God, and the Light and the Life and the Truth and God and Wisdom.†† . . . We believe,

* Τὰ ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μόνα ἐπομνημονεύοντες· ἀσφαλέστατον γὰρ· κατὰ τὸν μακάριον ἀπόστολον, ὃς καὶ φησίν—1 Cor. ii. 13.

† Or. XX. Εἰς Βασ. ἐπισκ. καισ. καπ. ἐπιταφιος.

‡ Τὴν τῶν ἔξωθεν παίδευσιν.

§ Ἐκ τοῦ χείρονος τὸ κρεῖττον καταμανθάντες.

‖ Τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἱκανὴν, ἰσχὺν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου ποιούμενοι (fulcientes, Lat. trans.)

¶ Ὁ φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, &c.

** Πᾶν νόημα.

†† Christianorum fides, quæ secundum Domini mandatum a discipulis omnibus gentibus in toto terrarum orbe prædicata est, *neque ex hominibus*, &c., sed per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum; qui est Dei Verbum, et Vita, et Lux et Veritas et Deus et Sapientia. Or. I contra Eunomium. Greg. Episc. Nyss. Opp. p. 253. Coloniæ.1617. We quote from the Latin version, not having the original at hand.

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therefore, ('*credimus*,' here then, is *his* creed, with its Author, ground and rule,) "even as the Lord put forth the faith to his disciples, when he thus spake," (quotes Math. xxviii. 19.)

"This is the word of the mystery, in which, by a birth from above our nature is transformed into a better, since from corruptible it is renewed to incorruptible, from the old man it is renewed after the image of him who in the beginning created the divine similitude. *Of this faith, therefore, delivered by God to the Apostles, we make neither subtraction nor change* (*which is but perversion*) *nor addition;** clearly knowing, that he who dares to pervert the divine voice by any cavilling and sophistical interpretation, is of his father the devil:† since it was by forsaking the words of truth, and *speaking of his own*, that he became the father of lies. For whatsoever is spoken beyond the truth is absolutely a mere lie, and not truth.‡ . . *We have once learned from the Lord*,§ *what it is that we must contemplate with thought and mind;* through which a transformation of our nature is wrought, from mortal to immortal. This is *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*" He then goes on to develope the Christian faith on this basis, proving and explaining all points, and meeting all objections, from the Holy Scripture.

This is conclusive. There is, however, a short specimen of *exegesis* by this churchly father of the fourth century, which we add with peculiar satisfaction. It occurs in the last of his "Testimonia delecta."‖

"Jesus Christ, our Lord and our God, is called the Rock of life and the Rock of faith . . . the Rock of life, as he is the fountain, root, principle, and cause, imperishable and eternal; the Rock of faith, as he is the foundation, even as the Lord himself says to the chief of the Apostles, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church,' *on the confession, that is,*

* Hujus itaque a Deo Apostolis traditæ fidei neque subtractionem, neque immutationem sive perversionem, neque additionem facimus.

† Ex patre diabolo esse.

‡ Quidquid præter veritatem dicitur, merum est prorsus mendacium et non veritas.

§ Semel a Domino discimus, ad quod nos cogitatione et mente perspicere oportet.

‖ Opp. p. 252.

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of Christ,* because he said, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.'†

Dr. Nevin mentions "Ephraim the Syrian" among the Romanizing fathers of the fourth century, who "knew nothing of the view which makes the Bible the principle of Christianity," &c. We should not otherwise have thought of mentioning him. Gregory Nyssen thought quite otherwise of him, since he states that "nurtured from childhood in the meditation of the Sacred Scriptures,‡ and growing up and drinking from the perennial fountains of grace,§ he (Ephraim) strove to attain, in the words of the Apostle, 'to the measure of the stature of Christ.'"

But the good and humble Syrian "deacon" will in a very few words vindicate himself from the charge.

In his discourse "Concerning Faith"‖ (which consists to a great extent of portions of Scripture linked together with a very simple exposition) he says, "he who desires to become a Christian, . . . must form himself to a virtuous habit and a holy life by the word of God . . . and holding on his way by the guidance of the word of God such an one becomes a foundation and a pillar by the grace of God and an occasion of life to many souls and is able to bear the infirmity of many."

* Super Confessionem videlicet Christi.

† Dr. Nevin's exegesis is on this wise. "'Thou art Peter,' &c. Not on Peter's person, apart from his confession, of course, was the Church to be built; but not on Peter's confession, either, apart from his person. *Peter in Christ*, (Dr. Nevin thus italicises; it was never, we believe, affirmed to be *Peter out of Christ*,) as the representative especially of the whole Apostolic college; the personality of Peter, as centered and poised now on the supernatural fact, which had entered into his consciousness.....this was the *rock* on which, from this time onward to the end of the world, the Church should continue to rise," &c. . . The confession of Peter represents the universal Christian consciousness.... *That consciousness expressed itself in the Creed.*" Antichrist, p. 27.

We decidedly prefer the exegesis of Gregory Nyssen and of the fourth century. We believe the Church is much safer built on the "Rock of faith, Jesus Christ, our Lord and our God," the object of Peter's "*confession*," than on Peter's "*personality*," however "poised," &c.

‡ Inde a pueritia in Sacrarum Scripturarum meditatione educatus.

§ Ex perennibus gratiæ fontibus bibens, &c. Greg. Nyss. Encom. Sanct. pat. Ephræm Syri. Opp. p. 508.

‖ Ephr. Syrus, Græce, Oxon. 1609, last discours

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To a "young convert,"* among other "counsels pertaining to the spiritual life," he says, "if thou seest thyself ill affected towards the reading of the divine oracles,† know that thy soul has fallen into a grievous disease: for this is the beginning of mental disorder, the end of which is death." Advice which a *puritan pastor* would readily adopt, but not, we think, a *popish confessor.*‡

But of all the "fathers of that glorious period," none seems to have more of Dr. Nevin's admiration than Basil (of Cæsarea) whom he often appeals to, duly decorating him with his later title of "the Great,"§ but never allowing the eloquent father to utter a word in explanation of his own sentiments.

We, therefore, (sparingly, as our limits compel us,) will indulge him with an opportunity.

Dr. Nevin says of him, with the rest, "the order of doctrine for them was the Apostles' Creed," and asserts in a general

* Πρὸς νεόφυτον, περὶ πνευματικοῦ βίου. P. 179.

† Κακουχοῦντα περὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν θείων λογίων.

‡ "Were the fathers who then lived to return to the world in our time, they would find themselves more at home in the Papal than in the Protestant communion." Early Christianity, Art. III. p. 3*f*. "Ephraim the Syrian" scarcely would. For to this same "young convert" he speaks of "communing with the Supreme God through prayer and eating the body and drinking the blood of the only begotten Son of God" (πίνων αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα. p. μτ. γ) He would hardly "find himself at home" in a "communion" where the latter is denied to "young converts." "Reading the divine oracles" and "drinking the blood" of the Saviour are not "Papal" means of promoting "the spiritual life," at least, "in our time."

§ He stands a century after in Rufinus (Hist. Ecc. Lib. II. c. 9.) without either the *affix* or *suffix* (*St.* or *the Great*) which later superstition and adulation attached to his name. His friend Gregory too, *sine titulo.* A saint and a great man too Basil undoubtedly was; and for both reasons would have rejected both titles. Erasmus was of opinion that in strength and majesty of genius he was no way inferior to Demosthenes. Gregory (Or. Fun.) says that he was not more remarkable for his greatness of soul than for his lowliness of temper. Some of his writings (e. g. his books on Baptism) would furnish an admirable corrective of the notions lately ventilated of "sacramental" and "organic grace," "baptismal regeneration," and the like Papal ideas. Certain it is that his soul would have abhorred the fine things said of him by Dr. Nevin (Ear. Christ. p. 3. Art III.) Even that "sporting bishop" of the fifth century, Synesius, would have exclaimed, as he did on another occasion, μὴ, ὦ Σῶτερ, μὴ, ὦ Ἐλευθέριε. ("Never, O my Saviour, never, O my Redeemer!" Ep. to his brother, Opp. p. 81.) *He* too, could hardly have "found himself at home in the Papal communion in our time," for *he had a wife and four children.*

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way, that he with them "stood in the bosom" of the Papal system.

The Apostle's Creed is not mentioned in all the writings of Basil.

As for "the order of his doctrine," we infer it from his own language.

Against Eunomius* he says, "there is no sublimer *doctrine in the gospel of our salvation* than faith in the Father and the Son."

He objects to a phrase used by Eunomius (in speaking of the manner of the Divine existence) that "though it seems extremely congruous to our mode of conceiving things,† it *nowhere occurs in Scripture,*‡ and ought therefore to be suppressed."

In his homily on Ps. xlv.§ which may be called a discourse on the church, he premises, "the oracles of God were not written for all, but for *those who have ears after the inner man,*‖ for *those who strive after progress, for those, as I think,*¶ *who take care of themselves,*"** (we must be literal here,) "and ever, by the exercises of godliness,†† are advancing to a higher ground. This is that noblest *change*‡‡ which the right hand of the Most High graciously bestows, which also blessed David experienced, (Ps. lxxvii. 11,) when having tasted the joys of goodness, he reaches forth unto those things which are before."

"The prophet," he says, "yielding to the energy of the Holy Spirit which came upon him, says, 'my heart venteth a good matter.' . . This venting is the inward effervescence of the food,§§

* Opp. Tom. I., p. 292, &c.

† Κἂν μάλιστα δεῖ ταις ἐννοίαις ἡμῶν συμβαίνειν.

‡ Οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γραφῆς κειμένην.

§ Opp. Tom. I. p. 226, &c. It is numbered Ps. xliv. in the Sept.

‖ Τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὦτα κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον.

¶ Ὡς οἶμαι.

** Τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμελομένοις.

†† An allusion to the Sept. trans. of the title of the Psalms.

‡‡ Διὰ των γυμνασιων. Not a word of church, creed, "sacramental" or "organic grace." Free, individual aspiration and self-culture by all "the exercises of godliness," (including, of course, church, creed, and sacraments,) is the very soul of this fine passage. All progress is "graciously bestowed by the right hand of the Most High.' This looks very much like "bringing one's separate subjectivity to the case," which Dr. Nevin deplores as "sectarian." Ant. p. 58.

§§ We shall be excused from giving in full the good father's exegesis, which is founded on the Sept. trans. ἐξηρεύξατο, *eructavit.* This will explain what follows.

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&c., so he who is nourished on the living bread which came down from heaven and giveth life to the world, and is filled with every word that cometh out of the mouth of God, (after the wonted tropology of the Scriptures,) the soul, that is, which is nourished by the divine teachings, emitteth a breath agreeable to the food it has taken . . . Let us, then, seek, ourselves,* to be nourished from the Word, to the utmost capacity of our souls, (quotes Prov. xiii. 25,) that, after the nature of the food on which we live, we may not vent every chance word, but that which is good . . *Seest thou what eructations come from the mouths of heretics? how offensive and ill-savoured, showing a very diseased condition in the bowels† of the unhappy men?* (Matt. xii. 35.) Do not thou, therefore, having itching ears, heap up to thyself teachers, who are skilled to create disorder in thine inner man, and cause the venting of evil words," &c. (Matt. xii. 37.)

"This word, 'I speak of the things which I have made, touching the King,' *completely guides us to the meaning of the prophetic personage.*"‡

' "My tongue is the pen of a ready writer.' As the pen is the graphic instrument, the hand of the expert moving it to the showing forth of the things to be written, *so the tongue of the just, the Holy Spirit moving the same, inwardly writeth the words of eternal life in the hearts of believers!*"§

" 'Grace is shed upon thy lips' (v. 2.) They who are strangers to the word of truth call the preaching of the Gospel foolishness, despising the simplicity of the style of the Scriptures: but we who glory in the cross of Christ, to whom the things

* This, be it remembered, was a Congregational Homily, ὁμίλια συνήθως.

† Ἐν τῷ βάθει.

‡ Πάνυ προσάγει ἡμᾶς τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ προφητικοῦ προσώπου. Very like the Protestant principle of *the Bible interpreting itself.* So Tertullian, "The words of the Lord are put forth to *all* . . To *all* be it said, 'Seek and ye shall find.' Still it is of importance to *labour with the sense by the help of interpretation.* (Sensu certare interpretationis gubernaculo.) There is no divine word so disconnected and diffuse, that the words alone can be maintained, and the relation of the words (ratio verborum) not taken into the account." De Præs. Hær. Cap. 9. beg. If this, addressed as it is, "*to all*" and concerning "all the words of Christ," be not a recognition of *private judgment*, it would be difficult to find words for it.

§ Ἐγγράφει τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ἀνωθεν ζωῆς ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν πιστευόντων.

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which are freely given unto us of God, have been made known by the Holy Spirit, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, know how rich is the grace which God has poured over the words of Christ. It was for this reason the preached word overran in a little time almost the whole world, because a rich and plenteous grace was shed over the preachers of the Gospel, whom the Scriptures have termed the lips of Christ. Therefore the preaching of the Gospel, even in despicable style, has a mighty power to guide and draw men to salvation. And the whole soul is subdued by its unchangeable doctrines, being established through grace, in an unwavering faith towards Christ. Whence the Apostle saith," &c. Rom. i. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 10.

V. 2. "Since the church is the body of Christ, and he is the head of the church, as we have said that those who minister to the heavenly word were the lips of Christ, (even as Paul, who had Christ speaking in him, 1 Cor. xiii. 3, and *whoever else resembles Paul in virtue,*) so also, *we who have believed* are severally the other members of the body of Christ."

"'Gird thy sword upon thy thigh,' v. 3. This we understand to refer tropically to *the living word of God,*" (quotes Heb. iv. 12.)

"'Hearken, O daughter,' v. 10. He summons the church to *hear and keep the things commanded her.** 'And consider.' He teaches her to have her intellect practised to contemplation by that word, *consider.* 'Incline thine ear.' Run not away after strange fables, but *receive the lowly instruction of the voice which speaketh in the Gospel word.*"†

V. 11. "He teaches the church *the necessity of subjection* ‡ by that word, 'He is thy Lord.' . . . *It is not the church to which our homage is paid, but Christ the Head of the church.*"

"'So shall the King greatly desire thy beauty.' Cast away, for me, he says, the doctrines of devils, *forget sacrifices;*§ . . . if by utter oblivion, thou blottest out the spots of unholy teach-

* Προσκαλεῖται τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν καὶ τὴν τήρησιν τῶν προστασσομένων, not to "externalize" and "create" the contents of her own faith.

† Το ταπεινὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ λόγῳ φωνῆς.

‡ Το ἀναγκαῖον τῆς ὑποταγῆς.

§ Ἐπιλάθου θυσιῶν.

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ings, and assumest thine own proper beauty, then shalt thou appear an object of desire to thy Spouse and King."

V. 13. "All the glory of the King's daughter, that is, the bride of Christ, is *within*."* . . "Obedience to the word,"† "interior purity," Basil here makes to constitute this "inward glory of the bride of Christ." "The word exhorteth us," he adds, "to aspire to the inmost mysteries of the glory of the church, the beauty of the bride being wholly *within*. For he who beautifieth himself to the Father, who seeth in secret, and prayeth, and doeth all things, not to be seen by men, but to be manifest to God alone; this man hath all interior glory, even as the daughter of the King. The very golden tasselings,‡ with which her whole person is draped and adorned, are *inward. Look for nothing in outward gold, and material variety*, but understand a drapery worthy of one renewed after the image of him that created him, as the Apostle saith. (Col. iii. 9, 10.) . . . Paul also exhorteth us to 'put on the Lord Jesus,' not after the outer man, but that the *remembrance of God may enrobe the soul.*§ The queen (that is *the soul* clad in the Bridegroom's word,) stands on the right hand of the Saviour, in garments inlaid with gold, that is to say, clothed in holy dignity and beauty, with *intelligent doctrines*‖ interwoven and variegated. . . . . The perfumes (v. 8) plenteously shed over the garments of Christ, (these are *the concomitants of discourses and diffusion of instructions,*) are wafted back, however, from the whole edifice. For he speaketh of a great 'edifice' here, and that too, built of 'ivory,'¶ the prophet thereby showing forth, as I think, the *richness of the love of Christ* towards the world.

"Now, I think the spiritual drapery is woven *complete*, when an *answerable practice is intertwined with the word of doctrine.*

* Ἔσωθεν.

† Cf. Dr. Nevin, "The Bible, to be a true word of Christ, must be *ruled by the life of the Church!*" p. 340.

‡ So the Sept. Κρυσωτὰ.

§ Περιπλάζει lit. *circumvest.* Dr. Nevin would have "the mind of the Holy Catholic Church to *circumfuse* his private thinking." Antichrist, p. 58.

‖ Ἐν δόγμασι νοεροῖς.

¶ "Ivory palaces." Eng. Trans.

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For, as the bodily garment is finished when, the warp being first set up, the woof is inserted therein, so when the word has gone before, if conformable actions follow thereupon, there would then be a most glorious vesture of the soul, having attained, in word and act, a life complete in virtue."

In his exposition of v. 14, "the *virgins* her companions," we should expect, if anywhere, that Basil would "stand in the very same order of thought that completed itself afterwards in the Roman or Papal Church." For here was the precise point of divergence for Basil and many other leading minds* of the fourth century, from the Scriptural and Primitive into the Ecclesiastical system. We, therefore, give the exposition of that clause entire.

"Certain souls follow the bride of Christ, who receive not the germs of strange doctrines: these 'shall be brought unto the King,' in the train of the bride. Let those who have promised virginity to the Lord hear this, that 'virgins shall be brought to the King:' those virgins, however, who are near to the Church, who follow after her and stray not away from the discipline of the Church. But with mirth and gladness shall the virgins be brought and enter into the King's temple. Not those who constrainedly enter on virginity, nor those who, from sorrow or necessity, addict themselves to a chaste life, but those who, with mirth and gladness, *do so*, rejoicing in such rectitude—these 'shall be brought to the King' and 'they shall be conducted into 'no common place, but into the temple of the King.' For,

* Not for all of them, however. St. Gregory Nyssen, the brotherof Basil, rejoiced in his pious and affectionate Theosebeia. Even that rigid churchman Jerome kept pretty close to the Pauline theory on this subject, and, among many other exceptional cases, conceded matrimony to those *qui propter nocturnos metus dormire soli non possunt* (Cont. Jovin.) No such concession to *weak nerves*, "in the Papal communion" since Gregory VII. Synesius, even after it became a decided *disqualification* for a "bishop" to "be the husband of one wife," being *rogatus episcopari*, replies (Ep. 105) "God and the holy hand of Theotimus gave me my wife, and I can neither forsake her *nor live with her as a harlot.*" He too, would not have been "*at home* in the Papal communion in our time." His eloquence and "pure manners," however, induced them to waive the objection, and Synesius was "ordained bishop," but never rose, (probably on account of his *domestic incumbrance*) to the rank of a "saint" in the Romish Calendar. Basil decides (Ep. 199) that "matrimony must not be prohibited, but that *a man is better if he so abide.*"

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sacred vessels, which human use hath never defiled, they shall be brought into the holy of holies, and shall have the privilege of access into the innermost sanctuary, where profane feet shall never walk. But what this 'being brought into the temple of the King' is, the prophet signified, when in his own behalf he prayed and said, 'One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord and to inquire in his temple."

To such virginal aspirations, we believe, even "a Puritan" would not object. If this is "glorifying celibacy,"* let Basil rest under the charge.

On v. 16, "'Instead of thy fathers have been born thy sons.' . . Who, then, are the sons of the Church? *Without doubt, the sons of the Gospel.*" May God multiply such "sons of the Church," and daily enlarge and glorify the Church which consists of "sons of the Gospel!"

This entire Homily on the Church, if translated into English, and preached to "a congregation in Connecticut or Massachusetts" (with the one exception noted, and how far, even that is an exception we leave the reader to judge) would create no surprise, except by its somewhat fanciful expositions, its surpassing beauty and its high spirituality. But how strange and startling would be its effect if delivered amidst the sights and sounds and fumigations of a Popish cathedral!

Let us suppose that "St. Basil the Great, Archbishop of Cæsarea"† should according to Dr. Nevin's supposition, "return to the world in our day," and be requested by Cardinal Wiseman or Archbishop Hughes to "say mass" and preach in one of their cathedrals. In the first place, he would make an awkward mistake by calling "the mass" the "Lord's supper."‡ He would proceed to "fence the tables" in the downright style

* Ear. Chris. p. 3.

† So Roman authorities call him. He calls himself a "co-presbyter," with his brethren (*συμπρεσβύτερος*)

‡ *Τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον.* Epist. 310. Tom. II. p. 752. Athanasius too calls it *ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα.* Ep. ad ubique Orth. Opp. p. 729. And yet Dr. Nevin is very hard on our unchurchly selves for "degrading it by this appellation to the level of a common SUPPER." Merc. Rev., March 1852.

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of (what Dr. Nevin calls) "hard and bony Presbyterianism," saying, (they are his own words,*) "He that *cometh to the communion*† is nothing profited without a consideration of the word after which the participation of the body *and blood* of Christ is given to us." "Let a man therefore *examine himself* and so let him eat of that bread *and drink of that cup*,‡ for he that *eateth and drinketh* unworthily, eateth and drinketh to his own condemnation." Yet "unless ye eat the flesh and *drink the blood* of the Son of Man ye have no life in you. But through faith we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from all sin, and being baptized by water into the Lord's death, we become dead unto sin and the world, and are made alive unto righteousness, and so being baptized in the name of the Holy Ghost, we are born again; and being born again, we put on Christ, being clothed with the new man, &c. And therefore we must be nourished with the food of eternal life which the only begotten son of God hath given us."§

He would then proceed to lay down "the words of institution" from the gospels and 1 Cor. xi.‖ and go on to distribute *both kinds* to the astonished *faithful*, saying, with the precise introductory formulæ¶ now used in the "Protestant sects," "take, eat, this is my body broken for you," and with the presentation of the cup, "this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins, *drink ye all of it.*** For thus eating and drinking, we perpetually *commemorate*†† the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us and rose again and let us learn that it is thus we must preserve in the presence of God and of his Christ the doctrine delivered to us by the Apostle,‡‡ when he saith 'the love of Christ constraineth us,'" &c. (2. Cor. v. 14, &c.)

* Ὁρος 21. Cap. 21. Tom. ii. p. 354, and more fully in his 2d book on Baptism.

† Προσφχόμενος τῷ κοινωνίᾳ.

‡ Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου πινέτω. Disc. on the holy Mysteries app. to his books on Baptism.

§ De Bapt. Lib. I. Cap. 3.

‖ He does so, quoting them in full. Ὁρ. 21. Cap. 3, &c. de Bapt. I. 3.

¶ Opp. Tom. II. p. 923. ** πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, Ibid.

†† The Archbishop would here be stricken on the spot by a papal thunderbolt, "Whosoever shall say that the sacrifice of the mass is simply a *commemoration*, is accursed (anathemate fulminari.) III. Anath. de Sac. Miss. Conc. Trid. Paol. Sarpi. p. 521.

‡‡ A very remarkable passage. It stands thus in full, on the page last cited.

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Having thus "said Mass," the Archbishop would proceed (if he happened to select for the occasion, his Homily on Ps. xlv.) to deliver a good long discourse "on the Church," which would utterly leave on the outside of it, not only the Cardinal and Archbishop, but the Pope himself. And would then, in all probability, wind up with an extempore prayer, "selected from the Holy Scriptures," a practice which he fervently recommends in his beautiful observations on prayer.*

We doubt if the "Archiepiscopus Redivivus" would be called upon a second time to *exercise his gifts* "within the Papal Communion."

May God *raise up* many such "Saints," and "Great" men as Basil to proclaim his everlasting Gospel;—endowed with the most splendid natural talents, enriched with all learning, animated by an indomitable spirit of Christian freedom, yet bowing with profound humility to "the lowly instruction of the Gospel voice." If they should not "find themselves at home," as they certainly would not, "in the Papal Communion," we will insure them a joyful reception in the Protestant Church.

We have an extraordinary revelation of the inward life of Basil, in a long letter† to his bosom friend Gregory, written from his religious retreat in Cappadocia. It bears, as might be expected, something of the monastic tinge. Let the reader, however, judge whether the *religious experience* it discloses, and the ideas of the means of spiritual proficiency it expresses, are of the Protestant or Papal stamp. Dr. Nevin says that Basil, &c. "glorified monastic life." Of what sort was the monastic life which they thus "glorified?"

"What I am doing night and day in this remote place, I am ashamed to tell thee. I have forsaken, it is true, my pursuits in the city, as the occasions of innumerable ills, but *I have not been able to leave myself behind.* On the contrary, I am like those who are tossed about on the sea, and sea-sick from being unaccustomed to navigation. They are dissatisfied with their

* Opp. Tom. II. p. 769, "not using vain repetitions like the Greeks, but *making a collect from the Holy Scriptures,*" (ὡσπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Γραφῶν ἐκλεγόμενος.) He subjoins a specimen.

† Ep. II. Classis I. Nov. Ordo. Opp. Tom. III. p. 99.

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ship, as if its size caused the greater agitation, and so get down into a little skiff or shallop, and yet are none the less sea-sick and ill at ease, for their bile and nausea go along with them. My case is much the same. For, carrying with me the *disorders that dwell within*,* I am everywhere alike disquieted: so that *my benefit from this seclusion is not great.* There are things, however, which we must do in order to press on the footsteps of him who is guiding us to salvation. (For if any man, saith he, will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.) These are some of them.

"We must try to maintain serenity of mind. . . . . The undistracted mind *turns upon itself, and through itself ascends to God.*" . . . "Prayers," "hymns, and songs of praise to the Creator," and "labour," cheered and sanctified by these, are added.

"But," he continues, "the principal path† to the discovery of duty, is the meditation of the divinely inspired Scriptures," and dwells largely on the perfection of its precepts and examples. "Prayers again, *succeeding these readings*, find the soul more fresh and active, stirred and awakened by desire towards God."

When we find the great Basil speaking in this letter of the sort of clothes, shoes, diet, &c., most conducive to detachment from the world, and fixedness of soul on divine things, we feel that he sinks below the element in which he generally moves, and approximates "the order of thoughts which completed itself afterwards in the Papal church." Still, as long as he keeps to "the principal path," he cannot "Romanize" in any thing material, and *he does not.*

The above letter was written when he was about twenty-eight years old, and probably before he entered the ministry. In another, written about ten years later,‡ consisting of counsels to those who were in religious seclusion, he says, "I have thought proper briefly to advise you *as I have learned from the inspired Scriptures.*" Almost all these counsels are expressed in the very words of Scripture. His first remark is, that "a Christian

* Τὰ ἔνοικα πάθη, which might here be neatly rendered by the *Puritan* phrase, "indwelling sin."

† Μεγίστη ὁδός. ‡ Ep. 22.

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should have a spirit worthy of his heavenly calling, and a conversation as it becomes the Gospel of Christ."

In neither of these letters, is there an allusion to any means of grace other than the word of God, prayer, praise, self-communion, and communion with God, and pious converse; and all these joined with useful labour.

In a letter of spiritual advice to an individual,* he exhorts him to "take upon himself *the easy yoke of the Lord.*"

Basil advises "young men,"† apparently under his own educational care, to study the writings of the ancient Greeks, because the mental discipline thus acquired would better enable them to apprehend the sublimer revelations of the Scriptures, and compares the perception of truth in the former to *looking at the image of the sun in water;*‡ in the latter, to *directing our view to the light itself.*§

During a long absence from his flock at Cæsarea, he addressed them a pastoral letter,‖ containing this among other like counsels. "Take heed, O divine and most beloved souls, of the shepherds of the Philistines, lest some one of them stealthily fill up your wells and make turbid the pure knowledge of the things of faith. For this is ever their care, not *to teach simple souls from the divine Scriptures,* but to *sophisticate the truth from a science which is foreign to it* . . . bewitching the sheep that they drink not of that pure water which springeth up unto everlasting life, but that they bring on themselves that oracle of the prophet, 'they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and have hewn out for themselves broken cisterns which can hold no water.'"

Do such counsels breathe the spirit of a creed or church religion? Do they not send every one of these "beloved souls" to the "fountain of living waters" to draw thence and drink for itself? How were these "souls" to detect the stealthy and bewitching arts of the "Philistine shepherds," but by comparing their doctrines with the "divine Scriptures"—in plain words, by reading their Bible, in the exercise of free, intelli-

* Ep. 23.

† Προς τους νεους. Cap. 2, end. Opp. Tom. II. p. 243.

‡ Εν ὑδατι τον ἡλιον ὁρᾶν.

§ Αυτῷ προσβαλλοῦμεν τῷ φωτὶ τὰς ὄψεις. ‖ Ep. 8.

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gent, *private judgment.* This is good Protestant advice. But Papal pastors do not, "in our time," write such letters to their flocks.

About the year 368, the people of Neo-Cæsarea lost their bishop by death. Basil addressed a consolatory letter to them.* Whether it bears most of the Puritanic or Papal type, let the reader judge.

After many expressions of sympathy, and dissuasives from excessive grief, he continues:

"Shall we not shake off our sorrow? Shall we not bestir ourselves? Shall we not look up to the common Lord, who having permitted each of his saints to minister to their own generation, calls them back again, at fitting times, to himself? Call now seasonably to mind the counsels of him who, while yet ministering in your church, admonished you, 'beware of dogs, beware of evil workers.' . . These you must beware of under the care of some watchful shepherd. *It is yours to seek for him,*† laying aside all strife and love of pre-eminence. *It is the Lord's to point him out to you,* who from the time of Gregory, that great leader of your church, down to him who has just departed,‡ hath added one to another, and always with such fitness, that he has graciously bestowed a wondrous ornament, even as it were a string of most precious stones, upon your church. You must not, therefore, despair of successors. For the Lord knoweth them that are his; and *may lead into the midst of us those who, perchance, are quite unlooked for by us.* . .

"I beseech you by your fathers, by the true faith, by the departed, arouse your spirit, *let every man judge the business in hand to be his own proper concern,*§ and considering that he

* Ep. 28.

† Ὃν ὑμέτερον μὲν ἀιτῆσαι.

‡ He commends especially the faithfulness and diligence of "the deceased" in *preaching*, and adds, "*on this account*, (ταύτῃ) not by reason of his *age*, he was esteemed worthy of higher honour in the assemblies of *his equally honoured brethren* (τῆς πρωτιμίσεως ἐν τοις συλλόγοις τῶν ὁμοτίμων,) through the superior venerableness of his wisdom, taking the precedence by the common concession." (κοινῇ συγχωρήσει τὸ πρωτεῖον καρπούμενος.) Did "Basil the Great stand in the bosom of the prelatical and high church system *at all points*?"

§ Οἰκεῖον ἕκαστον ἑαυτοῦ τὸ σπουδαζόμενον κρίναντα.

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must himself be first affected by the issue of this transaction either way, not, as too often happens, throw off upon his neighbour the care of your common interests, and so, each one neglecting the matter in his own mind, all of you bring upon yourselves the sad consequences of your indifference. Receive these advices, with all good will, whether as expressions of neighbourly sympathy, or of the communion of those who hold the same faith, or, which is nearer the truth, of obedience to the law of love, and fear of the danger of being silent; resting assured that ye are our glorying, as we are also yours, in the day of our Lord, and that, by the pastor who is to be given to you, we shall be bound together yet more firmly in the bond of love, or utterly separated: which may God forbid!"

This would be very *seasonable* advice from a New England pastor to a neighbouring church, mourning the death of an eminent minister, and *every word of this letter might be so addressed* without infringing on that "parity and rank democracy" which Dr. Nevin deplores as one of the great mischiefs and afflictions of "Puritanism." But do "Catholic" Bishops address such missives "in our time" to *vacant congregations?*

And the people not only "sought for" and elected their own bishops, (pastor is the name Basil uses in this letter,) in the "glorious period of the fourth century," but they called them to account roundly too, when they thought either their conduct or their faith deserved it. See Basil's apologetic letter to his own flock when they were dissatisfied at his long absence,* and to "all" the Christians of New Cæsarea,† when they were alarmed by his monastic tendencies and certain changes which he made in the music of the Church, which he defends solely by the congruity of the thing to the Gospel and to the worship of the Church, and the like considerations, and never by any appeal to *tradition* or *sacerdotal* or *ecclesiastical authority.*

How close and intensely individual was the preaching of Basil, the most cursory glance at his homilies will show. We instance that "On the Soul."‡ He certainly did not bring out truth with the full-orbed brightness of a Howe, or as Robert Hall, send the *lucid arrows* to the conscience with the ine-

* Ep. 2d. † Ep. 207.

‡ Περι ψυχῆς. Tom. III. p. 833. σεαυτὸν μόνον πρόσεχε is one of its leading counsels.

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vitable precision of a Baxter or a Davies, a Payson or an Alexander; (what forbids us to say, "God having reserved some better thing for us that they without us should not be made perfect?) But he did bring his hearer to deal alone with his God and with himself. He held up to him no other aim than holiness of heart and life, and no other means of attaining it but the word and the grace of God. This alone would have utterly prevented him from "finding himself at home in the Papal communion in our time." The same lofty intrepidity of soul and "valour for truth" which led him to confront the tyrannical Valens, would surely have driven him to defy the Pope. And if the vigour of that "system" were equal to its spirit, we have not the slightest doubt that it would speedily bestow upon him, in addition to all his other titles, that of *Martyr*.

"We must have a full persuasion that every word of God is true and possible, even though nature fight against it. For *herein lies the very strife of faith.*"*

Such is the eighth rule of the *Moralia* of "Basil the Great,"† and with one allusion more, we end our *Basiliana*. For, when we unseal the "exundans fons ingenii" of the Christian Demosthenes," it will pour itself out inexhaustibly, unless we abruptly shut off its flow.

The death of Basil, exhibited in connection with that of Moehler, one of the most highly cultivated philosophic and devout Catholics "in our time," will form our last point of contrast. Basil, as Gregory tells us, met death with these words on his lips, "Into thine hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth."

The last scene of Moehler is thus drawn by his biographer.

"On the seventh of April he felt himself better, and *desired that for his entertainment a favourite book of travels might be read to him.* . . . At the beginning of Holy Week, feeling his end approach, he *prepared by the reception of the sacraments*, for appearing before his Almighty Judge. . . The heavy ice-cold sweat-drops gathered about his brow and temples; the last

* Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν τῆς πίστεως.

† Opp. Tom. II. p. 336.

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struggle had come on. *His confessor never left his side.* At one o'clock in the afternoon, he awoke from a gentle slumber, clasped both hands to his head, . . gasped violently three times, and the soul, bursting her fetters, sprang upwards to her God."*

Thus closes the life-drama of scriptural and of "sacramental," "organic," (*Catholic*) Christianity. The former, at the approach of the last enemy, repeats its *first faith* in the very "letters of faith," commits itself once more to the hands of its mighty and loving Redeemer, and its last glance is a *look towards Jesus.* The latter "entertains" as it may, its easier intervals, and when the inevitable moment comes, "receives the sacraments" and "*gives up the ghost.*"

Let me die the death of the Christian, rather than that of *the Catholic.*

Of Chrysostom (whom Dr. Nevin groups also with the "Romanizing fathers,") we must not speak at any length, and we need not. For the beautiful monograph of Neander is before the world in an English translation, and shows how eminently scriptural were both his personal culture and his ministry.

But when in his Homily on 1 Cor. i,† he defines the unity and ubiquity of the Christian Church to consist in this, that it comprehends "all who, in every place, call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, both theirs and ours, and that its members are those who are "sanctified in Christ Jesus," "called to be saints," and explains at length, how each of these clauses reveals a *mark* and *distinction* of the true Church, and that the inclusion of all such makes the Church *one* and *universal;* and when, in his Homily on Col. iii.‡ in the exposition of the words, "let the word of Christ dwell in you richly," (what a text for a "Romanizing" preacher!) he unfolds the exhaustless richness of the divine word, pointing out how "doctrine, opinions, exhortation,"§ may all be drawn from it, and fervently exhorts his people to read the Scriptures, not carelessly nor occasionally, but with much diligent endeavour;"‖

* Mem. of Joh. Ad. Moehler prefixed to his "Symbolism," p. 84, 5.

† Opp. Tom. X. p. 4. Ed. Bened.

‡ Opp. Tom. XI. p. 390.

§ Ἡ διδασκαλια, τα δογματα, ἡ παραίνεσις.

‖ Μὴ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτυχε, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σπουδῆς.

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we feel sure that this style of preaching does not bear "a *very* near resemblance in all material points to the later religion of the Roman Church,"* that in fact it very nearly "corresponds with the modern ecclesiastical life of Connecticut and Massachusetts."† At least it is clear that Chrysostom could not have agreed with Dr. Nevin that "*all* true theology grows forth from the creed, and so remains *bound* to it perpetually as its necessary radix *or root*."‡

Dr. Nevin cannot endure that "invisible" sort of unity which is manifested by "an occasional shaking of hands fraternally on the platform of a Bible Society, or a melting season of *promiscuous!* communion now and then around the sacramental board." It "falls immeasurably short," he says, "of the true idea of Catholic unity." "It has *no tendency whatever, however remote*, towards *true Catholicity*. It is *the very opposite* of all organic Christianity."§ Now what *organic* Christianity is, it would probably have puzzled Chrysostom to conceive, but his "idea of true Catholic unity" is precisely that which Dr. Nevin charges upon the "sect-system."

One declaration we add, grand and impressive, like the genius and the faith of him who uttered it—"The apostolic writings are the fortifications of the churches."‖

Could he then have "found himself at home," in a "Church" which is not only *without* those "fortifications" but which, with the aid of such a master-mason as "Strauss," has undertaken "in our time, to shoot up spontaneously," independent fortifications of its own? No, the princely Archbishop of Constantinople would rather have betaken himself to the humblest "Puritanic" quarters *within* those fortifications, exclaiming, as he once did, when he stemmed alone the wrath of the emperor and the fury of the multitude, "*We are servants of the crucified!*"¶

If we had time to descend to the fifth century and gather the suffrages of its eminent divines, great as the development of sacerdotal and ecclesiastical ideas during that century undoubt-

* Early Chris. p. 2.

† Ibid. p. 490.

‡ Apostles' Creed, p. 341.

§ Antichrist, p. 75, 6.

‖ Τυχὴ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐστιν. Hom. on 2 Tim. iii. 1. Opp. Tom. VI. p. 282.

¶ Ὀφείλει ἑστὼς τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου. Ὁμιλ. εἰς Εὐτρόπιον c. 4.

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edly was, we should find that they were of one mind with the Reformers on the great points at issue between them and Romanism. If we should consult all the councils of the Church from that first consisting of inspired Apostles, (Acts xv.) which appealed to "the words of the prophets" as the ground of their decision, down to the time when the Papacy gained the ascendant and "made void the word of God by her traditions," if we should appeal to the early historians and hymn-writers of the Church, we should derive from all one harmonious testimony to the fontal source and authoritative test of the Christian faith.

All these, with a harmony as perfect as the unity of the faith, and a variety as wonderful as the language and the imagination of man, proclaim the holy and inspired Scriptures to be "the bread" on which the Church feeds, "the garment" in which she is arrayed, "the breath of her life," "the light" by which she walks, "the sword" with which she fights, "the root" from which she grows, "the foundation" on which she stands, "the walls" which surround her, "the wings which bear her to heaven."

But we dismiss the subject and release the reader, (if indeed he has staid with us through this long discussion) with the fervent hope that he may so apprehend *the first aspects* of truth as they stand forth in *the creed*, as to become possessor of the whole ample and glorious (as good Hilary calls it) *Patrocinium Ecclesiæ* as it is revealed in the Bible.

ART. V.—*Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane, of Airthrey, and of his brother, James Alexander Haldane.* By Alexander Haldane, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law. London: 1852. 8vo. pp. 676.

MUCH yet remains to be said or written on the uses and abuses of biography. The unhappy effects of spreading out on record the morbid anatomy of even pious minds, as stimulants and models to congenial spirits, in the forming period of life, can never be computed, though perhaps overbalanced by some positive advantages. A vitiated taste for this kind of nourish-

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ment may often be detected by a corresponding distaste for the simple and healthful biography of Scripture. That biography affords the best corrective of the evil. The next best is the history of active, useful, healthy Christians, especially of those whose lives have many points of contact with the general history of their times. Such men were the brothers Robert and James Haldane, whose biography is therefore a welcome addition to our extant memorials of Christian excellence. Long, active, influential lives, extending through a most eventful period, and connected by a hundred ties with all the marked occurrences and characters of the contemporary Church and world, with just enough of eccentricity and error to give zest to their decided and preponderating merits—such are the attractions of the subject, and they certainly have lost nothing in the hands of the accomplished, pious, and impartial biographer, the son of the younger Haldane, and the nephew of the elder.

It is an interesting, although not a very surprising fact, that some of our best biographies of eminently good men are the work of lawyers. The combination of two lives in one biography, is a rare, if not a novel feature of the work before us. It has led to some confusion, or at least will cause some to the inattentive reader, who neglects to observe, that the younger brother is almost uniformly distinguished by his Christian name or his initials ("Mr. J. A. Haldane,") while the simple patronymic ("Mr. Haldane") is assigned to the "laird" by right of primogeniture. Apart from the mere nomenclature of the men, their lives are kept as distinct and separate as they could have been consistently with their near relationship, their intimate association during nearly fourscore years, and their joint participation in the most important incidents which constitute the subject-matter of the volume. More would certainly have been lost than gained, as to the aggregate impression and result, by the total omission, or even the separate narration of the younger and less celebrated brother's history.

If we may take our own vague and confused notions of these interesting lives, before we saw the book before us, as an index to the general curiosity and ignorance, we cannot be mistaken in believing that it furnishes a seasonable subject for the entertainment and instruction of our readers. As to the best way

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of applying it to such a use, we have not been entirely free from hesitation. The more obvious and customary course would be to furnish a brief abstract or synopsis of the history. And this would no doubt be the best plan if the book were likely to continue inaccessible to most American readers, as an elegant and costly English publication. But as we have the promise of a reprint from one of our most enterprising houses, we think it better to excite than satisfy the public curiosity, by describing, in a desultory manner, some of the impressions which the book has made upon our own minds, thus presenting not so much what it contains, as what may lead some readers to judge of the contents for themselves.

The first particular that strikes us as imparting interest to this biography, is the social position and connections of the subjects. The family of Haldane, (of which Halden and Hadden are mere variations,) is one of the oldest in Scotland, and supposed to be of Danish or Norwegian origin. The biographer, with a venial complacency, enumerates the members of his race who have acquired personal or official eminence in almost every generation since the eleventh century; and this, for the most part, upon documentary authority. Besides many other noble or gentle affinities, the brothers whose biography is here recorded, were the nephews of Admiral Lord Duncan on the one side, and of the famous Sir Ralph Abercromby on the other.

Robert Haldane was the hereditary proprietor of one of the most beautiful estates in Scotland, described, after his improvement of it, by an enthusiastic Scottish lord, as a little heaven upon earth. In origin, connections, and predispositions, the brothers belonged to the aristocracy, and seem to have retained through life the lofty although courteous demeanour, which is commonly considered as belonging to that rank in the mother country. Their early education, although far from being finished, was in kind such as became their position in society. As boys, they were under the tuition of the celebrated Dr. Adam, the author of the Latin Grammar and Antiquities. They were also inmates of his family, and travelled with him in their boyhood through the north of England. Another fellow-traveller, on this occasion, was the well-known author of "McKnight on the Epistles," whose lax observance of the Sabbath on this jour-

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ney, strengthened the subsequent aversion of the Haldanes to him, both as an expositor and a theologian. The names which we have mentioned are but a tithe of those occurring in the early period of this biography, and showing the varied and extensive acquaintance of its subjects, even in their youth.

Another circumstance which gives an additional zest to this biography, and may probably attract a class of readers not much addicted to the study of religious lives in general, is the early connection of both brothers with the naval service, the elder having held for several years the king's commission, and the younger a still higher rank in the service of the East India Company. During their short professional career both acquired considerable reputation by their personal merit, aided no doubt by their advantages of kindred, and especially the influence of the Duncans. Robert Haldane was long stationed at Gosport, and there witnessed the catastrophe, immortalized by Cowper, of the Royal George. James acquired distinction as an officer, by quelling a dangerous mutiny at the imminent risk of his own life, and a less enviable notoriety by a duel, in which his hand was injured by the bursting of his pistol. Although both, independently of one another, and, as it would seem, for different reasons, retired early from the service, both appear to have retained, and more especially the younger brother, "Captain Haldane," a lively interest in maritime affairs and in the welfare of seamen, as well as something of that undefinable peculiarity in character and manner which has always given popularity to every class and rank of sailors.

The next salient point in the biography is the remarkable conversion of the two brothers, at the very time when they had less intercourse and mutual influence than at any other period of their lives, and by means and agencies entirely different. While nothing could well be more convincing than the evidence of genuine conversion in both cases, there could not possibly have been less appearance of mere sympathy or imitation. The saving change in Robert Haldane was providentially connected with the part which he had somewhat rashly taken in favour of the French Revolution, when so many were deceived by the flattering promise of its earlier stages. The disputes in which he was involved by this step, led by degrees

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to theological discussion with the neighbouring clergy, and eventually to his full reception of the gospel, not only as a system of belief, but as a method of salvation. The particular circumstances which attended the conversion of his brother, we have now forgotten, and we do not wish to overload this desultory sketch with laborious reference or long quotation. We only know that the change experienced by James, though equally evident and thorough, was less striking and less public, in its first manifestations. As they had been separated from each other in the naval service, so they left it independently, and if our memory does not deceive us, without previous concert or direct communication. This coincident and almost simultaneous conversion of two brothers, under circumstances and by means entirely unlike, when taken in connection with their subsequent co-operation in the "labour of love" for more than half a century, has certainly the aspect of a special divine guidance, giving shape and character to lives which, a little while before, had every probability of being spent in purely secular pursuits and pleasures.

Another striking feature in this joint life, is the way in which the brothers first displayed the reality and strength of their new principles. James, whose resources were comparatively slender, threw his whole soul into an energetic scheme of itinerant lay-preaching, which extended over the whole face of Scotland to the furthest and the least frequented of its islands. This vigorous home mission, which continued to occupy his summers after he became the pastor of an Independent Church in Edinburgh, loses some of its original and novel aspect, when compared with the similar and previous movements of a Wesley and a Whitefield, and the still more recent ones of Hill and Simeon, with whom James Haldane corresponded and co-operated very cordially. The first years however of his locomotive ministry derived a certain interest, not belonging to the other cases first referred to, from his being generally known as a layman, a gentleman, and a naval officer. We shall not forestall this part of the narrative by quoting any of the anecdotes and reminiscences, which his son has gathered, of the days when "Captain Haldane" used to preach upon the side of Calton Hill and elsewhere, in his blue coat and gilt buttons, with his

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hair powdered and tied behind; when his field-sermons were announced by means of the town-drummer, and delivered sometimes in the teeth of magisterial authority and even of military force. That there was some fanaticism in all this, he appears to have been subsequently sensible himself; but it would be folly to deny that Providence employed him as an instrument in stirring up the Kirk of Scotland at the period of its most profound stagnation. This view of the matter is confirmed by the forbearance and even complacency with which his irregular ministrations were connived at or approved by some whose personal opinions, as well as their ecclesiastical position, were entirely adverse to such violations of order in the general and the abstract. The descriptions given of James Haldane's preaching are not very definite; but it seems to have been eminently biblical, doctrinal, and experimental. He declared himself, in his extreme old age, that since he first began to preach, he had experienced no change of conviction or belief as to any of the Calvinistic doctrines, always excepting what related to church order and the sacraments.

Equally marked, and still more characteristic, was the course pursued about the same time by the elder brother. While the Captain was itinerating as a lay-preacher, the Laird was selling his patrimonial estate of Airthrey, which had become a model of agricultural and picturesque improvement, and forming the scheme of a mission to Bengal, to be conducted by himself, David Bogue, Greville Ewing, and William Innes, on a very liberal and extensive scale, at the sole expense of Robert Haldane. This plan, matured before the formation of the London Missionary Society, was only defeated by the refusal of the East India Company to admit the missionaries into the territory under their control. The biographer complains, perhaps without necessity, of injustice done to his father's memory, in reference to this matter, by the sons and biographers of Wilberforce. The offensive imputation seems to be that of wildness and fanaticism, both religious and political, as the occasion or the cause of Haldane's failure. One thing is certain, that the sincerity of his intentions was established by the actual sale of his possessions, and the length to which he carried his arrangements for the execution of his favourite purpose.

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The character of Robert Haldane is remarkably exemplified by his conduct after meeting with this great disappointment. Instead of abandoning his schemes of usefulness, he simply changed their form and their direction, and pursued them with unabated zeal. Beginning with the purchase of the Edinburgh Circus, he converted several similar places of amusement in the large towns of Scotland, into tabernacles or independent places of worship. It seems to have been this, rather than any change of principle, that first withdrew the brothers from the communion of the Church of Scotland. They originally no more thought, perhaps, of a secession, than Wesley or Whitefield from the Church of England; but having opened these irregular chapels, they were gradually led to the organization of mixed churches or societies, at first on very vague and liberal principles, admitting various shades of ecclesiastical practice and opinion. From this, by a natural transition, they soon passed into the more specific form of Baptist independency, connected with some notions of their own as to the duty of mutual exhortation as a part of public worship, founded on Heb. x. 25. This is the only part of Robert Haldane's course that can be justly represented as fanatical; and of this he afterwards repented, though he clothed his recantation in the form of an admission that the Church was "in the wilderness," and not yet ready for a restoration of the "primitive church order." Let it also be remembered, to his honour, that he always condemned the principle and practice of "close communion," and that of making ordinances the great theme of preaching and the test of Christian character. This sentiment, repeatedly expressed in the biography, and sometimes in his own words, may seem inconsistent with the fact, that the controversial writings of Dr. Alexander Carson were chiefly brought before the public by the aid of Mr. Haldane's purse, the genius and learning of the former being likened, by the author of this volume, to a heavy piece of ordnance dismounted in a ditch.

Robert Haldane's favourite employment in his early days, was landscape-gardening and the improvements connected with it, his taste and skill in which were famous throughout Scotland. This enhances the greatness of the sacrifice he made in selling Airthrey to provide funds for his Indian mission. It was per-

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haps a symptom of more moderate and balanced judgment, that he many years afterwards purchased a tract of two thousand acres on the Summit Level between Edinburgh and Glasgow, which he found with but a single tree, and left a waving forest, interspersed with slate-roofed cottages and pretty farms. The people of this district were descendants of the old Cameronians, and some of them still kept in their houses muskets, or other arms, which had done good service at Bothwell Brigg. It is no small proof of Haldane's mental strength and moral worth, as well as of his wise superiority to minor points of difference, that though a Baptist, he acquired no small ascendency over this strong-minded and strong-willed peasantry, not only as a neighbour and a landlord, but as a preacher and expounder of the Scriptures.

The next phase of Robert Haldane's life and character, and one of the most interesting and important, is that presented by his visit to the continent in 1816. The providential leadings which conducted him to Paris, and from Paris to Geneva and Montauban, without any settled plan or definite design; the preparation which had been silently but powerfully made for his assertion of the truth there; the extraordinary influence exerted by him on Socinian ministers and students of theology, even when he was unable to address them in their own language, and could only reach them by pointing to texts of Scripture; the remarkable conversions which attested the divine blessing on his zeal for truth; and more especially the close connection between his evangelical exertions and the subsequent usefulness of such men as Gaussen, Galland, Malan and Merle d'Aubigné;—all these are powerful attractions, even for the general reader, and we will not weaken or forestall them, either by quotation or abridgment. We shall only say that they invest this portion of the narrative with what is commonly, but not very happily described as a romantic interest, and are sufficient of themselves to give the whole work popularity.

Another highly interesting scene in this biographical drama, is that in which the Haldanes, but particularly Robert, took an active part in the controversy respecting the circulation of the Apocrypha in foreign versions by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Exciting as this controversy was thirty years ago, its

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details have fallen much into oblivion, while the feeling of curiosity respecting them is not yet wholly lost, so that many readers will no doubt be pleased with the continuous narrative of facts here given. We are glad to know on such authority that, while Mr. Haldane took the highest ground in opposition to all connivance at the corruption of the word of God, he wholly disapproved of Captain Gordon's Trinitarian Bible Society, which had its origin in these disputes. It was this controversy as to the Apocrypha that brought him into contact, and eventually into intimate association and co-operation, with that bright, but prematurely quenched light of the Scottish Kirk, the late Dr. Andrew Thomson, for many years an acknowledged leader of the evangelical party, the editor of the Christian Instructor, and the predecessor of Dr. Candlish in the pastoral charge of St. Georges, Edinburgh.

The feeling with which Haldane was regarded by such men as Thomson, Chalmers, Gordon, and others of the same class, notwithstanding his secession from the Kirk, and his peculiar views on some important points, is valuable as a means of defining his position in relation to the Church and the religious world at large. Among the documentary illustrations of the work before us is a private note from Dr. Chalmers to Mr. Haldane, accompanying a presentation copy of his Lectures on the Romans, and with a characteristic lowliness, which might in almost any other man have looked like affectation, confessing its entire inferiority to Haldane's exposition of the same epistle. The latter work was the fruit of the author's continental mission, and was originally published in French. It was afterwards re-written in English, and in that form passed through several editions, besides being translated into German. It is characteristic of the writer, in more than one respect, that at the close of his last revision of the work, not long before he died, he professed to be seriously doubtful as to only one expression in the whole epistle. The claim set up by the biographers and friends of Carson, to the learned part of this expository work, is virtually admitted by the author of the life before us, who distinctly states that Mr. Haldane relied, for the critical material of his exposition, on the superior scholarship and judgment of this learned friend. The other most impor-

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tant work of Robert Haldane, that upon the Evidences of Christianity, grew out of the Apocrypha dispute, involving as it did the questions of canonical authority and inspiration.

Besides these two chief works, there is appended to the Life a list of more than fifteen publications by Robert Haldane, during a period of forty-five years. Some of these had only a local and temporary interest. This is also true of many of his brother's writings, which are still more numerous, though less known to the public, with the exception of some widely circulated tracts, and an expository work on the Galatians.

Robert Haldane died in his seventy-ninth year (1842), James in his eighty-third (1851.) The closing scenes of both were worthy of their lives. James had attended three Sabbath services, with scarcely any interruption, for fifty years, and was to have supplied another's pulpit on the day after that of his his decease. The last days of Robert were distinguished by that calmness and composure, self-possession and unshaken faith, which so often characterizes the death-beds of the most eminent believers, and afford more conclusive proof of ripeness for heaven than the most theatrical displays of rapture, not preceded and attested by a Christian life.

We have purposely avoided doing more than seemed sufficient to attract attention to this highly interesting book, which we think adapted to be eminently useful to the religious world in general, but especially to one or two particular coteries among ourselves. We shall only specify two opposite but equally mistaken classes; those who regard incessant study of the Scriptures and a zeal for doctrinal correctness as either a substitute for active usefulness or an excuse for its neglect; and those who, in their zeal for Christian charity, disparage doctrinal distinctions, nay the truth itself, and make almsgiving the sum total of religion. When the first of these classes shall do more, in proportion to their gifts and opportunities, for truth and sacred learning, without a corresponding practice, than the Haldanes did with it; or when the other shall do more for men's bodies by neglecting their souls, than the Haldanes did for both; let them together "rejoice in their boastings." But until they can endure this test, "all

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such rejoicing is evil," and we trust that many such may be incited by the firm but liberal, intelligent but zealous, faith of these two noble brothers, to "GO AND DO LIKEWISE."

ART. VI.—*Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah: Including a Reconnoissance of a New Route through the Rocky Mountains.* By Howard Stansbury, Captain Corps Topographical Engineers, U. S. Army. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852. 8vo pp. 487.

THE author of this volume, an accomplished engineer officer, having been ordered by Government to make an exploration and survey of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, proceeded in the spring of 1849 to Fort Leavenworth, from whence, on the 1st of June, with eighteen men, five wagons, and forty-six horses and mules, he set forth on his hazardous and adventurous expedition.

The circumstances in which he commenced his journey were by no means cheering. The only officer attached to his command was in consequence of illness unable to perform any duty, or even to sit his horse, and being unable to travel in any other manner, was carried on his bed in a spring wagon, which had been procured for the transportation of the instruments. In addition to this, the cholera was raging on the Missouri, and fearful rumours of its prevalence and fatality among the emigrants on the route, daily reached them from the plains; and on the day that the march was commenced, one of the little party was carried to the hospital, where he died in twenty-four hours.

Captain Stansbury followed the "emigration road," which he represents to be as broad and well beaten as any turnpike in the country. On the 9th of June he crossed the "Big Vermilion," and found the trees and stumps on its banks carved all over with the names of hundreds of emigrants who had preceded him, the dates of their passing, the state of their health and spirits, together with an occasional message to their friends

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who were expected to follow. "Such a record," says Captain Stansbury, "in the midst of a wild solitude like this, could not but make a strong and cheering impression on every new-comer, who thus suddenly found himself as it were, in the midst of a great company of friends and fellow travellers. On the left bank was the freshly made grave of a French trader, whose name was known to most of our *voyageurs*. It was heaped up with earth, and covered longitudinally with heavy split logs, placed there to prevent the depredation of the wolves; the whole being surmounted by a wooden cross, with the name of the deceased, and the usual significant abbreviation I. H. S. carved rudely upon it. We had passed six graves already during the day. Melancholy accompaniments they are of a road, silent and solitary at best, and ill calculated to cheer the weary, drooping wayfarers. Our encampment was pleasantly situated under the spreading branches of some large oaks, with a spring of pure, cold water near at hand—the latter an item which we soon afterwards learned to value beyond all price. Just above us was a wagon with a small party of emigrants. They had lost most of their cattle on the journey; and the father of three of them having died on the road, they, in conformity with his dying wishes, were now on their return to the settlements. A short distance beyond these, we found another small company, who had been encamped here for twelve days, on account of the illness of one of their comrades. They also were on their return. Had we been going out on a private enterprise, discouragements were not wanting, as well from the dead as the living."

Companies of emigrants were frequently overtaken by our party. On one occasion they passed a company from Boston, consisting of seventy persons, one hundred and forty mules, a number of riding horses, and a drove of cattle for beef. They also passed an old Dutchman, with an immense wagon, drawn by six yoke of cattle, and loaded with household furniture. Behind followed a covered cart, containing a host of babies, which the wife drove herself; the cart having attached to it a large coop full of fowls. Two milch cows followed; and next came a little bare-footed girl, not more than seven years old, mounted on an old mare, while a sucking colt brought up the

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rear. They were bound to the land of promise, of the distance of which they had not the most remote idea. This party was frequently encountered on the route, and when last seen, the old man was engaged in sawing his wagon into two parts, and in disposing of every thing he could sell or give away, to lighten his load. As the party advanced, they daily found evidence of the difficulties encountered by the bands of emigrants who had preceded them on the route. In the vicinity of "Fort Laramie" they passed in one morning, the nearly consumed fragments of a dozen wagons, that had been broken up and burned by their owners, and near them was piled up in one heap from six to eight hundred weight of bacon, thrown away for want of means to transport it farther. Boxes, bonnets, trunks, wagon wheels and bodies, cooking utensils, and almost every article of household furniture, were found from place to place along the prairie. And one week later the author states that on that day the road was literally strewed with articles that had been thrown away. Bar iron and steel, blacksmiths' large anvils and bellows, crowbars, drills, augers, gold-washers, chisels, axes, lead, trunks, spades, ploughs, large grindstones, baking ovens, cooking stoves without number, kegs, barrels, harness, clothing, bacon and beans were found along the road. Captain Stansbury here recognized the trunks of some of the passengers who had accompanied him from St. Louis to Kansas, on the Missouri, and who had thrown away every thing that could not be packed on mules. In the course of this one day the relics of seventeen wagons, and the carcasses of twenty-seven oxen were passed.

The progress of this little party was attended by many trying circumstances. They suffered from sickness, exposure to the weather, scarcity of water and provision, and the molestation of Indians, but they pursued their course amid all their trials, difficulties and privations, with undaunted spirits and without complaint. It should here be mentioned to the honour of this gallant little band, that it was determined among them, at the commencement of the expedition, that no travel should be pursued upon the Sabbath, but that that day should be devoted to its legitimate purpose as an interval of rest for man and beast; and Captain Stansbury bears the following most emphatic testimony to the wisdom of this determination. "I here beg to

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record, as the result of my experience, derived not only from the present journey, but from the observation of many years spent in the performance of similar duties, that as a mere matter of pecuniary consideration, apart from all higher obligations, it is wise to keep the Sabbath. More work can be obtained from both men and animals by its observance, than where the whole seven days are uninterruptedly devoted to labour."

On the 11th of August the expedition reached Fort Bridger, an Indian trading post, having accomplished a distance of more than a thousand miles since leaving "Fort Leavenworth." From this point there are two routes to the Salt Lake, one having been laid out by the Mormon community in 1847. Captain Stansbury was desirous of ascertaining whether a shorter route than either of these could not be obtained, which would save the emigration to either Oregon or California, the great detour that has to be made by either of the present routes, and which would have a direct bearing upon the selection of a site for the military post contemplated for this region.

He determined, therefore, to make the examination himself, accompanied by Major Bridger, who had been engaged in the Indian trade, at the heads of the Missouri and Columbia, for thirty years; and to send on the train under the command of Lieutenant Gunnison, whose health had become so far established as to enable him to resume his seat in the saddle. The train accordingly left on the 16th of August, and on the 20th Captain Stansbury and Major Bridger, with two men, as many pack mules, a little flour and bacon, with some ground coffee and a blanket apiece, commenced their expedition. Having made a reconnoissance of the country, and satisfied himself that a good road can be obtained from Fort Bridger to the head of the Salt Lake, shortening the distance to emigrants, and passing through a country, abounding in wood, water, and fish, and affording the finest range imaginable for cattle, Captain Stansbury directed his course to the "City of the Great Salt Lake," which he reached on the 28th of August. The train under the command of Lieut. Gunnison, had arrived on the 23d, and was encamped at the Warm Springs, on the outskirts of the city, awaiting the arrival of Captain Stansbury.

Immediately on his arrival, Captain Stansbury waited upon

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Brigham Young, the president of the Mormon Church and the governor of the commonwealth, and announced the object of his visit to that distant region. The president laid the matter before a council called for the purpose, and soon informed Captain Stansbury that the authorities were much pleased that the exploration was to be made; and that any assistance they could render to facilitate operations would be most cheerfully furnished to the extent of their ability. This pledge thus heartily given was as faithfully redeemed; and the warmest interest was manifested, and the most efficient aid rendered, by the president and the leading men of the community, both in the personal welfare of the party and in the successful prosecution of the work.

In this community Captain Stansbury resided for a year, the most intimate relations existing between himself and the Mormons, both rulers and people. For an account of the reconnoissance made of the country, we must refer our readers to the volume under notice, which being in the form of a report to the Department of War contains a minute description of that distant and comparatively unknown region.

That in the space of three years, so large and so flourishing a community, should be founded, in a spot so remote from the abodes of man, so completely shut out by natural barriers from the rest of the world, so entirely unconnected by watercourses with either of the oceans that wash the shores of this continent, may well fill us with surprise. From the States of Missouri and Illinois, where they had successively established themselves, these singular people were driven out by a strong hand, their leaders slaughtered in cold blood, while prisoners in a jail, their property laid waste and destroyed, and the accumulation of years of thrift and labour in a moment scattered to the wind. Thus driven forth, men and women without means to minister to the necessities of the sick, without bread to satisfy the craving hunger of their children, mother, babe, and grandsire, destitute of even the raiment necessary to protect them from the cold of mid-winter, what could be expected but that they should all miserably perish? They went forth carrying their sick, halt and blind, over roads which seemed one vast bog, over swollen water courses which to others would have

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appeared impassable, children born upon the march were borne forward with the sad procession; those who perished by the way were hastily buried, and their "graves mark all the line of the first years of Mormon travel—dispiriting milestones to failing stragglers in the rear." Still they journeyed on, strengthening as they went, sowing fields on the march, the harvest to be gathered by their associates who were to follow, and while midway on their journey furnishing, on the demand of the government, a battalion of five hundred and twenty able-bodied men to join the army engaged in the Mexican war. Reaching their destination—a country which offered no advantages for navigation or commerce, but "isolated by vast uninhabitable deserts," and inaccessible but by long, painful, and perilous journeys, they have since the first winter, known no want, and in three years from the time of their arrival, have been admitted as a Territory of the American Union. "In this young and progressive country of ours, where cities grow up in a day, and states spring into existence in a year, the successful planting of a colony, where the natural advantages have been such as to hold out the promise of adequate reward to the projectors, would have excited no surprise; but the success of an enterprise under circumstances so at variance with all our preconceived ideas of its probability, may well be considered as one of the most remarkable incidents of the present age."

Captain Stansbury represents the situation of Great Salt Lake City as exceedingly beautiful, and the scale on which it is laid out as magnificent. It is four miles in length and three in breadth, the streets at right angles with each other, one hundred and thirty-two feet wide, with side walks of twenty feet: each house is required to be placed twenty feet from the street, the intervening space being filled with trees and shrubbery. The city "lies at the western base of the Wahsatch mountains, in a curve formed by the projections westward from the main range, of a lofty spur which forms its southern boundary. On the west it is washed by the waters of the Jordan, while to the southward for twenty-five miles, extends a broad level plain, watered by several little streams, which, flowing down from the eastern hills, form the great element of fertility and wealth to the community. Through the city itself flows an

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unfailing stream of pure, sweet water, which by an ingenious mode of irrigation is made to traverse each side of every street, whence it is led into every garden spot, spreading life, verdure, and beauty, over what was once a barren waste. On the east and north the mountain descends to the plain by steps, which form broad and elevated terraces, commanding an extended view of the whole valley of the Jordan, which is bounded on the west by a range of rugged mountains, stretching far to the southward, and enclosing within their embrace the lovely little lake of Utah.

Our author's residence among the Mormons, led to the conviction that they were fair and just in all their dealings, and that "justice was equitably administered alike to 'saint' and 'gentile,' as they term all who are not of their persuasion." Their Courts were constantly appealed to by companies of passing emigrants, who having fallen out by the way, could not agree upon the division of their property; and the decisions, which were always fair and impartial, were, if resisted, sternly enforced by the whole power of the community. Appeals for protection from oppression by travellers were never disregarded, and one instance is mentioned in which the plunderers of a party of emigrants were pursued nearly two hundred miles into the western desert, brought back to the city, and the stolen property restored to the owners.

The president of the commonwealth is looked up to, not only as its spiritual head, but as the inspired source of law in temporal matters, and the establishment of a civil government was merely a precautionary measure, intended for such "*gentiles*" as might settle among them, the power and authority of the church over its members being amply sufficient where they alone were concerned. This led to an insensible blending of the two authorities, the principal officers of one holding the same relative position under the other; and thus the bishop would interpose his spiritual authority between two members of the church, while in differences between those out of the society, he would exert the authority of a magistrate, conferred upon him by the constitution and civil laws of the community. Every person on joining the society pays into its treasury one-tenth of all that he possesses; and afterwards a

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tenth of the yearly increase of his goods, and a tenth of his time devoted to labour on the public works. None but members of the church are liable to this exaction, and the proceeds belong exclusively to the church. All property, whether belonging to "saint" or "gentile," is subject to a tax, and this constitutes the revenue of the civil government. All goods brought into the city are subject to a duty of one per cent., except ardent spirits, which pay a duty of one-half the price at which they are sold, and this heavy duty is imposed for the purpose of discouraging the introduction of that species of poison into the community. The circulating medium is gold of their own coinage, and they have in operation a mint, from which gold coins of the federal denomination are issued, stamped, without assay, from the dust brought from California. To this circulation is added from time to time, such foreign gold as is brought in by converts from Europe.

In any other community, duties and taxes so onerous would be loudly complained of, and considered as a burden upon industry and enterprise quite insupportable; but our author declares that nothing can exceed the appearance of prosperity, peaceful harmony, and cheerful contentment that pervades the whole community. All the necessaries and comforts of life are most abundant, and when the erection of a poor-house was at one time projected, it was ascertained, upon strict inquiry, that the whole population contained but two persons who could be considered as objects of public charity.

As the public curiosity has of late been much excited on the subject of the Mormons and their noted leader, Brigham Young, it may not be amiss to state here, the impressions received by the author of this volume, from a year's residence in the community, and an intimate acquaintance with the president. He "appeared to be a man of clear, sound sense, fully alive to the responsibilities of the station he occupies, sincerely devoted to the good name and interests of the people over which he presides, sensitively jealous of the least attempt to undervalue or misrepresent them, and indefatigable in devising ways and means for their moral, mental, and physical elevation. He appeared to possess the unlimited personal and official confidence of his people; while both he and his two counsellors,

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forming the presidency of the church, seemed to have but one object in view, the prosperity and peace of the society over which they presided."

The author does not go into much detail on the subject of the religious tenets held by the Mormons, inasmuch as his associate, Lieutenant Gunnison, who has paid especial attention to this matter, is about publishing a treatise on the subject.

On the subject of the private and domestic relations of this strange people, the volume before us contains much information. And we must be permitted to observe, that his natural kindness of disposition, and a grateful sense of the many kindnesses and courtesies bestowed upon him by this people, when called by duty to a point so remote from the comforts and enjoyments of his own fireside, have doubtless induced Captain Stansbury to view with more toleration their wide departure from the habits and practice of all civilized and Christian people, than in other circumstances he would have permitted himself to do. We do not desire our readers to suppose that the author has, in any way, attempted to justify or defend the "spiritual wife" system which prevails among the Mormons, and for the practice of which they have once and again been thrust forth from the abodes of civilized man, by indignant communities whose moral sense had been outraged by the enormities perpetrated in their midst. But we deny that the circumstances stated afford any extenuation for their conduct; and we are unable to perceive the broad distinction which the author conceives to exist between gross licentiousness and the polygamy tolerated in Utah. It matters not that "peace, harmony, cheerfulness," "confidence and sisterly affection seem pre-eminently conspicuous" among "the different members of the family." It matters not that the tie that binds a Mormon to his second, third, or fourth wife, is just as strong, sacred, and indissoluble as that which unites him to his first. The system is repugnant to every principle of religion and sound morals, and justly commends itself to the unmingled abhorrence of the civilized world.

Captain Stansbury strongly approves of the appointment by the President of the United States of Brigham Young as the territorial governor of Utah, and declares it to be a measure dictated by sound policy and justice. Resolute in danger,

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firm and sagacious in council, prompt and energetic in emergency, possessing the entire confidence of the people, he conceives that the appointment will be recognized as an assurance that they will hereafter receive at the hands of the general Government that respect and protection which they so much desire.

Having completed his exploration, Captain Stansbury, on the 28th of August, 1850, left the Great Salt Lake and took up his march for home, and after exploring a new pass through the Rocky Mountains, on the 6th of November arrived at Fort Leavenworth.

The incidents attending Captain Stansbury's journey, both going and returning, are exceedingly interesting, but we have no space even to allude to them in passing. The work abounds in beautiful illustrations, and the appendix, in addition to other valuable matter, contains tables of measured distances, from the Missouri River at Fort Leavenworth to Great Salt Lake city, and of the distances between the same points on the return route; table of geographical positions; description of mammals, birds, reptiles and insects, by Professors Baird, Girard, and Haldeman, with plates; catalogue with plates of the plants collected by the expedition, arranged by Dr. John Torrey; observations on the geology and palæontology of the country traversed by the expedition, by Professor Hall; a chemical analysis of the waters of the Great Salt Lake, and other mineral waters and saline substances, by Dr. Gale; and the meteorological observations made on the route.

That Captain Stansbury discharged the responsible and arduous duty imposed upon him to the satisfaction of the Government, is evident from the fact that this work has been published by order of the Senate as an official document; and we can assure all who will take the trouble to peruse the book, that they will derive from it rich stores both of entertainment and instruction.

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SHORT NOTICES.

Grammar of the Pârsi, with specimens of the Language, by Dr. Fr. Spiegel, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Erlangen, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the German Oriental Society at Halle and Leipsic. Leipsic; 1851, 8vo. pp. 209.
[Grammatik der Pârsisprache nebst Sprachproben, von Dr. Fr. Spiegel, u. s. w.]

The ancient Persian languages may almost be said to have been revived within the last twenty years, and that through the labours chiefly of Burnouf and Bopp. The oldest of all is the Zend. It has an alphabet of Semitic origin, written from right to left, and the language itself approximates in character the oldest Sanscrit of the Vedas. It contains numerous portions of the ancient standards of the religion of Zoroaster, especially the Vendidad, the Yaçna, and the Vispered, together with some hymns and liturgical fragments. The Vendidad contains mythical accounts of the original condition of Persia and its first settlement, together with sundry precepts and instructions of a moral and theological character. It was first published at Hamburgh in 1829, and subsequently with a Gujarati translation, paraphrase and comment at Bombay in 1842. The Yaçna is of liturgical content with doxologies and hymns. An extended commentary upon the Yaçna, which, however, was only continued through the first chapter, was published by Burnouf; who devotes upwards of a hundred pages in the preface to investigations regarding the Zend alphabet. The Vispered consists of invocations of the spirits of heaven and the genii of nature. The Yaçna and Vispered were published in Gujurati, at Bombay, in 1843. The Vendidad, Yaçna, and Vispered together constitute the Vendidad-Sade, published at Paris, 1829–1843, and at Bombay, 1834.

The Pehlvi, or Huzvâresh, is the next in age of these languages. It is still but little known. Its principal remains are the versions and paraphrases of the old Zend books, made in the period of the Sassanides, and the Bundehesh, which is a kind of dogmatic manual of the religion of Zoroaster, and a tolerably late compilation containing treatises on the origin of all things, the plan of the heavens and the stars, terrestrial creatures, the original condition of the human race, and the genealogies of Zoroaster, and of the ancient races of Persian kings. There are in addition other books of this kind, as the Viraf-nameh, &c.

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The most complete translation of the remains in the Zend and Pehlvi languages is that of Anquetil du Perron, in his Zendavesta.

Besides these there is another dialect differing both from the Zend and the Pehlvi, and forming the connecting link between them and the modern Persian, To this, the name of the Pârsi has been given, and to its illustration the grammar before us has been devoted. It has not a proper alphabet of its own, like the dialects before named, but is found written both with the Zend and with the Arabic character. It contains certain portions of the Zendavesta, *e. g.* the Aferîns, the Patets, and the translations of Minokhired, Shikand-gumâni, &c. It approaches the modern Persian, particularly, as this appears in one of its earliest monuments, the poems of Ferdusi.

Dr. Spiegel says of the origin of this book in his preface: "In my labours preparatory to an edition and explanation of the Zendavesta, with which I have, for several years, been exclusively occupied, I found one of the principal difficulties to be the fragmentary character of the books. Of the entire old Persian literature, only feeble remains are preserved to us, which are of too small a compass to be explained from themselves. The aid upon which most reliance has hitherto been placed next to the Zend text, viz., comparison with the Sanscrit, especially the idiom of the Vedas, is not sufficient for the complete explanation of the Zendavesta. The first great step to the understanding of the religious books of the old Persians, the discovery of the grammatical system of the Zend language, could certainly be successfully taken only by the bringing in of the Sanscrit. But after this first great step was accomplished, in its grand features, by the acuteness of Burnouf, the Sanscrit could now only render important service toward the explanation of words; it could not itself suffice for this. Specific peculiarities of Pârsism could naturally enough never be explained from India. There still remains an important aid, viz., the tradition of the Parsees, which they have recorded in the old translation of the Zend writings, and in a series of independent works, both dating from the times of the Sassanides. In the use of these highly important traditional books, there now arises a new difficulty. The Sanscrit version of Neriosengh, which has hitherto been exclusively used, is, in the first place, a derived source, and secondly, it does not, such as it is, even extend to all the books of the Zendavesta. The original versions of the Zend text are composed in an unknown language, the Huzvâresh (אוזוארש i. e. huzaothra, *bonum sacrificium*,) which needs explanation scarcely less than the Zend language itself. Connected

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with these versions, is a number of other fragments, partly versions, partly independent works, which are found in a younger language, and one bearing a greater resemblance to the modern Persian than the Huzvâresh, while yet it has much similarity to the last named language. It has become known to us under the name Pârsi or Pâzend.*

"In the obscurity which, until now, still reigns over this territory, it seems to me most advisable to begin with that which is closest at hand. It is self-evident, that with the otherwise insufficient material which is at our command for the explanation of the Zendavesta, sources so important as the Huzvâresh and Pârsi writings undoubtedly are, should not remain unused. The Pârsi, as lying next the modern Persian, must first be investigated; with the results obtained from a more exact study of the Pârsi writings, I might hope to make progress in the enigmatical Huzvâresh. In the year 1846 I began my studies with the copies of the Patet Irâni, Aferîn of the seven Amshaspands, and some smaller Pârsi pieces which I had taken at Copenhagen. Although these studies were not without results, it would not have been possible for me by their means to write a Pârsi grammar, had not new and incomparably richer materials come into my hands, through the kindness of Professor J. Müller, of Munich. The scholar just named had the goodness to allow me the use of his copies from the Parisian Pârsi manuscripts for my work. Among these the Minokhered holds the first place. A glance at my work and the relation of the illustrations obtained from this book to the remainder, will show what thanks I owe to Professor Müller. With these aids, which I made use of during the year 1846, was the present grammar elaborated.

"By these aids I was put in a position to become acquainted not only with the Pârsi language, but also with its literature; and the latter appeared to me to possess an independent interest altogether apart from the help which it can afford toward the understanding of the earlier Pârsi writings. A residence of six months in London during the year 1847, I also employed upon studies relating to the Pârsi. I compared a manuscript of the Minokhered, which was found at the East India house among the MSS. de Guises, accurately with the Parisian, and it was of great service to me in the restoration of the text, and especially in the supplying of such words, or even sentences, as were wanting in the Parisian manuscript.

* Spiegel follows Hyde in opposition to Anquetil du Perron, in considering Pâzend, as well as Zend, to be originally and properly the name not of a language but of a book. Such appears to be its use in Oriental writers generally.

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"The results of my studies in the Pârsi are for the most part contained in the present book. An exhibition of the etymology (formen-lehre) of this interesting language, appeared to me to be of value in the investigation of the Irânic tongues, especially the modern Persian. I have intentionally brought this grammar within as small a compass as possible. Without having paid some attention, at least, to the modern Persian, a person would scarcely proceed to the study of the Pârsi. I therefore everywhere presuppose the modern Persian in my work: what agrees with the grammar of the modern Persian has been passed over in the Pârsi grammar, but the deviations I have carefully noted."

Dr. Spiegel is now engaged in issuing an edition of the Avesta, to be printed at the famous typographical establishment at Vienna, with letters cut expressly for the purpose, and of which the first part has already appeared. The text, with the various readings of different manuscripts appended, is to appear in three volumes, each of thirty sheets, 8vo. The first and second volumes are each to be in two parts, containing respectively the original text and the Huzvâresh translation. The first volume will contain the Vendidad; the second the Yaçna and Vispered; the third the Yeshts, and the smaller pieces, as far as the latter possess any interest. A German translation of the Avesta with the utmost possible regard to the tradition, and with the necessary explanations and introductions is announced as about to appear separately, and to be issued in every case as nearly as may be, simultaneously with the text.

It will complete the enumeration of the languages of Persia, once perished, now revived or reviving, to add the inscriptions in the mysterious arrow-headed character found upon the ruins at Persepolis, at Babylon, and in fact all over the ancient Persian empire. Without its even being known by whom they were written, or when, or for what purpose—whether they were alphabetical signs, or abbreviated hieroglyphical emblems—to what language they belonged, or whether to any—in fact, with nothing more than a bare surmise that they were in some way significant, antiquarians and philologists made them the subject of the most careful and thorough scrutiny and comparison. Grotefend, Klaproth, Rawlinson and Lassen, with many others, engaged in the investigation, and with signal success. Although no such important historical discoveries have been made, as some fancied to lie buried beneath these unknown symbols, traced by the hands of a once powerful but now perished people, it can with confidence be maintained, that the solution of the enigma has been effected. The alphabet has been discov-

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ered, proper names have been read and identified, and the language in which all are written has been determined. And it is not impossible that by the aid of the clew now gained, farther explorations may develope results more important and valuable from their historical interest, than those yet attained. The most recent works in English upon the cuneiform or arrow-headed character, are those published in London during the present year by Rawlinson and Layard.

Letters to a Millenarian. By the Rev. A. Williamson, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Chester, New Jersey. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1852. pp. 179.

We have seldom read a book more evidently the product of the author's own mind than this. The writer unfolds to the reader the process of investigation and thought by which he has arrived at his conclusions. That process is singularly clear and logical, and is set forth with sincerity and calmness. The question which Mr. Williamson proposes to examine is, Who are the heirs of the promises made to Abraham? The conclusion at which he arrives, is, that the existing Jews are not the heirs; but that the promises included in the Abrahamic covenant, which remain to be accomplished, have respect to the Church. The class of persons spoken of in those prophecies which relate to events subsequent to the death of Christ, who are called Judah, Israel, Jerusalem, or Zion, are not the natural descendants of Abraham, or the Jewish people, but that body which consists of the Jewish gentile believers in the Lord Jesus; or, in other words, the Christian Church. He therefore holds that the Scriptures do not teach the future national conversion of the Jews, nor their restoration to their own land, much less the personal reign of Christ over them in Jerusalem. The process of argument by which these conclusions are reached is the following.

In the first place it is evident that all the natural descendants of Abraham were not the heirs of the promise. Ishmael and the sons of Abraham by Keturah were from the beginning excluded. Of the sons of Isaac, Esau was set aside and Jacob chosen. In the third generation only one sixteenth part of Abraham's descendants were included in the covenant.

In the second place, "excision from the people" or forfeiture of participation of the blessings of the covenant, was made by the terms of the covenant itself the penalty of apostacy. Thus the ten tribes were cut off, and merged in the heathen world. They have never been restored as tribes, and are irrecoverably lost. By amalgamation with other nations they have ceased to exist as a constituent element of the covenant people.

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Individuals from all the tribes were doubtless included among those who returned from Babylon, but as a nation they have disappeared, and forfeited all special interest in the Abrahamic promises. Again, when Judah was carried into captivity only a remnant was restored. The mass of the nation was finally exscinded in accordance with the denunciation of their own law. When Christ came, only a remnant according to the election of grace, acknowledged him as the Messiah; the rest were hardened and rejected. As in the former case, the small portion which returned from Babylon to their own land was accounted the seed of Abraham, and heirs of the promise, while the greater portion became lost in the heathen world; so our author contends, only the small portion who received Christ as the Son of God, were counted as children and heirs, while the mass of the nation were finally cast off. He therefore, argues that there is no more propriety in regarding the present Jews as the seed of Abraham and heirs according to the promise, than there is so to regard the lost tribes or the multitudes of Judah who were absorbed by amalgamation in the heathen world. Nay, the case is stronger against the modern Jews, because their crime was greater, the crucifixion of Christ; and because there is no promise of restoration in reference to them, such as was made to the captives in Babylon. They were threatened with excision, without a word to intimate a national return. To make the unfaithful part of the nation, who crucified the Son of God, or their descendants and followers in apostacy, the heirs of special privileges and blessings, forfeited by that portion of the nation who received Christ and became one body with the converts from heathenism, is to make peculiar blessings the reward of the greatest of crimes. Sure it is that those Hebrews who believed in Christ ceased to be Jews, and were lost as such in the Christian Church. If the apostate portion of the nation are the special heirs of the promise, and if they are to be the peculiar people of God under the Messiah's personal reign, then the heaviest penalty has been made to follow obedience to the command of God to believe on Jesus Christ as his Beloved Son. This cannot be credited. We are to look for the heirs, not in the multitude of unbelieving Jews who rejected Christ, and were broken off from the olive tree; but in the remnant (as of old) who received him as their Lord—and with whom the multitudes of the gentiles were united. It is that tree with its Jewish root and gentile branches, on which the dew of the promise falls. They constitute the true Israel who are the children and heirs of Abraham. As to the present Jews, they are to be regarded, says our author, as essentialy gentile in their

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character, and as having no more interest in the promises than the descendants of Ishmael or Esau.

The conclusion to which Mr. Williamson is thus brought by his independent investigation, is precisely that to which the Reformers as a body arrived long ago. In its essential features we doubt not it is correct, that is, that the body contemplated in the promises and predictions of the Old Testament, as the heirs of Abraham, is the Christian church, composed as it is of the original stock of faithful Jews and believing gentiles; and that whatever of blessings are in store for the present Jews as a distinct people, are connected with their amalgamation with the Christian church, so that they become heirs of Abraham only as the Chinese or Sandwich Islanders inherit the promises, viz. by faith in Christ and union with his Church. The body over which Christ is to reign at his second advent, is not the Hebrew nation, but the church in which the distinction between Jew and gentile, has been done away. This is according to Paul's express declaration." "There is," says he, "neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." "So then, brethren, *we* (we Christians) are not the children of the bond-woman, but of the free."

The great point in which we are disposed to differ from our author is with respect to the national conversion of the Jews. The Jews were as a body cast off at the time of the Babylonish captivity, but this rejection was neither total nor final. A part of the nation was preserved, and, as a nation restored. So the apostle as it seems to us, clearly teaches that the rejection of the Jews at the time of Christ was neither total nor final. It was not total, because he himself and many others believed in Christ and were included in his kingdom. It was not final, because the promise made to Abraham, and afterwards so often repeated and expanded, secured their return, not, it may be, to their land, not to their exclusive relationship to Christ as his peculiar people, but to the church. They are to be grafted in again into the olive tree. They are to be merged in that one body in which there is neither Jew nor Gentile, but all are one in Christ Jesus. And it is for this they are preserved as a distinct people, instead of being, as always before in case of final excision, merged and lost in the heathen world.

Redemption's Dawn: or Biographical Studies in the Old Testament History and Prophecy, in eleven Lectures. By N. C. Burt, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Springfield, Ohio. Philadelphia: Smith & English, 86 North Sixth Street, 1852, pp. 264.

We placed this well written and interesting volume in the

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hands of a friend for an extended notice. It was not until the eleventh hour that we were informed of his inability to perform the task. We can therefore do nothing more than commend it to the favourable notice of our readers.

The Sinner's Progress; or the Life and Death of Mr. Badman. Also, the Ruin of Antichrist: an extract from the "Holy City." By John Bunyan. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 118 Arch Street, 1852.

This is a handsome volume of 198 and 112 pages. The public are familiar with Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and his Holy War, while his other writings are too much neglected. We are glad that our Baptist friends are bringing out in such attractive forms, other treasures from the store-house of his pious thoughts.

A New Theory of the Apocalypse, corroborated by Daniel's numbers. By Rev. S. S. Ralston. Cincinnati, 1852, pp. 64.

The Apocalypse has ever exerted a peculiar power over a certain class of minds in the church. Some of the brightest and best of Christians have in a measure been spell-bound by its fascinations. To all such, every effort towards its elucidation must be welcome. Mr. Ralston has evidently devoted great labour and ingenuity in the defence and exposition of his new theory, and we cheerfully inform our readers, that "the work will be sent by mail at 25 cents per copy." Orders inclosing money, to be sent to Rev. S. S. Ralston, Auburn, Lincoln county, Missouri. "Letters on business to be prepaid."

The Life and Letters of Barthold George Niebuhr. With Essays on his Character and Influence, by the Chevalier Bunsen, and Professors Brandis and Lorbell. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1852. pp. 563. 12mo.

Since the Life of Arnold, there has been no book of the sort, likely to be sought after with more eagerness than this. The volume is founded upon the "Lebensnachrichten über Barthold Georg Niebuhr," compiled from his private correspondence, with a narrative designed mainly to connect and illustrate the selection, chiefly furnished by Madam Hensler, the sister-in-law of the distinguished subject. The object of the Editor, as explained by herself, in the original work, was simply biographical: "to communicate whatever can throw light upon his natural capacities and dispositions, his mental development, his studies, his mode of thought, his views of life, the state, art, and literature; his relations as a citizen, a friend, and a member of

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the domestic circle." Keeping this purpose in view, the translator has made a selection of the correspondence amounting to about half the original, aiming to retain what would be most likely to interest English readers. None of the letters of the distinguished *savant*, on learned subjects, are given; while every word and sentiment bearing on the great political questions, with which Niebuhr was so closely identified, had to be weighed in the balances of a despotic censorship, before they could be given to the world. The regret which the curious and intelligent reader will feel on both these accounts, may be mitigated by the promise, that the present volume, if successful, (as we take for granted it cannot fail to be,) will be followed by another, containing the letters referred to, together with the most valuable portions of his smaller writings.

We are thankful for so much, and thankful for the promise of more. Notwithstanding the winnowing to which the free and easy correspondence of the memoir has been subjected, it still presents us with a most refreshing picture of a man of the keenest intellect, of large and profound sympathies, and a pure love of truth, justice, and humanity: but alas! that we should be compelled to add, not gifted with that simple and genial faith, which is the crowning beauty and excellence of the character of his great English admirer, Dr. Arnold, and his equally great German friend and successor, the Chevalier Bunsen.

While the learning and research of late scholars have restored some things, which the severe literary scepticism of Niebuhr had rejected as fabulous, and while some of his startling novelties in Roman history, grounded on the application of his keen philosophical criticism, are not likely to stand the tests of later critical research, yet it is undeniable, that the studies of Niebuhr constitute an epoch in historical science. Blending the principles of philological criticism, which Wolf had pushed to their utmost in his Homeric studies, with the broad and comprehensive insight which his experience as a statesman had given him, into the civil life of a nation as furnishing the true clew to its history, he opened up a path to the student of early history, which cannot be closed again to science, however many may be the stumbling-blocks it presents to those who attempt to pursue it with ill-trained powers.

There are few processes more interesting or more quickening to thought, than the boldness, tempered by consummate skill and steadiness of hand, with which he deals with his vague and fragmentary materials, causing the lines of history to rise and protrude with palpable self-evidencing truth, from the mass of tradition and fable:—seizing, in the language of Professor

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Loebell, of Bonn, the true meaning, and supplying the deficiencies of the merest fragments of semi-historic truth, and extracting from them the most astonishing results.

The brief essay which closes the volume, by the Chevalier Bunsen, on Niebuhr as a diplomatist in Rome, is a gem in its way.

The Indications of the Creator: or the Natural Evidences of Final Cause. By George Taylor. Second edition. New York: Charles Scribner, 1852.

This is the second edition of a work which, on its first appearance, we had occasion to recommend to the attention of our readers. The author, though not himself devoted professionally to the natural sciences, has yet kept himself acquainted with their progress; and has brought together in his book many of the most striking features and phenomena of the natural world, in all its leading divisions, with a view of giving distinctness to the utterance of the intuitive convictions of the human soul, touching the existence and perfections of the great First Cause. The great recommendation of the book is its comprehensiveness. It lays all the leading branches of modern scientific research under tribute, for the purposes of the argument. Those among our readers who are not able to keep pace with the rejoicing progress of natural science, will be greatly entertained and instructed by it, as well as benefitted by its moral reasonings. The results are stated very clearly for the most part, and there is sufficient continuity to make the whole intelligible to ordinary readers.

In this expression of approbation we are not, of course, to be understood as endorsing every thing in the book. In some instances, the author's habit of mind, in looking at his facts in the light of a previous theory, has led him, we think, to overstate the case; and to draw inferences which will fail to command the full conviction of his reader. As a specimen of what we mean, we may refer to the assumption, which he evidently favours, that every climate furnishes all the remedies needed to cure the diseases indigenous to itself. This is pushing the principle of his argument to an extreme, which is alike questionable and needless. Of this, however, we think there are but few examples, and such as do occur, ought not to impair the force of the countless curious facts, which admit of no solution but that which the author puts upon them.

Physical Theory of Another Life. By Isaac Taylor. New York: William Gowans. 1852. Pp. 267, 12mo.

One seldom sees any thing more beautiful, without any attempt at gorgeousness or pretence, than the typography and

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paper of this edition of the bold thoughts and brilliant fancies of a well-known writer. But the special value of this edition, besides its chaste beauty, consists in a catalogue, appended by the editor, and filling eighteen 12mo pages, containing a list of works treating of the immortality of the soul; and giving in full the title of each. A large proportion of them, we observe, have prices annexed, intimating that they are for sale by the publisher. Some of our readers may thank us for the information, for we are quite sure, that no similar collection could be found in the United States.

1. *Counsels of the Aged to the Young.* By the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D.

2. *Letters to the Aged.* By the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chestnut Street.

These two very small volumes strike us as remarkably characteristic of one of the great peculiarities of their venerated author—his power of adapting himself to the sympathies and wants of classes of persons the most diverse, as well as remote from what we might suppose to be his own sphere of thought and life. The latter of the two contains a very brief note, by the editor, giving, in a sentence or two, an account of his beautiful and impressive departure from among us. The appeal to his aged readers, who are still impenitent, near the close of the fourth letter, one would fancy, could hardly be resisted: it is so gentle, affectionate, and hopeful.

1. *Pictorial Scenes and Incidents Illustrative of Christian Missions.*

2. *The Eastern Traveller, or Descriptions of Places and Customs, mentioned in the Bible.* By John Macgregor, M. A.

3. *An Affectionate Address to Fathers.* By the Rev. D. Baker, D. D., of Texas. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chestnut Street.

The Pictorial Scenes will tell its affecting story to the hearts of youthful readers, with unquestionable power. Who does not remember how he once hung fascinated over such pictures, and how their impression has been woven into the very texture of his life?

The Eastern Traveller blends important Biblical instruction with the entertainment of curious travel. It is a small book, but by no means a trivial one.

The Address to Fathers displays the warmth and earnestness and tact, so characteristic of the author.

These are all—each in its way—judicious and valuable additions to the catalogue of the Board.

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The Value and Sacredness of Divine Truth. An Address before the Society of Inquiry in the Theological Institute of Connecticut, East Windsor Hill, August 4, 1852. By Edwin Hall, Pastor of the First Church in Norwalk, Connecticut.

In these days, the very title of this address will command the favour of good men. Their respect for it and its author will be increased as they read it. It is mainly an exposure, accompanied with sharp, but merited and wholesome rebuke, of the various methods of tampering with and betraying divine truth. While Dr. Hall is bold, earnest, and out-spoken, we discern no acerbity in his discourse, no denunciations which godly simplicity and sincerity, and an enlightened zeal for the truth, would not naturally prompt. As he unmasks one after another the artifices and pretexts that have been used to shield Dr. Bushnell's heresies from ecclesiastical censure, we think the authors of them will hardly be willing to acknowledge their own progeny. We should not have supposed such frivolous pretexts could have been made by grave and intelligent clergymen, were it not for the documentary evidence of the fact. This discourse, we think, must make an end of such trifling with sacred things. What shifts will next be made by the apologists and abettors of those who impugn all the distinctive articles of the Christian religion, and sap the foundations of all faith, we cannot divine. Their experience, thus far, must have convinced them that they will encounter a formidable opposition, in their endeavour to make these heresies lawful in evangelical communions. We trust they will give over the attempt. This seasonable and forcible exposure of the futility of their pleas will, we doubt not, conduce to this desirable issue of this painful affair.

Last, but not least, in his enumeration of the arts recently adopted to weaken the authority of divine truth, Dr. Hall specifies the theory of the distinction between "the theology of the intellect and the theology of the feelings." As the author of this theory laboured hard in defending himself, to create the impression that the objections raised against it by us, arose chiefly from antipathy to New England, we quote Dr. Hall's remarks upon it, to show how orthodox men in New England regard it: we think Prof. Park will find the questions he has raised, to be not entirely geographical, and that he will be obliged to resort to some other line of defence than the revival of stale prejudices against Princeton and old Calvinism. Dr. Hall says:

"But now there comes another, with a theory which shall hush nearly all controversies, and build a safe and commodious bridge over the impassable gulf which separates between ortho-

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doxy and the more reputable forms of error. He has invented a distinction between '*the theology of intellect and the theology of feeling.*'

"If this means simply that figurative language is not to receive a literal interpretation, and that poetry is not to be confounded with prose, then it is but giving a very inappropriate and pompous title to a very old and very simple thing; and entering upon a most elaborate disquisition and argument to prove what nobody has ever doubted. But this is not all that the inventor intended; for he denies expressly that the theology of the feelings 'can be termed *mere* poetry.' He declares that 'it is no play, but solemn earnestness.'—'Neither can its words be called merely figurative,' but are 'forms of language which circumscribe a substance of doctrine;' so that 'this form of doctrine is far from being fitly represented by the term imaginative.'

"Be it so. Then the invention has an application wider, perhaps, than the inventor was at first aware of. Here is a hard doctrine, which the carnal mind hates, and which the unsanctified reason abhors. But it is in the catechism; it is in the creed. It will not do to reject it; and yet he who desires to be at peace with both catechism and creed, cannot by any means receive it as true. What shall he do? In times of olden simplicity a man would have had no other resource than to reject a plain, prosaic statement of the creed, if he did not believe it. But here is an invention which obviates that difficulty. Here is a doctrine. Do you receive it as true? No; I regard it as 'the simplest form of absurdity.' How can I believe what I regard as untrue? Oh, it is indeed untrue, if you refer it to the theology of the *intellect.* But refer it to the *theology of the feelings.* Receive it, not as *truth*, but as true *material for feeling;* '*emotive theology;*' and say no more about it. What doctrine of the catechism or creed need cause any one 'the least consciousness of oppression or restraint,' on this principle?

"But some one will say, this is a use which the inventor never intended. I answer, that he has himself indicated this use, when he has represented the soul as 'quick to seize at a *truth* as held up in one way, and spurn at it as held up in another;' as 'marvellous in its tact for decomposing its honest belief, *disowning with the intellect what it embraces with the affections.*' I answer, further, that *it is the use which he has made of it.* He has taken the sober, prosaic doctrines of the creed and catechism concerning the imputation of Adam's guilt and Christ's righteousness, and removed them from the theology of the intellect, as out of place in the category of truth. I answer, further, that he has indicated this use to be made of the theology of the

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feeling, by making feeling the test of truth; affirming that when the words of any doctrine '*make an abiding impression that the divine government is harsh, pitiless, insincere, oppressive, devoid of sympathy with our most refined sentiments, reckless even of the most delicate emotion of the tenderest nature, then we may infer that we have left out of our theology some element which we should have inserted, or have brought into it some element which we should have discarded.*'

"And have we not men making high pretensions to piety, who, on this ground of repugnance to their feelings, reject the doctrine of a vicarious atonement? Are not the doctrines of the fall, of election and reprobation, and of eternal punishment, 'harsh, pitiless, insincere, oppressive,' in view of all Socinians and Universalists? But are they therefore untrue?

"If a man may avow his belief in the catechism and creed, and then be at liberty to deny its doctrines in the sense which the framers of the creed and catechism intended to convey; if he is at liberty to remove those doctrines from one theology to the other; to accommodate his belief or unbelief, his philosophy or his fancy, then how are we to determine, when a man owns the catechism or creed, what he believes, or what he does not believe? Under such a use, what is this new distinction, but a device for enabling all men to receive all creeds; every man deciding for himself what in the creed is true, and referring that to the intellect; and referring to the theology of the feelings all that he would reject as untrue; so that, *salva fide* and *salva conscientia*, he may freely accept 'as many creeds as are offered him?' Admirable expedient for harmonizing all differences, believing all creeds, and transmuting all heresies into orthodoxy! Admirable invention! save that, like many other pieces of theoretic machinery, it has to encounter, in practice, some troublesome amount of uncalculated friction; and that is, the utter impossibility that any man should *believe in his heart* any thing that his intellect rejects as *untrue*. The 'tearful German,' who said, 'In my heart I am a Christian, while in my head I am a philosopher' (infidel), was an infidel, nevertheless.

"But we have lingered too long in these dreary wastes. Let us come where we can breathe purer air, and tread on firmer ground; to contemplate truth in its holiness and beauty as we find it in the pages of God's sacred word."—pp. 15–17.

Professor Park can hardly complain that others thus understand his sermon, when he has himself avowed, that "one aim of the sermon is to show that all creeds which are allowable can be reconciled with each other." Bib. Sac. Vol. VIII. p. 175.

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The Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, with English Notes, for the use of Students in Schools and Colleges, by Henry Crosby, A.M. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1852.

We look upon every well-edited Greek tragedy as a valuable contribution to the material of classical education. The spirit which pervades these writings is peculiarly chaste, thoughtful, and reverential; such as, along with the corrections and amplifications of a Christian teacher, cannot but be happy in its influence on the young mind. Professor Crosby has here given us the master-piece of Sophocles with singular correctness and beauty of typography, and with notes judiciously adapted to assist the apprehension of the student, without superseding the necessity of that labour and research which is itself one of the greatest benefits of study. The text is founded on that of Tauchnitz.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

The Commentary of Drechsler on Isaiah, will now, since his death, be completed by Delitzsch. Two parts only were issued during Drechsler's life, the first in 1845, containing an exposition of 12 chapters; the second in 1849, completing chapter 27. Delitzsch expects from papers put into his hands to be able to continue the exposition through chapter 39. On the remaining portion of the book he will prepare an independent commentary of his own.

An Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology and Church, which was announced five years since, is now on the point of appearing. It is edited by Dr. Herzog, Ord. Professor of Theology at Halle, with the assistance of a numerous and able corps of coadjutors, among whom may be instanced Gieseler, Hagenbach, Lücke, Nitzsch, Thilo, Tholuck, Tevesten, Ullman, Umbreit, &c. It is to contain, in articles alphabetically arranged, the results of scientific investigation in all parts of theology, and will be issued in numbers of five sheets each; the first number is announced as probably about to appear during the present month. Ten numbers will make up a volume, and it is estimated that ten volumes will complete the work. Its publication may occupy five or six years.

M. Baumgarten, The Acts of the Apostles, or the course of

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Development of the Church from Jerusalem to Rome. First division of the second part. From Antioch to Corinth. 8vo. pp. 342. Halle.

A second edition revised and enlarged, (the reverse process would in our judgment have been more of an improvement,) of Stier's Discourses of the Lord Jesus, is now in the course of publication.

Philippi's Commentary on Romans is just completed by the issue of the third and last division, containing chapters 12–16. 8vo. pp. 154. Frankfort on the Mayn.

L. G. Rauwenhoff, Disquisitio de loco Paulino, qui est de δικαιώσει. 8vo. pp. 136.

A. Schumann, Christ or the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament of the Person of the Redeemer, biblico-dogmatically developed. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 442.

H. Ewald, History of the People Israel until Christ, Vol. III. Part 2. This concludes at once this volume and the entire work. 8vo. pp. 570. Göttingen.

T. Rudow, Dissertation upon the historical arguments, by which recently the Pauline origin of the pastoral espistles has been impugned. 4to pp. 58.

Meyer's New Testament. 12th Division of the Commentary, J. E. Huther on the 1st and 2d Epistles of Peter and the Epistle of Jude. 8vo. pp. 342.

The New Testament, translated from the Greek, by C. v. d. Heydt. 8vo. pp. 635. Elberfeld.

J. F. Räbiger, Treatise on the Christology of Paul, against Baur. 8vo. pp. 94.

H. F. Kohlbrügge, Sermons on the first Epistle of the Apostle Peter, chap. ii. 8vo. pp. 76.

P. F. Keerl, The Apocrypha of the Old Testament. A testimony against the same on the ground of the word of God. 8vo. pp. 192. Leipsic. A prize essay.

G. Volckmar, The Gospel of Marcion. Text and criticism with reference to the Gospels of Justin Martyr, the Clementines, and the Apostolical Fathers. A revision of the more modern investigations, according to the sources themselves, for the determination of the text and the explanation of the Gospel of Luke. 8vo. pp. 268.

H. B. Fassel, The Mosaic and Rabbinical Civil Law, treated after the arrangement and division of the more modern law-books, and elucidated with a statement of the sources. Vol. I. Part 2. 8vo. pp. 141–436. Vienna.

G. Widenmann, Religion and the Laws of the World, with an

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Appendix on the moral, spiritual, and political character of our time. 8vo. pp 232. Nördlingen.

A. Hahn, Sermons and Discourses delivered amid the movements in Church and State since 1830. 8vo. pp. 319.

A. Gladisch, Religion and Philosophy in their world-historical development and relation to each other. 8vo. pp. 235.

F. Peterson, Universal History of Religion, presented from the standpoint of the Christian Revelation. Vol. I. No. 1. 8vo. pp. 48. To be completed in 5 vols. of 5 numbers each.

J. P. Lange, Christian Dogmatics. Part III. Dogmatics applied, or Polemics and Irenics. 8vo. pp. 344.

G. V. Lechler, The Apostolical and Post-apostolical Age. Presented with reference to the distinction and the unity between Paul and the other Apostles, between Heathen-Christians and Jewish Christians. 4to. pp. 348. A prize essay.

J. F. Damberger, Synchronous History of the Church and of the World in the middle ages. 8vo. Vol. IV. pp. 979. Also Vol XIV. No. 1. pp. 276.

F. W. Hassenkamp, Hessian Church History since the times of the Reformation. Vol. I. pp. 640. Marburg.

M. Gœbel, History of the Christian Life in the Rhenish and Westphalian Evangelical Church. Vol. II. The 17th Century, or the Dominant Church and the Sects. 8vo. pp. 880. Coblentz.

C. Becker, Contributions to the Church History of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation at Frankfort on the Mayn, with special relation to Liturgy. 8vo. pp. 217.

A. J. Binterim, Pragmatical History of the German Councils, from the fourth century to the Council of Trent. 2d edition. Vols. III and IV.

J. Sporschil, History of the Germans, from the most ancient times to our days. 8vo. Vol. IV. pp. 752.

J. G. T. Grässe, Compendium of a Universal Literary History of all the known nations of the world, from the most ancient to the most modern times. Vol. III. Division 1. The Literary History of the 16th Century in its writers and their works upon the various departments of the sciences and the fine arts. 8vo. pp. 1283.

J. N. Uschold, Sketch of the History of Philosophy. 8vo. pp. 266.

R. Graf, The Origin of the Austrian Monarchy. 4to. pp. 24.

M. Schuler, History of the Confederates under the Franco-Helvetian Dominion. Vol. I. First Period. From the commencement of the Swiss Republic to the war with Austria, from April 12, 1798, to March 1, 1799. 8vo. pp. 685. Zurich.

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C. Otto, Justin, the Philosopher and Martyr. 8vo. pp. 20. Vienna. Reprinted from the Transactions for 1852, of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

J. Beidtel, On the State of Austria in the years 1740–1792. 8vo. pp. 84. Vienna. From transactions of R. A. of S.

Contributions to the Flora of the Russian Empire. Royal Academy of Sciences. No. 8. 8vo. pp. 324. St. Petersburg.

Contributions to the Knowledge of the Russian Empire, and the adjacent lands of Asia. Vol. XVII. Containing A. Lehmann's Journey to Bokhara and Samarcand, in the years 1841 and 1842. From his posthumous writings, with a Zoological Appendix, by J. F. Brandt. 5 lith. plates and one map. 8vo. pp. 342. St. Petersburg.

F. Junghuhn, Java, its form, plants, and inner cultivation. From the 2d Holland edition, translated into German. Vol. II. pp. 1–416. Vol. III. pp. 1–184.

C. R. Lepsius, Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia, from the drawings of the Scientific Expedition of the years 1842–1845. Nos. 1–24. 240 plates. Berlin, 1850–2. Imp. Fol.

R. Lepsius, Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai. 8vo. pp. 456.

C. A. Menzel, Works of Art from Antiquity to the present time. Vol. I. Nos. 1–15. pp. 128.

M. Uhlemann, The *quousque tandem* of the Champollion school, with the Rosettan Inscription elucidated. 8vo. pp. 20.

C. G. Zumpt, On the Architectural plan of the Roman dwelling-house. 2d edition. 8vo. pp. 29.

E. Gerhard, Select Grecian Vase-Figures, principally discovered in Etruria. 4to. Part 4. No. 1. Vase-Figures of Grecian every day life. pp. 16.

Efforts of the Christian middle ages. From contemporaneous monuments. Division I. From the most ancient times to the end of the 13th century. No. 15. 4to. 10 pp. text and six plates.

Strabonis Geographia, with a Critical Commentary, by G. Kramer. 8vo. Vol. III. pp. 683.

C. Ritter, Universal Comparative Geography. Part XVI. Division 1. Palestine and Syria continued, with a plan of Jerusalem, and a map of Galilee. 8vo. pp. 834.

J. Grimm, On the Origin of Language. 8vo. pp. 56.

J. Deuschle, The Platonic Philosophy of Language. 4to. pp. 83.

Horace, in Latin, with a metrical translation by J. S. Strodtmann. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 454.

F. Jacob, Horace and his Friends. 8vo. pp. 215.

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J. Nordmann, The Age of Dante. 8vo. pp. 190.

L. Ross, The Theseion and the Temple of Ares at Athens. 8vo. pp. 72.

Poetarum Tragicorum Græcorum Fragmenta, by F. G. Wagner. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 509.

F. Miklosisch, Comparative Grammar of the Slavonic Languages. Vol. I. Orthography. 8vo. pp. 518. Royal Acad. of Sciences. Prize Essay.

Schleicher, On v (-ov-, -ev-) before the case endings in Slavonic. 8vo. pp. 19. Vienna. R. A. of S.

E. F. Leopold, Manual Greek-Latin Lexicon. 16mo. pp. 895.

G. C. Crusius, Complete Greek-German Dictionary of the Poems of Homer and the Homerides, with constant reference to the elucidation of the domestic, religious, political, civil, and military condition of the heroic age, with explanations of the most difficult passages and of all mythological and geographical proper names. Fourth Edition. 8vo. pp. 491.

F. Hammer-Purgstall's Account of the Turkish Commentary of Jelaleddin Rumi, published at Cairo in the year of the Hejira 1251 (1835), in 6 folio vols. Transac. R. A. of S. 8vo. pp. 112. Vienna.

F. Hammer Purgstall, On the Names of the Arabs. Fol. pp. 72. R. A. of S.

A Geographical Lexicon, in Arabic. From two Arabic MSS, by F. G. Juynboll. 8vo. pp. 146. Fasc. IV., containing from the letter Dal–Za.

Leonis Mutinensis Examen Traditionis, Ed. J. Reggio, Prof. et Rab. (Jew.) 8vo. pp. 269.

Avesta; the Sacred Writings of the Pârsees, translated from the original text, with constant regard to the Tradition, by F. Spiegel. Vol. I. The Vendidad. 8vo. pp. 295.

Zendavesta, or the religious books of the Zoroastrians, edited and interpreted by Prof. N. L. Westergaard. Vol. I. The Zend Texts. Part 1. Yasna. 4to. pp. 124. Copenhagen.

E. Jonas, The Pulpit Eloquence of Luther, as to its genesis, character, contents, and form. 8vo. pp. 515.

J. C. K. Hofmann, Scripture-Proof (Der Schrift-beweis.) A Theological Essay. Part I. 8vo. pp. 574. Nördlingen.

Wiesinger's Commentary on Philippians, Titus, and 1st Timothy, has been translated into English, and published in London. 8vo. pp. 450.

F. X. Reithmayr, Introduction to the Canonical Books of the New Testament. 8vo. pp. 786.

A. Maier, Introduction to the writings of the New Testament, 8vo. pp. 604.

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C. P. Caspari, On Micah the Morasthite, and his Prophecy. Part I., pp. 180. 8vo.

The Bibliothek Amerikanische, Leipsic. Vols. 9 and 10 contain Uncle Tom's Cabin in German.

A. Hahn, Privat-docent in the University at Königsberg, has been appointed Extraor. Professor of Theology, in the University at Greifswald.

F. H. Reuter, Privat-docent in the Theological Faculty at Berlin, has been made Extraordinary Professor of Evangelical Theology, in the University of Breslau.

G. F. Œhler, previous to 1845 Professor in the Theological Seminary at Schönthal, in the Kingdom of Wirtemberg, and since that time Ordinary Professor in the Faculty of Evangelical Theology, at Breslau, has become Ordinary Professor of Old Testament Theology, in the Theological Seminary at Tübingen. As long ago as 1845, Professor Œhler published Prolegomena to the Theology of the Old Testament; but we are not aware that the work then promised, and stated to be almost in a state of readiness, has ever actually appeared.

Dr. John Charlesson Hahn, of London, has been appointed Lector of Modern Languages in the University of Jena.

Among the marks and titles of honour conferred upon literary men, we notice the decoration of the Royal Prussian Order of the Red Eagle, granted to Hengstenberg, Professor at Berlin, and the Knight's Cross of the Royal Norwegian Order of St. Olaf, to Lassen, Ordinary Professor in the Philosophical Faculty at Bonn.

J. C. Stuck, Author of the Commentary on Hosea, died August 30th, 1851. He was born February 5th 1777. He had been in the pastoral office from 1798.

J. A. E. Schmidt, since 1818 Lector of Modern Greek and Russian, in the University at Leipsic, and the Author of various grammars and dictionaries, Modern Greek, Russian, Polish, French, &c., died September 7th, 1851.

During the summer semester, the following German Universities have had the number of students below, affixed to their names, and distributed among the four principal faculties, as follows, viz.

University.	Whole No.	Theology.	Law.	Medicine.	Philosophy.
Erlangen,	400	151	140	53	14
Freiburg,	338	172	44	67	19
Heidelberg,	732	62	497	94	33
Leipsic,	812	165	347	156	25
Löwen,	574	57	198	114	99
Munich,	1888	256	862	244	439
Wurzburg,	772	89	189	342	142

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Those pursuing studies not belonging to the four main departments named above, are included in the first column, but in no one of the others.

ENGLAND.

The Hakluyt Society have just published Gerrit de Veer's "Account of the William Barentgoon's Three Voyages to the Arctic Regions," edited by Charles T. Beke, Esq., Phil. D. They have in preparation, Mendoza's "Historie of the great and mightie Kingdom of China," translated by R. Parke, (1588;) to be edited by Sir George Staunton, Bart.; besides a collection of Early Documents on Spitzbergen, to be edited by Adam White, Esq., of the British Museum.

It is rumoured that Carlyle is about putting forth a new historical work.

Dr. Tregelles has published a Lecture on the Historic Evidences of the authorship and transmission of the books of the Old and New Testaments. It is a protest against the use made by Papists and Rationalists of certain difficulties in the history of the later Scriptures.

"Synodical Action necessary to the Church," a letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, by the Rev. H. Caswell.

"The Fortress of Comorn, (Komárom,) during the War of Independence in Hungary, in 1848–49, by Col. Sigismund Thaly, translated by W. Rushton." The writer is a well qualified man, and was in Comorn all the time.

One of the most striking things in cotemporary English literature, is the great number of books relating to Australia.

It will be interesting to Naturalists to learn the publication of the following work: "The Life of the Rev. William Kirby, Rector of Barham," by John Freeman, M. A., Rector of Ashwicken, Norfolk. Longman & Co. The entomological letters are selected by Mr. Spence, his friend and coadjutor. The chapter communicated by him, is the most interesting. He describes their enormous correspondence, the great sheets of paper they used in the days of dear postage, and Mr. Kirby's curious methodical ways. Mr. Spence gives an analysis of the parts done by each, of the Introduction to Entomology, though, he says, after all, that their speculations and facts are so interwoven, that no proper separation can be made.

Poems of S. T. Coleridge, edited by Derwent and Sara Coleridge. This contains some new poems, and is interesting as the last work upon which the gifted daughter of the poet employed herself, before her death. She inherited the imagina-

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tive and metaphysical powers of her father, and had made vast acquirements.

The English are working as hard as ever at their School-books. We notice

"Latin *vid* English, being the Second Part of Spelling turned Etymology," by Rev. T. K. Arnold. A rather oddly conceived way of teaching the meanings of Latin words, by taking advantage of the Latin roots in our language. It is, at least, a display of ingenuity. "A Complete Latin Grammar, for the Use of Learners," by the Rev. J. W. Donaldson, D. D. He claims that "it presents, for the first time, a rational arrangement of the facts, and corrects for the first time, many time-honoured inaccuracies." This is really a new work, and of great ability; whether it is a book for beginners, may, from its great complexity, be doubted. It is complete and accurate, and is especially good on the subjunctive.

Felton's Clouds of Aristophanes, edited by the indefatigable T. K. Arnold.

The Analysis of Sentences explained and systematized after the plan of Becker's German Grammar, by J. D. Morell, A. M. He says, that he is "convinced that the proper study of language is the preparatory discipline for all abstract thinking, and that if the intellect is to be strengthened in this direction, we must begin the process here." The first and second parts explain the elements of sentences, and describe the different kinds of sentences. The third is a logical analysis of sentences, showing how the rules of syntax may be thence derived. Here, more particularly, he follows Becker. All who have read Mr. Morell's writings, will expect in this simplicity and perspicuity.

An attempt to illustrate the Chronology of the Old Testament, by a reference to the Year of Jubilee, and A Chronological table of the History of the Old Testament, by Rev. G. B. Sandford, M. A.

"A Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language, with a preliminary dissertation, by John Crawfurd, F.R.S." The Author, Historian of the Indian Archipelago, has here supplied the most complete and accurate guide to Malay yet written. He has had, in its preparation, the advantage of a corrected copy of Marsden's Dictionary, with a supplement and assistance from Professor Wilson, of Oxford, and other eminent scholars. It is more than a grammar, being an inquiry into the nature and origin of the connection subsisting between most of the languages prevailing from Madagascar to Easter Island, in the Pacific, and from China to New Zealand, a space equal to one-fifth of the surface of the earth. These languages have been generally supposed to belong to one great family. Mr. Craw-

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ford thinks that each is a distinct and original tongue, and that the tribes are different races. He regrets the test employed by certain scholars, to prove the common origin of the languages of the Indian Archipelago, viz., the similarity of the grammatical structure, and the identity of some words denoting simple ideas. His test words are those that are indispensable to the structure of sentences, which form, as it were, the frame-work of propositions, those that represent the cases of languages of complex structure, and the auxiliaries representing time and mood. He says, "If a sentence can be constructed by words of the same origin in two or more languages, such languages may be considered as sister tongues." This book is of considerable importance in an ethnological point of view; but it must be remembered that the author has nearly all the ablest philological ethnologists against him. The tests he proposes would be valid in the case of languages which are closely affiliated; but are wholly inapplicable to those languages whose only relation is that of a common origin.

The Life and Times of Dante Aligheri, by Count Cæsare Balbo, translated by F. J. Bunbury. Life of Marie De Medicis, by Miss Pardoe.

Observations on the Social and Political state of Denmark, and the Duchies of Sleswick and Holstein in 1851, by Samuel Laing, Esq. Longman & Co.

Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Mount Sinai, by Richard Lepsius. Berlin: Herz. London: Williams & Norgate.

This is one of the fruits of the Prussian expedition into Egypt in 1842–5, under the direction of Lepsius. He has ever since been collecting the results. First appeared his essay on the Chronology of the Egyptians, and along with this was begun the publication of the drawings of the expedition, which is still going on. This book consists of the series of his letters reporting the progress of the work. They give a good idea of the face of the country and the condition of the people, and as he occupied his leisure time in studying the dialects of the natives, they contain a great deal of ethnological and philological information.

Lieut. Van de Velde, late of the Dutch Navy, and author of "Surveys and Researches in the Sunda Islands, and of an Illustrated and Descriptive account of the Dutch East India Archipelago, and of a large and splendid map of Java, (published 1845,) has just returned to England, from a close and accurate survey of a portion of Palestine. Commencing at Beirout, he surveyed the western slope of Lebanon as far as

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the Leontes; traced that river to its source, and by favour of the Sheiks explored the whole of Galilee; the northern part of which, owing to the savage nature of the inhabitants, has been heretofore wholly unknown; and fixed the site of Hazor and certain Phœnician towns. Thence he went to Accho, surveying the surrounding country, explored the region of Mount Carmel, and passing south through Samaria, discovered the sites of Dothan, Ai, and other places, and so reached Jerusalem. Thence, he went to the region west of the Dead Sea, and to its shores, to verify the results of recent surveys, (some of which he doubts,) as far as Beersheba, crossing, in various directions, the country between that place and ancient Ekron. Thence to Jerusalem, exploring the northern part of Judea, as far as Jordan and the Dead Sea. He then travelled north through East Samaria, explored, principally, the region between Sichem and the Jordan, identifying the sites and ruins of Akrabi, Dauneh, Fasaïlus, the Oasis of Kurawa, Wady el Feryah, &c. He crossed the Jordan at Pella, and corroborating the description of Irby and Mangles, he next surveyed the region about Beizan, Mt. Tabor, Nazareth, Nain, Endor, Shunem, Jezreel, and the Lake of Tiberias. East of that lake he could not go, because of the war between the Druses and Bedouins. Then, after another tour in Samaria, he followed up the Jordan to the Lake Huleh and its sources. Reaching Lebanon, he ascended Tomat-Niha, crossed Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon to Damascus, thence passed up into Cœlo-Syria, explored the sources of the Orontes, and the wonderful monuments of that region, and so came to Beirout. Important geographical results are promised from this expedition. Besides surveys and scientific observations, he has made one hundred sketches of places rarely visited before.

"The Works of William Shakspeare; with a new collation of the early editions, all the original novels and tales on which the plays are founded, copious Archæological illustrations to each play, and a Life of the Poet, by James Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Hon. Member of the Royal Irish Academy, and the Royal Society of Literature; with Illustrations by, and under the direction of, F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A." This edition is to be in twenty folio volumes, corresponding in size with the first collective edition of 1623. The editor expects to complete the edition in about six years. Subscription price is two guineas a volume, and all the volumes over twenty are to be thrown in. It is proposed to render this a complete thesaurus of Shakspearian lore. Every aid and antiquarian illustration from the Elizabethan Literature has been collected by the

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labour of twelve years. The engravings are restricted to the purpose of elucidation—each to be a true copy of a monument of some kind. Only 150 copies will be printed, and to enhance the value of these copies, all the plates will be immediately destroyed, no other impressions being taken.

The International Postage Association has projected a system which is applicable to all nations, the gist of which is this: Each country in the Union that may be formed, fixes and collects a uniform rate upon all letters going out to others of the Union, receiving and transmitting all letters coming to it from the other members.

Ranke is said to be engaged in writing a work on French history in the 17th century, and is now at Brussels, consulting the rich archives of that city.

A Congress of German Stenographers was lately assembled at Munich. There were 60 present. One exhibited a new system of musical notation, by means of which a piece of music could be taken down while it is played.

Berzelius, the great Swedish chemist, left behind him a full autobiography, which is said to be very valuable. Its publication in Sweden has been delayed, on account of the personalities contained in it, as the law of libel in Sweden is exceedingly strict. It is thought that Sir Humphrey Davy, whom the Swede owed no good will, figures prominently in it, and considerable eagerness has been manifested in England to have it published, especially while Dr. Davy is alive. A Mr. Wilson, proposes in the Athenæum, to publish it immediately, omitting all the allusions to Swedes.

"The Israel of the Alps;" a history of the Persecutions of the Waldenses. By Rev. Dr. Alexis Muston. Translated by William Hazlitt. It is said to be severe, dramatic, and terrible.

Irish Ethnology, socially and politically considered, by George Ellis.

Exercises adapted to the Complete Latin Grammar, by Rev. J. W. Donaldson, D. D.

Two additional volumes of Macaulay's History, will soon be out. Also, a volume of the Correspondence of Dr. Chalmers, edited by his biographer, Dr. Hanna. This may be regarded as an almost indispensable supplement to the Life, now completed by the issue of the fourth volume.

We notice among the London Theological announcements, the "Cyclopedia Bibliographica," in two volumes: the first containing a complete alphabetical catalogue of authors and works: and the second, a Catalogue Raisonnée of all the depart-

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ments of Theology arranged under common places in scientific order.

Anticleptic Gradus, founded on Queherat's Thesaurus Poeticus Linguæ Latinæ. Edited by T. K. Arnold.

The History of Holland and the Dutch Nation, from the beginning of the 10th to the 18th century; including an account of the municipal institutions, commercial pursuits, and social habits of the people, the rise and progress of the Protestant Reformation in Holland, the intestine dissensions, foreign wars, &c., chiefly compiled, by permission of the Dutch government, from original documents and state papers, by C. M. Davies: in 3 vols. London: G. Willis.

It is announced that a treatise is about to appear on the "Notions of the Chinese, concerning God and Spirits," by W. J. Boone, Missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States to China.

Among Weale's excellent series of Manuals, we notice, A Grammar of the German Language, by G. L. Strauss, adapted for the use of English Students, price one shilling sterling. Its being in such good company is very much in its favour.

One of the later volumes of Bohn's Standard Library is "Memorials of Christian Life, in the Early and Middle Ages," by Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated by J. E. Ryland.

Archdeacon Hare is out with a pamphlet, "The Contest with Rome," with notes, replying to Newman's late lectures.

"Outline of the History of Assyria, as collected from the inscriptions discovered by Austen H. Layard, in the Ruins of Nineveh," by Lieut. Col. Rawlinson.

FRANCE.

The Scientific Congress of France is now sitting in one of the halls of the capitol, at Toulouse. Count de Peyronnet, President. MM. de Chaumont, Bertiné, Roux of Marseilles, and du Mège, Vice-Presidents.

Letters received at Paris, from M. Place, state further success and discoveries at Nineveh—statues, bas reliefs, jewellery, together with some valuable architectural remains.

M. Taschereau, who was appointed to superintend the publication of a catalogue of the National Library, has reported that there has been great mismanagement of the matter, books coming in faster than they were catalogued. He thinks that the work may be finished in about ten years, and that the divisions "History of England," "History of France," and "Medicine," will be done in a few months.

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"Histoire de la vie politique et privée de Louis Philippe." M. A. Dumas.

"Les Etats Unis d'Amerique; aperçu statistique, geographique," &c. S. G. Goodrich, (our Consul, old Peter Parley.)

"Histoire de la Littérature Romaine," Alexis Pierron. This is one of a sort of Encyclopedia of Histories, published by a society of scholars, under the direction of M. Duruy. It will consist of 50 volumes.

Voyage du Sheikh Ibn. Batoutah, à travers l'Afrique septentrionale, et l'Egypte, au commencement du XIV siècle. Traduit de l'Arabe, par Cherbonneau.

William le Taciturne, Prince d'Orange, 1533 à 1584. Eugène Mahon.

Œuvres de Rabelais. Nouvelle edition augmentée, par L. Jacob, Bibliophile.

Les Revolutions d'Italie. A. Quinet.

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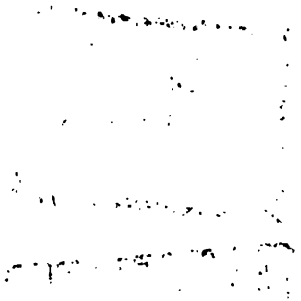

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